

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF VIOLENCE AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-CONCEPT IN BLACK CHILDREN**

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ABSTRACT

South African black children have been exposed to extremely high levels of violence, especially in the townships. This study was initiated in order to explore the effects of violence on the self-concept of the black child in South Africa. In addition the applicability of current self-concept theories and psychometric measures to this population was investigated. This study is therefore mainly exploratory. Sixty individuals of both sexes between the ages of 8 and 10 years were sampled from two schools. Thirty from one in a high violence and the other thirty from one in a low violence area. However, after finding that the experimental and control groups did not differ significantly these groups were reassigned according to exposure to violence rather than geographically. Direct and indirect exposure to violence as well as family and other stressors were measured with the aid of the Life Events Questionnaire (Mason and Killian, 1993). In order to determine the effect of exposure to violence on self-concept these two groups were compared using one quantitative and two qualitative self-concept measures. The quantitative measure was the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and the qualitative measures were the Human Figure Drawing Test and an Incomplete Sentences Test. Results were analysed by multivariate statistical procedures. This study concluded that violence has no significant effect on self-concept in black children ($p > 0.05$). The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale was found to be a reliable measure of self-concept in black children. Recommendations include broadening self-concept theories for black children by incorporating theories from disciplines other than psychology. The power of the present study would have been increased by using larger samples.

DECLARATION

The experimental work described in this dissertation was carried out in the Department of Psychology, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, from January 1993 to December 1996, under the supervision of Mrs Beverly J Killian and Professor Lance Lachenicht.

These studies represent original work by the author and have not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any University. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the past ten years South Africa has experienced unprecedented levels of political violence. In black townships incidents of political violence have led to widespread despair and trauma among residents.

Recently a number of studies have been conducted in South Africa regarding the psychological effects of violence. Some of these studies related to the effects that either experiencing or witnessing violence had on black children (Dawes, 1994).

According to Straker (1992) children's responses to this trauma can be influenced by various mediating factors (for example, individual, contextual and situational variables) to produce varying responses. Common responses could, however, be identified. Children can demonstrate signs of distress, but these signs are generally short lived. For example, given parental and community support during war, children are likely to recover more quickly. Furthermore Straker states that when resources which enhance mastery and sense of self-efficacy are present these also facilitate coping, noting that "Children who are separated from parents or familiar adult support show the most acute distress reactions in situations of disaster." (Straker, 1992, p. 85).

In South Africa where families were greatly weakened by poor socio-economic status, violence and oppression could have made individuals, especially the children, more vulnerable to the experience of trauma. In a study Martinez and Richters (1993) found that children who were exposed to violent incidents were significantly more likely than those not exposed to violent incidents to suffer from a range of social and emotional problems, which are a risk factor for children's adjustment. Again Martinez and Richters (1993) suggest that characteristics of children's families and family relations seem to be major mediators of both short- and long-term adaptation in the wake of violence.

In their study Martinez and Richters (1993) found that victimization by violence in the community and witnessing violence or violence-related themes in both the community and at home were reliably related to greater levels of distress symptoms. In many studies conducted in the United States of America the results or effects of experiencing or witnessing trauma are expressed as post traumatic stress disorder-type symptoms (Osofsky, Wewers, Hann & Fick, 1993). These effects are behavioural (for example, children avoiding activities leading them into dangerous areas of town), having to learn to deal with grief at an early age, as well as emotional effects.

Furthermore, Osofsky, et al. (1993) found that common symptoms were, (i) lack of concentration because of insomnia and intrusive images, (ii) memory impairment, (iii) anxious attachment with maternal figures, (iv) more aggressive play in order to imitate witnessed behaviours or in an attempt at self-protection, (v) acting tough to deal with fear, (vi) acting uncaring due to having to deal with so much hurt and loss, (vii) becoming severely constricted in activities, exploration, and thinking for fear of re-experiencing traumatic events.

Research by Chapman (1984) strongly suggests that self-perceptions and conceptions are significant mediating influences which determine the nature of the individual's relationships with other people, the types of behaviour or activities they will engage in, the states of tension they will experience, and consequently, how they will perceive themselves. Therefore, self-perceptions of competence and controllability can be seen as causal factors which, "through their defining rules in an individual's phenomenal field" (Chapman, 1984, p. 284), are important factors in the prediction of human behaviour (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976).

No studies relating to the effects of violence, specifically political violence as experienced in the South African context, on the developing self-concepts of black children exist at present.

As Burns (1979) indicates, self-concept is an important aspect of personality which plays

a role in motivating humans throughout their life-spans. Burns states that self-concept is "that individual and exceedingly personal, dynamic picture which each person develops in his transactions with his psychological environment and which he carries round with him on life's journey," (Burns 1979, p. i).

Through this dissertation the author will attempt to explore some of the effects of the political violence of the past years on the development of the black child's self-concept.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter current theory on self-concept is discussed in detail in order to explore factors which influence its development. An attempt will also be made to link violence and self-concept theoretically. Simultaneously the difficulties in this domain of study will be highlighted.

This section begins by discussing the definition of self-concept followed by certain relevant theoretical perspectives on its development. This leads into a description of the structure of self-concept based on the work of Shavelson which is then utilised to develop a model that would link theory with practical aspects required for this study.

The notion of violence is discussed with particular reference to political violence in South Africa. Difficulties with researching violence are discussed. Additionally, the link between self-concept and stress is also explored. Current research issues regarding self-concept are discussed in an attempt to foresee possible difficulties.

2.2 DEFINING SELF-CONCEPT

There have been numerous attempts to define self-concept. It is also known as self, self-esteem and self-perception (Hoelter, 1985). It is defined by Hoelter as " those qualities used by an individual for the purpose of defining one's self, " (Hoelter, 1985, p. 1392) whilst for Corey and Corey (1989) the term self-concept refers to the individual's cognitive awareness of himself. Rosenberg (1979) enlarges on this definition somewhat by defining self-concept as a person's collective thoughts and feelings referring to him/herself as an object. In discussing the term Rosenberg divides self-concept into three broad regions: the extant self (how the individual sees him/herself); the desired self (how the

individual would like to see him/herself); and the presenting self (how he/she shows him/herself to others).

Possibly the earliest writer about self, William James, spoke about the "empirical self or me" (James, 1890, p. 291). In James' words "The Empirical Self of each of us is all that he is tempted to call by the name of me. But it is clear that between what a man calls me and what he simply calls mine the line is difficult to draw. We feel and act about certain things that are ours very much as we feel and act about ourselves." (James, 1890, p. 291)

James (1890) spoke of components of self as, the material self (with the physical body being the innermost part of this), the social self (inferred from social interactions), the spiritual self, and the pure ego. These components were arranged hierarchically with the bodily self at the bottom, the spiritual self at the top, and the various social and material selves in between.

Self-concept, then, is the way in which persons view themselves, perceiving similarities and differences between themselves and others (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976; Samuels, 1977). Being aware of the self in children occurs as a result of their total experience with themselves, with their environment and with others in their interpersonal world (Shavelson et al., 1976). In becoming aware of themselves, children can formulate major concepts of themselves that come to represent the centre of their being at all times. Self-concept plays a major role in shaping behaviour and even in the way that children give meaning to their own experiences.

According to Shavelson et al. (1976) self-concept is inferred from a person's responses to situations. These situations and the responses to the situations may be physical or symbolic. A distinction should be made between self-concept and inferred self-concept. Self-concept is a person's report of the self. Inferred self-concept is the report from one person of another's self-concept, for example, the researcher inferring the self-concept of the subject from test data. This is another's attribution of a person's self-concept.

2.3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-CONCEPT

2.3.1 Behaviourist or Social Learning Theory

Bandura states that, "Self-concept is a term for summarising many effects of an individual's reinforcement history and for his or her current self-labelling and self-reinforcing behaviour " (Cited in Corson, 1989, p. 44).

Corson (1989) suggests that self-concept develops through stages. Initially the attention of a child's parents becomes a strong conditioned incentive stimulus. The infant learns to associate parental attention with such things as food and warmth. For the infant, any deviation from a comfortable state will become an aversive stimulus. The repeated pairing of parental attention with the return to a state of " homeostasis " (Corson, 1989, p. 42) conditions incentive stimulus power to parental presence for the infant. From this conditioning the infant develops observing behaviour (for example, facial expressions) of parents and reacts according to these behaviours through the associations he/she has made.

As the child grows older the relationship between parental attention and the associated incentive stimulus becomes more sophisticated. Between the age of approximately three and twelve months incentive and aversive stimuli from parental behaviour become easily distinguishable and predictable for the infant. Corson (1989) suggests that, for example, " you're OK " (p. 44) messages become conditioned incentive stimuli because they are often associated with the delivery of unconditioned incentive stimuli such as food, warmth and attention. Conversely the "you're not OK" stimuli (p. 44) become conditioned aversive stimuli, because they are associated with unconditioned aversive stimuli such as pain or deprivation.

"The developmental course of the conditioned incentive power of parental attention determines the success or failure of its later subdivision (or discrimination) into positive or

negative qualities. " (Corson, 1989, p. 44). This also determines how successfully the individual generalises the conditioned incentive power to non-parents and various types of attention. Thus, this course would determine the effects of later social reinforcement. Corson (1989) also suggests that, " this foundation constitutes the general self-concept or self theory, including the associated expectancies and dispositions. " (p. 44).

Corson (1989) argues that families are " mutual control systems " (p. 54). It is suggested that this control system can be altered and therefore influences how the individual's "control system" is transferred outside the family. Children should, through their reinforcement, be able to see themselves capable of evaluating and influencing the system in which they participate. The development of a positive self-concept and later responses to social reinforcement are greatly influenced by children's experiences of parental attention.

2.3.2 Attachment Theory

As with social learning theory, Cohen (cited in Raath & Jacobs, 1990) suggests that one of the most important determinants of self-concept is the parent-child relationship. Harlow (cited in Bowlby, 1982) found in his studies of the early socialisation behaviours of rhesus monkeys that infant monkeys developed significant attachments to their mothers. Bowlby (1982) suggests that in the first three months of life human infants already respond differently to their mother than to other people. Subsequently, infants show significant attachment behaviour in the first three years of life.

During the first few months after birth infants tend to respond in the same manner to both strangers and familiar adults. At around seven months a significant attachment with the mother is made. This attachment is shown in various ways. For example, showing distress when the mother goes out of sight (Rutter, 1978). Hinde (1978) suggests that infants derive comfort from contact with their parents, more specifically from their mothers. The infant then derives a sense of security. At this stage, it is postulated, the self does not yet exist (Burns, 1979). While the infant's world is at first formed by the mother's body, its

social world soon extends to a number of other individuals. In their second and third years infants experience a change in their perceptual abilities that lead them to understand events in the world around them. This leads to changes in their attachment behaviour which include a sense of impending departure away from the physical attachment to the mother. Therefore, the infant would protest every time the mother leaves the room.

The interactions of the infant with other individuals plays a role in the social development of the infant. These interactions with others are equally important for the development of self. Bowlby (1982) states that after their third year children become more able to feel secure in a strange place with "subordinate" (p. 205) attachment figures, providing that they are allowed to get to know these subordinate attachment figures in the company of their mothers, and that they know the whereabouts of their mothers. It is also important that they are not alarmed. The young school-going child would still have the need to return to the arms of his/her mother when facing difficulties.

It is suggested by Samuels (1977) that, second to home and family, school is the next most important factor influencing self-concept. In a review of self-concept studies, Samuels found that other factors that appear to have an influence on the development of self-concept include: teachers and other school experiences; being a member of the so-called American "minority groups"; social class; and desegregation. Rosenberg (1979) also acknowledges the effects of significant others, contextual dissonance, social class, "minority status", and group rejection on self-concept.

Donaldson (1987) suggests that when humans reason they do not only deal with the facts of what happens around them, but also with what they think must be happening. Thus, it could be surmised that the child who experiences discomfort can presume that he/she is being rejected. This may result in the child presuming that he/she is bad.

Additionally, Dunn (1987) states that the following features of family life are also important for the development of self. These include, the familiarity and intimacy of family members, the shared life-world of siblings, the emotion intensity of relationships, and the

uninhibited expression of positive emotions to the child. Thus, it is possible that familial stress can have an influence on the development of the self through the effects they may have on attachment and familial relationships.

2.3.3 Cognitive Theory

According to Piaget (cited in Hart, Kohlberg & Wertsch, 1987) the child is initially unable to take on the views of others. Piaget defines two types of egocentrism relevant to this discussion. Firstly, during profound egocentrism the child does not differentiate between the self and the world. The infant in its first month does not realise that objects exist independent of the self. At around 12 to 18 months the infant becomes aware of the existence of objects apart from the self, however the tendency to fuse the self with external objects continues into childhood. This period coincides with the pre-operational level of cognitive development and has far reaching implications for social interaction.

Secondly, in the social domain, development takes place in a shift from the egocentric state to one which the child can move from one perspective to another, achieving "social reciprocity" (Light, 1987, p. 42). The child changes his/her thinking from being centralised within the self to being decentralised from the self, thus the child's thoughts show more flexibility in social relations. This is established through social experience with others (Light, 1987). With this comes the stage of concrete operations where role-taking and de-centring become discernable features.

According to Hart, Lawrence and Wertsch (1987) Piaget's self is constructed from cognitive functions. Therefore, the self is not conscious and the individual is unaware of it as the self consists of operational behaviour.

2.3.4 Eriksonian Perspective

It is now clear that the individual's earlier experiences are important determinants in how he/she feels about him/herself (Farrel, 1989). It seems as though attitudes toward the self are shaped and reinforced by parents in early childhood. According to Farrel (1987) the degree to which parents accept and acknowledge the child's mastery of early developmental tasks would determine and influence the child's positive view of the self. The opposite is also true. The child would develop a negative view of self when not acknowledged, developing a sense of helplessness and uselessness. Other important influences suggested by Farrel are the impact of schooling and peers.

Later, pupil-teacher and pupil-pupil interaction becomes very important. When a child starts school he/she forms new relations with teachers and peers. In forming these relations the child builds an image of him/herself. In addition to this, the child's self-image would be influenced by his/her success in his/her school work, peer relations, and the acceptance by his/her peers, family and teachers. A child who does not have enough confidence in his/her own skills will form a negative image of him/herself. This would happen mainly because he/she sees him/herself as others see him/her.

According to Erik Erikson (1950) the above mentioned process takes place through eight psycho-social stages which are discussed as follows.

i) **Basic Trust vs. Mistrust**

From birth to around two years the infant develops a sense of trust in the presence of the mother who meets his physical needs (Newman & Newman, 1987). This trust is established when the mother assists the infant in balancing the uncertainty of having biological needs (feeding, bowel movements) gratified, with the safety of knowing that the mother can be trusted upon to meet these needs. This sense of trust basically means that the infant has learned to rely on the safety and continuity of external care givers.

This sense of trust forms the basis of the emotional development of the child, underpinning the importance of the parent-infant relationship in early life.

If, through some parental inconsistency and unreliability, the infant's needs are not met a sense of basic mistrust will develop. This will leave the infant unsafe to explore his/her own identity and have negative effects on the development of self.

ii) Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt

When the infant has developed the trust to go ahead and explore the environment and the self, the result is a sense of autonomy. This phase takes place during the period between approximately two to four years of age (Newman & Newman, 1987). Erikson speaks of the infant's ability to "hold on or let go" (Erikson, 1950, p. 223). The infant must learn to hold on to certain experiences or to let go of them. He/she does not yet have the restraint to control this exploratory spree and relies on external control, that of the parent, for guidance. External control is reassuring to the infant in this stage, because he/she has not yet developed inner control. "As his environment encourages him to 'stand on his own feet ', it must protect him against meaningless and arbitrary experiences of shame and of early doubt." (Erikson, 1950, p. 223).

By shame, Erikson suggests that the individual who experiences shame feels small and self-conscious. Thus, experiencing a sense of being looked at. The infant then experiences doubt over whether he/she really has the ability to be autonomous.

iii) Initiative vs. Guilt

Here the child takes pleasure in "attack and conquest" (Erikson, 1950, p. 224). During this phase which takes place around four to six years of age the child can develop a sense of guilt about the objectives he/she has considered or acted out

(Newman & Newman, 1987). The possibility of rivalry with older siblings also increases, especially if siblings have similar goals to their predecessors. These goals may be the demarcation of certain privileges regarding either of the parents. Failure in gaining the favoured position will lead to feelings of nonchalance, guilt and anxiety, often termed the "castration complex" (Erikson, 1950, p. 225). This means that the child anticipates "losing the genitals as punishment for fantasies attached to their excitements." (Erikson, 1950, p. 225)

iv) Industry vs. Inferiority

Between the ages of roughly six to twelve years the child tries to win recognition by producing things (Newman & Newman, 1987). The child becomes ready to learn and apply skills and tasks. "He develops industry-i.e., he adjusts himself to the inorganic laws of the tool world." (Erikson, 1950, p. 227)

The child would feel inadequate and inferior at the discovery at no hope of association with peers through his inability to compete or keep up with peers. Thus the child cannot progress into the greater world outside the immediate family.

v) Identity vs. Role Diffusion

At the age of around twelve years the child enters adolescence and childhood comes to an end. The youth reaches greater maturity and has acquired the "skills" to join the outside industrious world. These youths are developing physically and together with this development they are now mainly concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others. This is where the peer group becomes important. Newman and Newman distinguish between group identity and individual identity. They suggest that the adolescent establishes a group identity by being affiliated to the peer group and an individual identity by becoming autonomous from parents and the establishment of the sex role identity.

During this phase the adolescent needs to integrate lessons learned in earlier phases and apply them to the "occupational prototypes of the day" (p. 228). They need to integrate these various aspects of the self into an ego-identity. This would be the self-concept which would shape their behaviours and also the manner in which they perceive their experiences. The establishment of identity has far reaching implications. These include influences on interpersonal relations, career development, development of sex roles, and behaviour.

When there is no stable base for the identity to develop upon it leads to role confusion. This can happen whenever the preceding developmental phases of a youth are disrupted. Thus life events which could have an influence during earlier developmental stages can have far reaching implications for further development.

vi) Intimacy vs. Isolation

During the period between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four young adults enter a phase where intimacy becomes important (Newman & Newman, 1987). Here close relationships play a significant role. These relationships serve to allow the individual to reflect certain aspects of the self or identity within a relationship. In order for an individual to be able to make the self vulnerable within a relationship, the identity must be integrated. If the individual cannot attain the desired intimacy the opposite, isolation, sets in.

vii) Generativity vs. Stagnation

During adulthood it is important to achieve a sense of continuity or "ego-continuity". This is achieved by being able to guide a next generation or by having some kind of parental responsibility. At the ages of between approximately thirty-four and sixty years this issue becomes relevant (Newman & Newman, 1987). It is a period of enrichment during which the individual may experience a sense of

generativity.

Upon failing to achieve generativity the individual may regress to a sense of needing intimacy and a feeling of stagnation. Thus, reverting to past incomplete life stages.

viii) Ego Integrity vs. Despair

Once the individual has taken care of past life stages and completed them, he/she can experience ego integrity. The individual is able to look back over his/her life span and see it as fruitful and worthwhile, where "death loses its sting." (Erikson, 1950, p. 232).

In failing to be able to see the fruit in his/her life, or when not having been able to successfully negotiate all the mentioned phases, the individual enters a state of despair. This is despair at the thought that it is too late to start a new life and try things over again.

The influence of interpersonal and life experiences on the individual is especially noticeable when examining Erikson's theory. All the mentioned life stages are really aspects of self-concept and are the way a person may feel about him/herself in response to life events. There can therefore be the effects of a negative experience, such as separation and violence, on the developing individual.

2.3.5 Psychoanalytic and Jungian Theory

Psychoanalytic theory originated through Sigmund Freud who placed emphasis on unconscious mental processes (Frosh, 1987). Freud's theory differs from the previously mentioned theories in that it contains dynamic, structural and sequential components (Salkind, 1985). These three components are intertwined to form a theory of personality. In the present study the components relating to self-concept or self will be discussed.

According to Salkind (1985) the dynamic component mentioned by Freud consisted of instincts which were believed to be the biological component of psychic energy. Instincts are present at birth, are unconscious and include the need to survive as well as need gratification. This formed the structure of what was called the id. When the infant's needs are not gratified this will result in tension. The infant gradually learns that instinctual satisfaction requires external events. As the infant becomes aware that his/her behaviour results in the activation of certain external events, part of the id energy changes into energy associated with conscious associations of the infant's self.

The consciousness of self is called the ego and is formed through interaction with the environment (Salkind, 1985). At this stage the infant realises that goal directed behaviours can result in tension reduction and satisfaction, allowing the infant to distinguish between reality and fantasy. The ego functions according to the reality principle and moderates the behaviour of the infant according to the constraints of reality. "Ego processes also facilitate gratification by distinguishing between self and not-self, and then planning with this in mind." (Salkind, 1985, p. 92).

Salkind (1985) suggests that some of the psychic energy becomes associated with the infant's development of self. Further development of the self leads to the formation of a later structure, which Freud termed the superego (Salkind, 1985). Superego is formed in later childhood and represents the internalisation of parental authority as well as the social and ethical rules of the culture. The superego is a kind of internal conscience. Its development results from resolving certain conflicts with parents, the demands placed on the ego, and the experiences individuals have had with their parents.

Freud also suggested that individuals developed through a series of psychosexual stages where psychic energy is focused on different areas of the body, called erogenous zones (Salkind, 1985). These stages were the oral stage (during first year of life), anal stage (second to fourth year), phallic stage (fourth to sixth year), latency stage (beginning at

age seven), and genital stage (beginning at age twelve until adulthood).

Jungian theory suggests that it is important for the individual to distinguish between who they really are and how they appear to themselves and others. Humans need to become conscious of the system of relations to the unconscious. It is suggested that the unconscious has an effect on the way people react and on how they react within society. As with Freud, it is just as important for the individual to know what the unconscious demands are as the societal demands placed on him or her (Jung, 1953). "I might just as well learn to distinguish between what I want and what the unconscious thrusts upon me, as to see what my office demands of me and what I myself desire." (Jung, 1953, p. 194)

In his writings, Jung (1953) terms the centre of the individual's "unknowable essence " (p. 236) the self. He likens it to God, as it is not really comprehensible in the human mind. Jung suggests that the whole psychic life is rooted in the self, and that the whole being is driven and motivated from there. The self is equated with the ego in that it is the driver and helm of the person.

According to Horney (1968), the feelings and attitudes of humans are moulded to a large extent by the conditions under which they live. This would include culture and the individual circumstances a person may be in, both of these factors having a linked effect. The moulding influence of affection in early childhood is also said to be important. Horney suggests that Freud over-emphasised the biological origin of personality and disregarded cultural factors. Naturally, this notion is disputed by many writers as people are not only victims of their circumstances.

The concept of self-esteem, which is similar to self-concept, is mentioned by Horney (1968). She holds that certain negative life events can wound self-esteem, that is, the individual is said to be "humiliated" (Horney, 1968, p. 178).

The effects of success on self-esteem are also recognised by Horney (1968). It is suggested that it is not only significant others who judge us by our success, but also

ourselves who evaluate ourselves according to our success. Thus if the individual experiences success and accomplishes something, he/she will feel good about him/herself. If he/she does not they may very well develop poor self esteem (Horney, 1968).

Erich Fromm (1959), suggests that the individual's sense of self originates from his/her socio-economic role. This implies the individual would not experience himself as a person, but as fulfilling a part in the social system. Similar to Horney's suggestion a person's sense of worth depends on his/her success. Human attributes such as friendliness, caring, and kindness are translated into commodities, assets in the "personality package" (p.142). In essence, an individual's sense of worth depends on factors which are external to the self. Thus, the approval of others is also important in the reinforcement of self and the lack of a sense of self leads to anxiety and guilt.

2.3.6 Symbolic-Interaction Theory

The self is described by Bateson (1973) as "an aggregate of habits of perception adaptive action plus, from moment to moment, our immanent states of action, " (Bateson, 1973, p. 212). The self is not present at birth and has to be developed through social experience (Mead, 1972). Humans organise experiences to a self due to their level of sophistication. They also come to interpret later experiences in terms of the self.

Mead (1972) suggests that the individual experiences the self indirectly, from the point of view of others who are members of the same social group to which the individual belongs.

For he enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only insofar as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or are in his experience; and he becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behaviour in which he and they are involved. (Mead, 1972, p. 203)

With this Mead suggests that the self is not a sense of being. It is described more like an object, or more specifically, a part of the body, for example. A human would be conscious of his/her arms or legs at a given time, but would not at all times be experiencing his/her physical extremities. The focus of an individual on different body parts would be determined by the activity they are doing at that given moment. In very much the same manner the self is objectified and not experienced in its totality all the time. Certain aspects of self are highlighted at various moments or during different behaviours. It is here where communication is important insofar it facilitates the exchange of feedback regarding certain aspects of the self.

Similarly, Cooley (1902) also speaks of "the looking glass self". Cooley argues that an individual would see his/her reflection in a mirror, and become interested in the reflection of his/her face or figure. The individual would also be accepting of these reflections if they correspond to what he/she would expect them to be like. In the same manner the individual would imagine that they can perceive what others think of their physical appearance, behaviour, values, character, and therefore be influenced by these ideas.

Cooley (1902) argues that this self-idea has three principle elements. First, the imagining of what oneself looks like to other persons. Second, the imagining the other person would have some sort of judgement of the individual's appearance. Third, there would also be some type of "self-feeling such as pride or mortification." The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind." (Cooley, 1902, p. 184).

Thus, an individual's self-concept is mainly influenced by what he/she thinks others think of him/her. Van Der Riet (1985) suggests that according to Cooley's theory there is a relationship between the self and the social environment. It is suggested that a person's feelings about him/herself were mainly formed as a result of his/her subjectively interpreted feedback from others. Gecas, Calonico and Thomas (1974) have also found that parental evaluation of the child is positively correlated to the child's self-concept.

Sullivan (1953) laid more emphasis on the avoidance of anxiety and need gratification in the interpersonal context. He speaks of the "good-me, bad-me, and not-me" (p. 161).

The good-me is described as a beginning embodiment which organises life experiences in which needs have been gratified by the rewards of physical and emotional affection. This happens to the infant when the mother is pleased with his/her behaviour and reacts with the appropriate emotions and behaviours.

Bad-me is the beginning embodiment which arranges life experiences according to the increasing amounts of anxiety experienced. This sense of bad-me is reflective of the amount of need gratification and affection and containment which the mother could not provide.

When experiencing intense anxiety, the child may experience and embody a sense of not-me. This is described by Sullivan as an unreal feeling. An insecurity of the body. The individual may have not experienced any gratification and only anxiety and feel out of touch.

In a review of literature, Abraham (1982), suggests that communication is meaningful interaction. Through a process of selective experimenting a child forms a repertoire of "significant gestures" (Abraham, 1982, p. 222) and words coming together to create what is the mind. According to Mead (1972) the language process is very important for the development of the self. A symbol is said to be a significant gesture which conveys meaning to others. When vocal gestures, speech, reach this receiver-sender agreement of meaning, language is the result. Mead suggests that symbolic interaction is developed here, where the gestures used to communicate take on an additional symbolic function of meaning.

According to Abraham (1982) symbolic interaction is meaningful communication when individuals each take roles in the communication process. Significant gestures such as

language have a self-conscious quality in humans and rely on an "arousal in the individual himself of the response which he is calling out in the individual, a taking of the role of the other, a tendency to act as the other person acts" (p. 223).

Thus, the self is a social structure and arises out of social interaction and Mead (1972) suggests that it is not possible to picture a self in isolation from social interaction.

Through talking to others, individuals' verbalizations are moderated by the responses of the recipients. Through this mechanism, communications between people are in flux, thus constantly changing according to social responses. The self experienced here is moderated in very much the same manner as the social interaction between individuals. A person would moderate his/her own self internally through his/her self-talk. The individual would then talk to the self very much in a similar manner as talking to a real person. Thus, the individual leaves the social phase of self formation, entering a phase of "reflective intelligence".

This does not carry on forever, and the individual then changes to bounce ideas regarding the self off others again. "One inevitably seeks an audience, has to pour himself out to somebody. In reflective intelligence one thinks to act, and to act solely so this action remains part of the social process. Thinking becomes preparatory to social action." (p. 206, Mead, 1972). Thus, the individual considers the social implications, and effects on the self, of an action before acting it out in his/her behaviour.

Mead (1972) also suggests that there are certain aspects of the self which the individual would rather forget. Certain experiences from the past may be traumatic to the self and therefore the individual compensates by exhibiting various aspects of the self. This is dependant on the set of social reactions which are involved, which self we are going to adopt at a particular time. "If we can forget everything involved in one set of activities, then obviously we relinquish that part of the self." (Mead, 1972, p. 208).

The structure of the self can be said to be a reflection of the social conditions in which the

self was formed.

In the formation of self, Mead (1934, 1972) suggests the following:

- i.) the exchanges of gestures between individuals involving some sort of reciprocal activity.
- ii.) thinking always takes place by means of symbols, thus we can express the manner in which we think in terms of these symbols.
- iii.) the meanings of the gestures or symbols determine the response of the recipient.
- iv.) the meanings of the symbols are universal to the particular reference group or culture.
- v.) different individuals would have different responses to the same symbols.
- vi.) how the self is formed thus depends largely on our life-experiences.

According to Mead (1972) children role-play aspects of self during play. They pretend to be like their parents or teachers. These are ill defined personalities, but they have an important influence on children and on those whom they depend. These are said to be the personalities which they take. Children role-play these roles which control their development, as well as the development of their own personality. Furthermore, the organised out-group or community or social group which gives the individual his/her unity of self is called the "generalised other" (Mead, 1972, p. 218). It is suggested that the attitude of the generalised-other is the attitude of the whole community. It is not good enough to take on only the attitudes of others to the self and to one another. Neither is it sufficient to internalise the social process. The individual should, according to Mead, also take on the attitudes and relations of the others mentioned toward their social group and

activities and the relations within the groups that they are engaged in as part of the self. Mead states that this is the prerequisite for the fullest development of the self.

-only insofar he takes the attitudes of the organised social group to which he belongs toward the organised, co-operative social activity or set of such activities in which that group as such is engaged, does he develop a complete self or possess the sort of complete self he has developed. (Mead, 1972, p. 219).

Alternatively Mead (1972) suggests that the complex social activities present in any society are only possible when the individual acting in, and making up that society belong, or feel that they belong to it. Only when they feel they belong, can they take up the attitudes of others toward themselves and the society. Only then can the individual direct his/her own behaviour accordingly. An individual who is self-conscious, accepts or takes on the social attitudes of their social group or community. As a member of a particular culture or sub-culture the individual moderates his/her own behaviour accordingly. For example, the person who identifies him/herself with a certain political party will assume the roles and world views of the party. This may include the view of the political party toward the community too. If one could see the party as a self which governs its own behaviour in terms of its own ideologies, the individual belonging to the party would do the same. He/she would behave and react to the world or community in the way which would be governed by the political party.

Mead (1972) suggests that the essence of the self is cognitive. It is situated in the dialogue of social gestures which are internalised and these constitute thinking or reflection. Thus the origins of the self are social.

Mead (1972) concludes that, through the process of symbolic-interaction the individual's self is made up of the specific attitudes of other individuals toward him/herself and to one another in the specific "social acts" (p. 222) in which he/she partakes with them. Secondly, the self is made up not only of others' attitudes, but also by the organisation of the "social attitudes of the generalised other or the social group as a whole to which he

belongs". (p. 222).

2.3.7 Cultural and Sociological Theory

Vygotsky and his modern followers have created a theory which views the individual as very largely a social product and which places great importance on culture. In many ways it is similar to Mead's symbolic interaction approach.

Jerome Bruner suggests that the process of self development involves discriminating between various aspects of the self (Anglin, 1973). He continues to discuss two aspects of self. Firstly, Bruner describes self-salience which is similar to self-consciousness. This implies the awareness of the self as well as a sense of differentiation from the environment. A second aspect is self-potency which is similar to self-confidence, the ability to act effectively in situations and to master problems.

Bruner suggests that it is not quite clear which stimuli evoke these two self-perceptions. He suggests that one can assume that there is a somatic component. Additionally Bruner argues that self-cues may be ambiguous by nature. He concludes that self-information is more diffuse than the clear information individuals receive from the external environment (Anglin, 1974).

Vygotsky did not use the concept of self or self-concept in his psycho-social theories. He focused on the socialization of the individual into a collective self or identity, rather than an individual self (Hart, Kohlberg & Wertsch, 1987). Central to his theory is consciousness which he described as a wide range of mental events relating to the ways in which individuals can know and interact with the world around them. Hart et al. also suggest that consciousness is a theoretical construct "that recognises the integrated, holistic nature of human mental, especially cognitive, functioning." (Hart, Kohlberg & Wertsch, 1987, p. 250). They believe that the notion of consciousness is most like the notion of self. Within the individual early forms of thinking are said to consist of a type of rigid recall of existing images. Subsequently, the child in this phase would resort to

known methods of problem solving and patterns of action. As the child becomes older memory processes become more complex.

According to Vygotsky (1978), the development of consciousness is based on the changing relationships between higher mental processes (i.e., those that involve planning and rational activity or what vyhotsky calls "mediated thought"), rather than the development of these processes in isolation. He suggests a social origin of higher mental functioning within the individual. Hart, Kohlberg and Wertsch (1987) have found that the functioning of consciousness first appears on a social, "interpsychological" (p. 251) level, then is mastered and internalised before it is incorporated into the "intrapsychological plane." (p. 251). Hart et al. suggest that according to Vygotskian theory all higher functions are underpinned by the social relations between individuals. They also propose that if the aforementioned is true, the intrapsychological functioning in different cultures may vary, giving rise to different coping skills and styles of consciousness.

Societies as a whole also evoke patterns of social relations. They take up institutionalised norms and values, roles and statuses that generally organise relations within some broad sector of life. Five of the most common institutions identified by sociologists are religion, education, government, economy and family (Babbie, 1994).

There is a relationship between organisations and institutions because organisations operate within the constraints represented by institutional patterns. Institutions are very real and in accordance with Vygotsky's theory can have tremendous power over the individual's life (Babbie, 1994). Therefore, it may be expected that an individual's self-concept can be influenced by the institution he/she belongs to. It follows then that a person who identifies with the institutions imposed on him/her may feel more secure in this and exhibit a more positive self-concept. Conversely the person who does not identify with the norms, values, etc. of his/her institution may exhibit negative self-concept when relating to the institution.

Culture partly forms institutions and is reflected in institutions like school, family, and

work groups (Maccoby & Modiano, 1966). It has been described by Beals, Hoijer and Beals (1977) as an emerging property of human groups that begins to take shape as soon as decisions are made concerning the conduct of common enterprises. Culture is noticeable as the characteristic behaviours of groups of people. This correlates with the abovementioned theory of Vygotsky. Culture also exists in the form of plans and common understandings that are acknowledged by membership of a group. This includes more than belonging for example to "the Jewish People". It is more powerful and implies a sense of belonging (Babbie, 1994).

Bruner (1966) suggests that humans can represent their world in three modes. Each mode is limited " by the inherent nature of the human capacities supporting it." (Bruner, 1966, p. 320). Individuals develop and amplify "powers" (p. 321) and grow by internalising ways of behaving, imaging, and representing that which is present in their culture. According to Bruner these powers are amplified by three situations which are intrinsic to cultures. First, skills, images, and points of view which a culture may have. Second, the type of life an individual leads together with the pressures and demands placed on him/her. Thirdly, the extent to which the individual is compelled to explore the sources of identification with his/her culture through the actions, images and symbols present in his/her culture. The implications which culture may have on self-concept are important here and are similar to that of the institution.

Beals, et al. (1977) refer to the concept of kinship which is superimposed by culture and forms part thereof. Relatives, or kin, are people who are related in a biological way through the principles of descent and marriage. Descent and marriage are suggested to be primarily social and legal principles, not only genealogical principles (Cole, 1988). Through one's family one is said to belong to a certain tribe. Also through the principle of kinship an individual can then feel a sense of belonging. The individual can want to belong to his/her family. This is an important source of positive self-concept. When the individual does not want to be part of his/her family or feels as though he/she is not part of it anyway, this can have a negative influence on the self-concept of this individual.

According to Babbie (1994) an organisation is part of a collection of people. Babbie suggests that the organisation outlasts the people living in it or who comprise it. An example of such organisation would be the United States of America which has existed for over 200 years. The government has existed for this time, but has comprised more than one generation of people (Babbie, 1994).

In the context of this study organisation means social structure. This includes the relationships between individuals, small groups, formal organisations, and whole social systems. Included here are the beliefs, norms, values, and sanctions comprised in social structure (Babbie, 1994). Human behaviour follows a certain pattern within the social structure according to a certain process. "Social structure is a process of taking away individual freedom and structuring it for corporate action." (Babbie, 1994, p. 13).

Social structure is always changing and has various other characteristics. However, for the purposes of this dissertation the position of individuals within the social structure will be explored. It is important to note that social structure is created by humans, but eventually this structure controls the lives of the humans who create it (Babbie, 1994). Individuals want to be part of it - through wanting to have a job, a certain career, power over others, academic qualifications, and status.

In addition to being a part of the social structure the individual also has certain aspirations. However, the extent to which the individual can comply with the requirements of the social structure will determine his/her sense of belonging to it. People will view members of their society according to their standing in and their belonging to the social structure. Through human interaction and feedback mechanisms this may influence self-concept. For example, a child who aspires to a socially desirable or acceptable career can be seen as needing to belong to the social structure. If he/she cannot attain his/her goal it may have a negative effect on his/her sense of self and belonging. A child could also feel academically inferior and may therefore feel inadequate, compensating by not wanting to belong.

Self-concept seems to develop through a number of sources which are interrelated (Burns, 1979). One aspect is body awareness and body image. This is initially furnished through sensory perception and is the basic core around which self reference and identity is moulded. Another aspect is language which aids the process of differentiation of the self. Language also facilitates the understanding of much of the feedback from significant others, who are the third source of development. Once early childhood is passed, the peer group seems to have more importance than the parents.

L'Ecuyer (cited in Farrel, 1989) suggests that self-concept expands from the age of five to ten. It was found that the self-concept is structured progressively. This reflects the variety of new experiences of school, the greater number of peers which the child becomes exposed to. The result is an enlarged perceptual content of the child's self-concept.

In a study, Fahey and Phillips (1981) also found that the physical environment provided the most frequent terms of reference in the individual's self-concept during middle childhood. Fahey and Phillips also contend that there is a considerable expansion in the structure of the self-concept in middle childhood. Very young children represent themselves primarily as similar to or like other children ("I am a girl"). Upper primary children's self representations are in terms of how different they are from their peers, for example, "I am the fastest runner in the class". As children proceed toward middle childhood (six to twelve years of age) they make a distinction between the self and the ideal self, for example, "I would like to be clever".

2.3.8 Social Psychology

According to Tajfel's social identity theory people categorise the world into in-groups and out-groups. The in-group constitutes "us" and the out-group, "them". People strive for positive self-concept and derive this from their social identity in the in-group. Individuals' self-concepts are also partly dependent on how they evaluate their in-group relative to other groups (Sears, Peplau, Freedman & Taylor, 1988). Thus, people engage in behaviour which distinguishes their group from other groups and benefits their group and

fellow in-group members relative to out-group members. Subsequently the extent to which the individual identifies with his/her social group or culture, for example, or sees his/her membership of the in-group as positive or negative, can be a determinant of self-concept.

In terms of gender self-concept, it has been found in a study that the largest factor influencing self-esteem seems to be how a person's scores on psychological masculinity. Therefore, a person having high masculinity will have a more positive self-concept (Sears, et al., 1994).

2.4 THE STRUCTURE OF SELF-CONCEPT

We turn from a general discussion of literature regarding the development of self-concept to a detailed examination of the structure of self-concept which the author believes to be relevant to the present research.

Self-concept is not a single trait, but consists of seven features outlined by Shavelson et al. (1976). According to this self-concept can be outlined as: organised, multifaceted, hierarchical, stable, developmental, evaluative and differentiable. These features will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, a person's self-concept is organised and structured because it is suggested that humans have to do so. A person is subjected to a wealth of stimuli in his/her life and must make some sense of this, especially if these experiences are the building blocks of the self. Therefore the person "re-codes" (Shavelson, et al., 1976, p. 411) these experiences in different forms, or categorises them. An important factor highlighted by Shavelson et al. is that the manner in which a person would categorise his/her life experiences would be determined by culture. Categories are a way of organising experiences and giving them meaning. They state, for example, that a child's experiences revolve around his/her family, friends, and school, because these are integral aspects of childhood. But what would happen to the categorising of the child's experiences if violence, such as that in South

Africa, was a part of everyday life ?

Second, self-concept is multi-faceted and the specific facets thereof reflect the categorising system which the person has adopted. These facets could also be shared by groups. These categories could include aspects such as academic self-concept, social self-concept, emotional self-concept and physical self-concept. According to Samuels (1977) the self-concept consists of four dimensions. First, there is the body image which comprises both the physical and sexual body image. Second there is the social self, consisting of racial, ethnic, cultural and religious components. Thirdly, children's attitudes toward themselves, as well as their knowledge of themselves, result from their increasing cognitive growth and the attitudes of those around them. This is known as the cognitive self. Fourth is self-esteem, the evaluative sector of the self-concept which has to do with feelings of self worth, competence and the sense of belonging. Certainly there would be varying and possibly additional categories in different groups of people. These traits include self definition, self-esteem, potency and values and are all involved in an interplay within the self and between the self and the world (Gordon, 1975).

Third, the multifaceted structure of self-concept may be hierarchical on a dimension of generality. A simple diagram is suggested by Shavelson et al. (see Figure 1). According to this diagram facets of self-concept may form a hierarchy from individual experiences in specific situations at the base of the hierarchy to general self-concept at the apex. Following this it could be suggested that this diagram can be extended horizontally to include a myriad of factors and influences. Again self-concept would be situation and person specific.

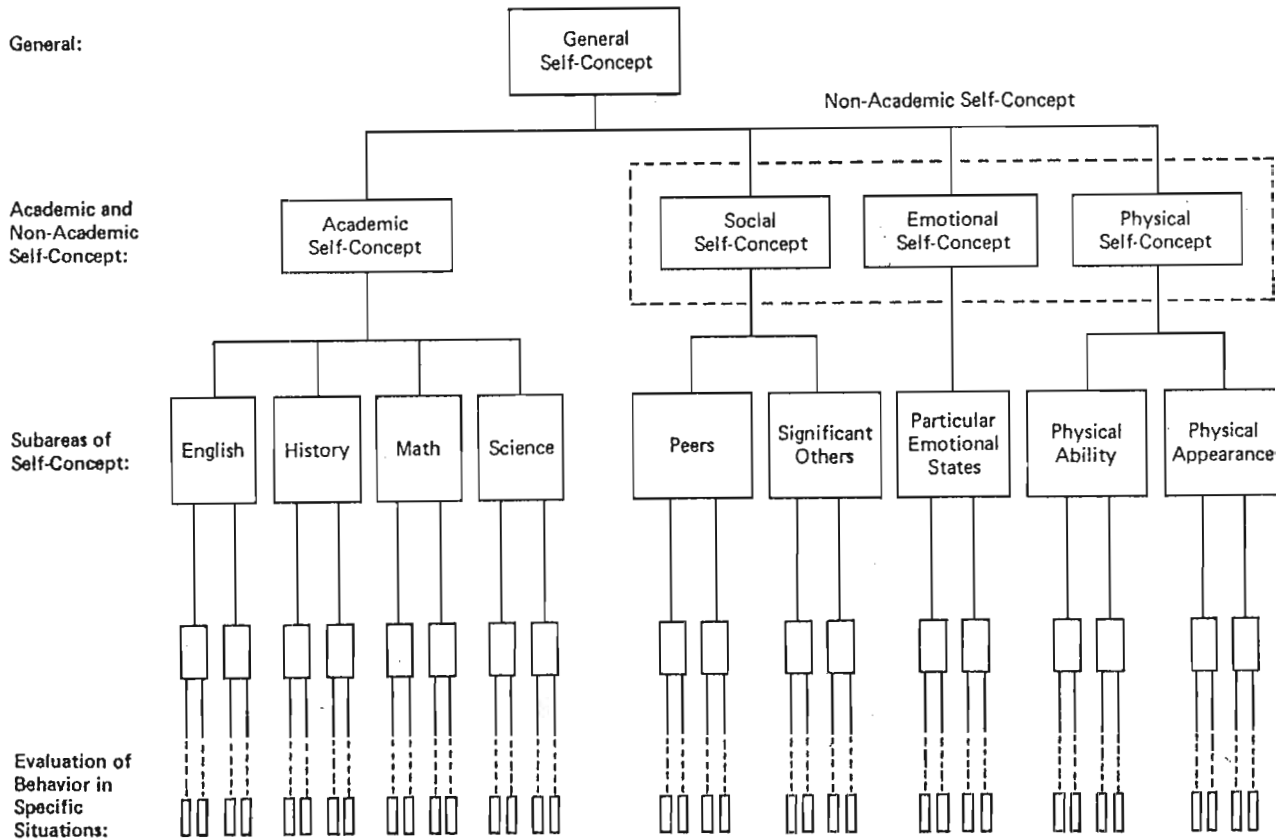


Figure 1. The Multifaceted Structure of Self-Concept

Fourth, general self-concept is stable. As one goes down the self-concept hierarchy the self-concept would increasingly depend on specific situations and therefore become less stable. At the base of the hierarchy self-concept would be greatly influenced in different situations. Additionally changes at lower levels would probably be attenuated by conceptualisations at higher levels. Therefore self-concept would be resistant to changes and general self-concept would tend to be altered only under circumstances of severe trauma.

A fifth feature of self-concept is the so called developmental aspect. Sullivan (1953) applies the evaluation of the self and environment and interaction with the environment and significant others in his theory of human personality development. He states that self-

concept development begins during infancy and progresses gradually as the individual moves through different phases of life. As mentioned earlier, infants tend not to differentiate between themselves and the environment. As the infant matures and learns from his increasing store of experiences, differentiation of the self from the environment begins. The infant learns to distinguish between the self and the outside world by discovering that his body is separate from other objects. During his childhood the individual becomes more conscious of himself as an independent being. Shavelson et al. (1976) suggest that the self-concepts of young children are global, undifferentiated and situation specific. With increasing age and experience, self-concept becomes increasingly differentiated.

Sixth, is the evaluative aspect. According to Sullivan (1953), significant others, the environment, constitutional factors (for example, drives) and anxiety influence the development of self-concept through evaluation of the self by the individual. The individual does not only form a particular description of himself, but also evaluates himself in particular situations. Evaluations can be made against absolute standards, like the ideal, and they can be made against relative standards such as those set by peers or the perceived evaluations of others. The evaluative aspect can also vary in importance for different individuals and situations. Sears, Peplau, Freedman and Taylor, (1988) suggest that humans have a need to affiliate with others and they affiliate to compare their own feelings with those of others in the same situation. When confronted with a new and strange situation people turn to others as a source of information. Sears, et al. also suggest that people have a drive to evaluate themselves and in the absence of objective non-social criteria they evaluate themselves by comparing themselves with other people. This is termed social comparison. It is possible that the situation of political violence can hold great importance and influence in the way individuals affiliate and evaluate themselves.

Included under the evaluative aspect, components of self-evaluation are symbolic-interaction, self-reflection and the observation of own behaviour (Jordaan & Jordaan, 1984).

Symbolic-interaction, as previously mentioned, entails self-evaluation based on the interaction between individuals, that is, they would evaluate themselves in terms of how others (especially significant others) react to and evaluate them.

Self-reflection occurs when individuals ask themselves questions about themselves, for example, "Who am I?". These questions often have to do with a discrepancy between the acceptable "good me" that the individual maintains in order to get the acceptance of others, while being aware of the competing and unacceptable "bad me".

If one would want to know what someone is like, or what they feel or think, one draws certain conclusions based on their behaviour. Self-knowledge is based on the same principle. Thus, a person would know who or what he/she is, based on what kind of behaviour he/she performs. The result of this self-evaluation can be termed "the products of self-evaluation" or the self-concept, according to Jordaan and Jordaan (1984) consisting of the following polarised entities:

i.) Self-insight vs. self-deception

Self-insight is achieved when the correlation between what a person thinks he is and what he really is, is high. Self-deception occurs when this correlation is low.

ii.) Realistic vs. unrealistic self-ideal

The self-ideal consists of the physical, psychological and social characteristics a person would like to have. This is greatly influenced by the individual's level of self-insight. When the level of self-insight is low, an unrealistic self-ideal results (that is, the correlation between what the person is like and what he/she thinks he/she is like is minimal) and when self-insight is higher the self-ideal is more likely to be realistic.

iii.) Self-identity vs. self-estrangement

Self-identity consists of the personal self-identity and the social or public self-identity. The personal self-identity consists of a feeling of continuity and unity with regard to physical, psychological and social characteristics. When there is a discontinuity and diffusion in the individual's physical, psychological and social characteristics, self-estrangement occurs.

iv.) Self-esteem vs. self-contempt

Self-esteem can be described as relatively consistent positive feelings about the self. A person with a strong self-esteem is relatively happy with his/her physical, psychological and social characteristics. This person would also be certain of his/her value as a person. Self-contempt can then be described as the relatively constant negative feelings about the self, that is, low self-esteem.

The seventh feature of self-concept is that it is differentiable from the other constructs with which it is theoretically related (Shavelson, et al., 1976). For example, self-concept is influenced by specific experiences. That is why the closer self-concept is linked with specific situations, the closer the relationship between self-concept and the behaviour in that situation will be. Thus, it could be assumed that the closer the link between violence and self-concept, the closer the relationship between violence and the behaviour in the violence situation would be.

Self-concept is complex and consists of several smaller concepts that are integrated into the person's self-concept. Each individual's self-concept is unique and therefore is different from the self-concept of other individuals. Self-concept is the core of the self and is an organised configuration of self-conceptions. It is dynamic and develops cognitively and affectively as a result of the child's experiences in life (Raath & Jacobs, 1990). Self-

concept is therefore not an isolated component of a person's life but it is integrated with everything that happens to a person throughout his/her life. It is thus integrated with the self which is the unique view everyone has of him/herself and his/her world.

2.5 A MODEL OF SELF-CONCEPT

After examination of the structure of self-concept the author now turns to a specific discussion of a model which attempts to link the practical reality of the world around the individual with the theoretical aspects of self-concept development. While it is not always possible to fully integrate the available theory into a model of self-concept, the aim of this section is to integrate aspects the author believes to be cogent and relevant to the present research.

When one considers the environment in which persons find themselves it may be possible to investigate certain factors which come into play in the formation of the self-concept. One can also isolate certain components of the self-concept and how these components interact to form the total or general self-concept which Shavelson et al. (1976) refer to. By operationalising the model of Shavelson et al. one could use it as a background for investigating or researching self-concept.

When considering Figure 2 one can take general self-concept as central, constituted of various components, such as described in previous sections. These components can interact with one another to influence each other and in turn influence the general self-concept. These components will be discussed in the following section.

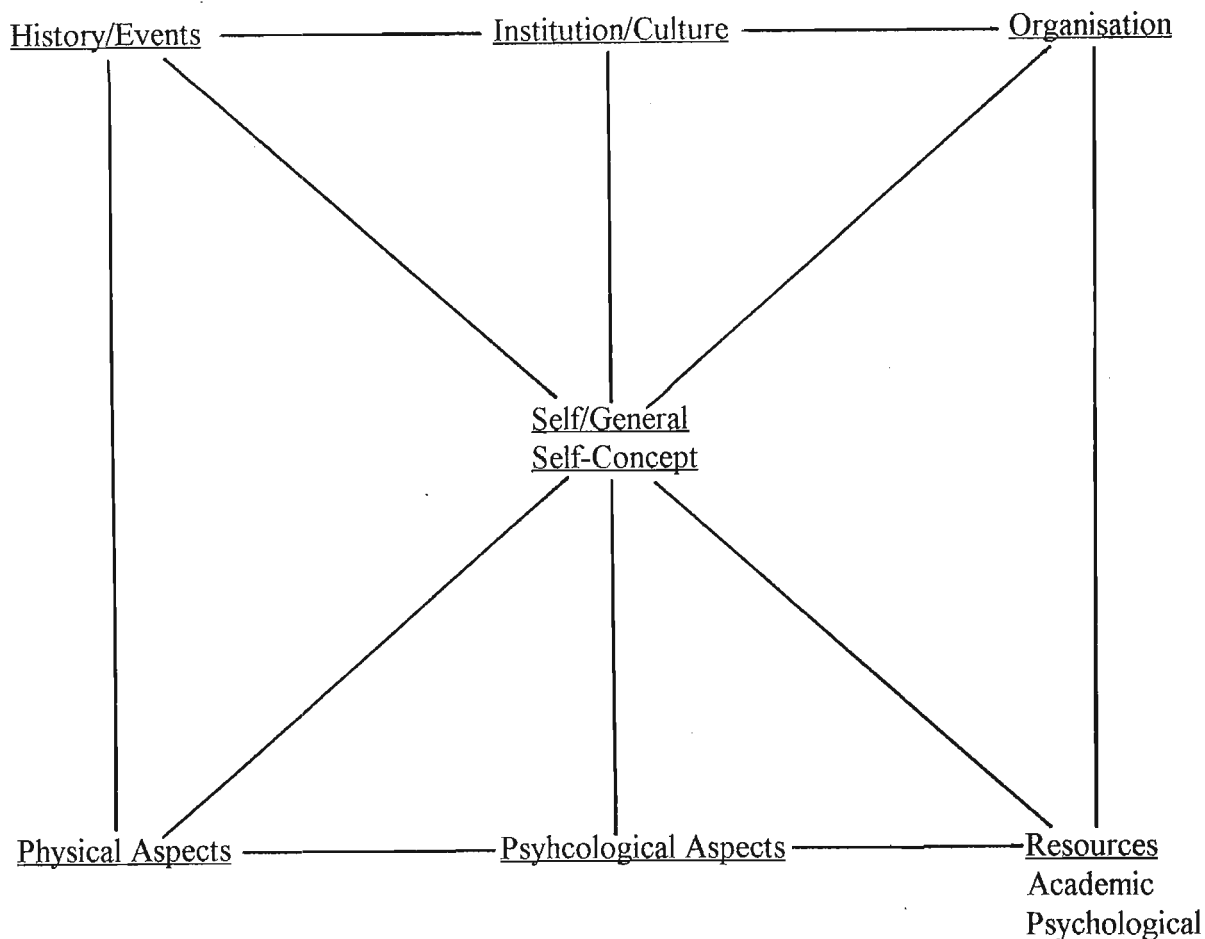


Figure 2. Model of Self-Concept

2.5.1 Life Experiences or History

According to the previously discussed psychoanalytic, symbolic interaction and sociological theories, events that occur in a person's life are important in that they form a basis of experience which feeds into various aspects of the self. Daily events like school or working can constitute an experience, as well as witnessing violence. As suggested earlier by Horney's psychoanalytic viewpoint, the feelings and attitudes of humans are moulded largely by the conditions under which they live (Horney, 1968). Bruner's sociological viewpoint suggests that the degree to which a person reacts to the event can determine how he/she will cope therewith. Thus, previous experience, or the lack thereof together with the mastering of previously experienced problems may possibly determine whether or

how a person will react (Anglin, 1973). Vygotsky (1978) also laid emphasis on the importance of social relations in the construction of consciousness which is likened to self and self-concept. Horney (1968) also suggests that certain negative life events can wound self-esteem by humiliating the individual. The manner in which life events are experienced is also important as individuals can experience the same event in different ways.

In the category of experience are grouped those events which happen at school, home (regarding the family), violence, social (for example, witnessing theft, or doing wrong), doings of peers which influence the individual, physical events (for example, disturbances when trying to sleep), and abnormal behaviour or psychopathology (for example, doing things that are strange when compared to other children).

An example of the effects of life experiences is a study by Alawiye, Alawiye and Thomas (1990) examining the self-concepts of elementary school children from Ghana and Gambia. This study found that grade level was the most potent variable in the self-concept development of the subjects tested. This implies that schooling may make a difference in children's perceptions of themselves. This study also found that the self-concepts of Gambian boys were higher than girls regarding peer relations, academic success, and school adaptiveness. This finding opposes those of studies conducted in the United States and other countries (Alawiye et al., 1990). Alawiye, et al. also found that the effect of grade level on self-concept was associated with their nationality, indicating differences, possibly, in the cultural and educational patterns of the two groups. This may also shed some light on the possibility of variations in the self-concepts of black children in South Africa when compared to those of other nations. Mean scores in this study showed relatively high and stable self-esteem of the Ghanaian and Gambian children in physical maturity, peer relations, and academic self-concepts. It is therefore possible that school experiences affect the self-concept of children from different cultures in similar ways.

2.5.2 Institution or Culture

Again psychoanalytic and sociological thinking have an influence here. The culture of an individual can act as a filter for the intake of experiences and as a determinant of a person's behaviour. According to psychoanalytic thinking the superego plays a role in this regard. Freud suggested that the superego represents the internalisation of parental authority as well as the social and ethical rules of the culture (Salkind, 1985). As mentioned earlier the superego is a kind of internal conscience. Its development results from resolving certain conflicts with parents, the demands placed on the ego, and the experiences individuals have had with their parents. Horney (1968) also highlighted the influence that culture can have.

Through the functioning of the superego, culture moderates behaviour to be in line with the individual's institution. "An individual's self-concept is formed when he can see himself through his institutions and learns social reciprocity rules." (Hurlock, 1968, p 296). The extent to which a person feels he/she belongs to a certain culture could be a determinant of cultural self-concept or a sense of belonging and identification (Gecas, 1982) with cultural mores.

Sociological theory suggests that culture is noticeable as the characteristic behaviours of groups of people (Beals, Hoijer & Beals, 1977). If Vygotsky's notion of the importance of social relations is true, culture should have an important effect on the development of a child's self-concept. Vygotsky suggested that intrapsychological functioning in different cultures may differ, highlighting the importance of culture in the formation of social self (Hart, Kohlberg & Wertsch, 1987). For example, the acceptance of traditional chores, male/female roles, social activities like play and leisure activities which are determined by one's institution, can indicate identification with one's culture. Also included here would be the cultural aspirations or strivings, human relations, male or female expectations, need for luxuries, family relations (Raath & Jacobs, 1990), the individual's view on discipline or punishment reflecting moral identification (Raath & Jacobs, 1990), role identity (for example, doing the things boys/girls in our culture do), individuation (Burns, 1979),

popularity, and the religion and myth which each culture subscribes to.

Thus, an individual's self-concept can be influenced by the institution he/she belongs to. It follows then that a person who identifies with the institutions imposed on him/her may feel more secure in this and exhibit a more positive self-concept. Conversely the person who does not identify with the norms, values, etc. of his/her institution may exhibit negative self-concept when relating to the institution.

2.5.3 Organisation

Belonging to an organisation can affirm the self-concept. Psychoanalytic theory argues that individuals' sense of self originate from their socio-economic role (Fromm, 1959). Furthermore, Fromm suggests that individuals would not experience themselves as persons, but as fulfilling part of the social system or organisation. For example, the child who aspires to or identifies with a certain career may indicate the need to belong to a certain organisation. Simultaneously this provides the individual with resources, both physical (in the form of remuneration) and psychological (in the form of self-esteem, happiness and satisfaction). The organisational aspect of self-concept may be important in that it either strengthens or weakens components such as the psychological component of self-concept (self-esteem, satisfaction, emotions and anxiety) and conforms to the expectations or roles prescribed by the institution.

The sociological viewpoint embodies Vygotsky and Babbie's notions that organisation refers to social structure which includes relationships between people, individually and in groups, formal organisations, and social systems. This would include beliefs, norms, values, and social sanctions (Babbie, 1994). As suggested earlier, in addition to being a part of the social structure the individual also has certain aspirations. However, the extent to which the individual can comply to the requirements of the social structure will determine his/her sense of belonging to it. People will view members of their society according to their standing in and their belonging to the social structure. Through human interaction and feedback mechanisms this may influence self-concept. For example, a child who aspires to a socially desirable or acceptable career can be seen as needing to belong

to the social structure. If he/she cannot attain his/her goal it may have a negative effect on his/her sense of self and belonging. A child could also feel academically inferior and may therefore feel inadequate, compensating by not wanting to belong. Social psychological theory also suggests that individuals strive for positive self-concept and derive this from their social identity in the "in-group".

Organisation relates to aspects such as power, male or female career orientatedness, the need for work, family, and scholastic. Within the concept of power, Burns (1979), includes such concepts as locus of control (mastery of the external world) and self-efficacy (for example, "I have more power than my peers").

2.5.4 Psychological Resources

These include, as previously mentioned, self-esteem, happiness, satisfaction, emotions (mood), anxiety - as may be expressed by the need for transitional objects relevant to attachment theory (Piers, 1984), and psychological defences (for example, denial). Burns (1979) includes centrality, which is an inward versus an outward orientation, impulse control, and the child's psychological adjustment. This would include coping with everyday happenings, work and social relations.

As mentioned earlier, self-esteem is linked to whether a person sees his/her personal self as adequate or inadequate and whether the individual sees himself/herself as valuable or not, that is, his/her sense of worth (Gecas, 1982). It is defined by Ziller, Hagey and Smith (1969) as a person's perception of his worth. The individual has access to comparisons of himself/herself and significant others. Therefore, the person can evaluate himself/herself in terms of his/her social reality. Thus, Ziller et al. suggest, that if the social environment changes, a person's self-esteem can change. Ziller, et al. have found that self-acceptance and social acceptance are combined.

According to many theories psychological resources are influenced by the parent-child relationships. Behaviourist theory lays emphasis on the conditioning effect of parental

attention on the development of self-concept. Attachment theory suggests that the early formation of an attachment relationship with the mother is important for the development of a sense of security within the child and later is generalised to relationships with other people. According to Eriksonian theory the degree to which parents accept and acknowledge the child's mastery of early developmental tasks would determine and influence the child's positive view of self. Later interaction with other people also become important in the reinforcement of the child's sense of mastery. Psychoanalytic theory and specifically Freud's theory lays emphasis on the relationship between the child and parent in resolving developmental tasks as well in the formation of the ego and superego.

2.5.5 Academic Resources

According to Attachment theory, second to home and family, school is the next most important factor influencing self-concept. Eriksonian theory also suggests that a child's self-concept will be influenced by success in school work. Therefore, a child's ability to cope academically or cognitively can determine his/her academic resources which in turn possibly influence self-concept (Burns, 1979). For example, the child who has little academic ability may feel inferior regarding his/her academic ability when compared to people who are academically superior. Other aspects may include the literacy or the lack thereof (the need to read), and academic aspirations.

According to a study of academic self-concept performed by Chapman (1984), it was found that females reported more positive perceptions regarding school satisfaction, reading and spelling, and neatness. This was most likely due to the fact that males have more difficulties in primary schooling than females. Burns (1982) suggests that the classroom environment may be seen as a more feminine setting by males. Consequently males may have to cope with more failures (reading, spelling and neatness) in a "female" setting, making it more difficult to maintain positive self-concept. It may therefore, be hard to examine the influence of violence on academic self-concept. Indirectly, the consequences of witnessing or experiencing violence may lead to poor or deteriorated school performance which in turn may have a negative influence on the academic self-

concept of the individual involved.

2.5.6 Physical or Bodily Aspects

This implies the way a person may feel or regard his/her physical (that is, bodily) aspects. Through the evaluative aspect of the formation of self-concept the individual may evaluate him/herself on a physical level. According to Sullivan (1953) evaluations can be made against absolute standards, like the ideal, and they can be made against relative standards such as those set by peers or the perceived evaluations of others. This is not only influenced by appearance, but by body satisfaction, clothing, and physical ailments or complaints such as fatigue. There may be a link here with psychological aspects as an individual may, for example, feel unhappy or anxious when ill or when being overweight (Raath & Jacobs, 1990). If the individual also experiences an ailment this may affect physical self-concept.

2.6 RESEARCH IN THE AREA OF VIOLENCE

For the purposes of this study it is also necessary to discuss certain aspects which may have an influence on a study of violence in South Africa. The following sections will briefly discuss important aspects in this regard.

2.6.1 Problems with Research on Violence

Dawes (1994) listed several aspects which make any research on the effects of violence very difficult.

First, political violence is a general term and it may take many forms. Therefore, it will have various psychological effects. It is important to specify what type of violence is being studied.

Second, comparisons should not be drawn between the South African situation and other places in the world. Consideration should be given to the differences between situations

all over the world.

Third, a study should define what is meant by the word "child" as children over various age levels are at different stages of development and exhibit different psychological characteristics.

Fourth, methodology can prove to be problematic. It is frequently dangerous to conduct research in areas of violence and due to the chaotic state of these areas it may be hard to achieve consistency and appropriate sampling and controls. The climate of fear and suspicion which is present in these societies often spoils the perfect, trouble-free co-operation of subjects.

According to Dawes (1994) there are also ethical issues with this type of research. Dawes asks whether it is fair to probe already stressed subjects for responses which may have little or no benefit for them. "Research is inevitably an intrusive process, and it is an important ethical issue to determine whose interests will be best served by the investigation." (Dawes, 1994, p. 180)

The mentioned problems have created complications with most research conducted in troubled societies. This does to a certain degree explain why this type of research does not conform to the rigorous criteria for vigorous research.

Fifth, there is a lack of "theoretical coherence" (Dawes, 1994, p. 180) in the field. This implies that it is difficult to justify or explain procedures and results purely based on theory. Therefore the author has attempted an exploratory approach in this study. In this dissertation open-ended projective techniques, as well as structured questionnaires were utilised.

2.6.2 Defining Violence

As mentioned earlier violence should be defined in order to study it. According to Goode (1984) the definition of acts that constitute violence depends on who is defining it. Generally speaking violence is defined as the violation of an individual in some way where harm is done to the individual's "body, dignity, autonomy, freedom." (p. 204). Thus, violence can be covert institutional violence where no physical harm is done to a person, but where a person receives psychological damage. Goode also suggests that the definition of violence additionally depends on what they see as legitimate or illegitimate, justified or unjustified, excusable or inexcusable actions taken against another individual or individuals. Violence can therefore be described as actions which cause harm to or threaten to cause harm to or violate an individual physically, psychologically, and socially. What we see as violent can be influenced by our cultural, political, and moral viewpoint.

Violence can have many causes which may or may not include socio-biological, ethological (i.e. instinctive and intrinsic), and cultural (Goode, 1984). It can occur within the family situation or it can be criminally or politically motivated.

Most violence occurs in families with the major causal factors being unemployment, poverty, lack of education and stress (Steele, 1976). Family violence includes wife battering, physical abuse of children, sexual abuse and incest. Child abuse is divided into two parts by Browne (1989). Firstly, active abuse, which involves violent acts in physical, emotional or sexual contexts. Secondly, passive abuse, which is not violent as such, but can cause physical or emotional injury.

Criminal violence involves directly injurious behaviour which is against the law, such as assault, robbery, murder, and rape (Hollin & Howells, 1989). The chances of homicide taking place are also heightened by poverty and stress. Goode (1984) found that the highest incidence of homicide in the world takes place in South Africa.

Political violence happens mainly outside the family context, usually in groups, but can affect families and may include criminal acts such as assault, robbery, and murder.

It is important to note that these different forms of violence have similar effects on children. Child abuse and community violence were found to have similar effects in children in that they both are pervasive and give rise to chronic stress (Putnam & Trickett, 1993). Therefore, both child abuse and community violence will tap similar coping mechanisms such as daydreaming or fantasy, continual vigilance, anxiety, and dissociation. Putnam and Trickett feel that the difference between child abuse and community violence lies in the family support which is available to the child. Most victims of community violence can count on the relative safety of their homes and families whereas victims of child abuse see their homes as places of danger. They have also found that victims of child abuse may suffer more from disturbances of their sense of self than those of community violence as their bodily boundaries are violated repeatedly.

Martinez and Richters (1993) have found that children who are exposed to community violence as well as family violence are at greater risk for showing symptoms of distress especially if their parents are less educated. Community violence can also affect the family situation in that parents cannot provide the nurturing, protection and reassurance which they would under normal circumstances affecting the developmental sequences of children (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993).

For the purposes of the present study political violence will be discussed in detail.

One of the earliest manifestations of political violence in South Africa started in 1976 when the uprising against "Bantu Education" sparked violence in Soweto which spread to other parts of South Africa (Chikane, 1986). This included the shooting, killing, and jailing of township children.

According to Dawes (1994) political violence in South Africa has many forms and has changed in character over the years. During the 1980's a trend of increasing violence

accompanied by a heightened resistance against the apartheid state was noted. This was manifested by government crackdowns on the one hand and armed attacks by liberation movements on the other hand. During this period political violence took the form of confrontations with security forces during demonstrations of resistance, and detention without trial. Schools were also used as platforms for political struggle bringing violence even closer to children. In the 1990's the manifestations of political violence turned inwards among divided communities. People were violently attacked in townships by unknown political forces breeding increasing panic and distrust amongst communities to a point where the origins and causes of instances of South African political violence have become diffuse. This state of political violence has formed the backdrop against which many black children have to grow up. It is this form of pervasive and self-perpetuating violence that will be investigated for the purposes of this study.

2.6.3 The Psychological Effects of Violence

The majority of studies on the effects of violence have followed psychiatric thinking searching mostly for traces of psychopathology (Dawes, 1994). These studies on the effects of violence have found that effects include intrusive thoughts, fear of recurrence, difficulty concentrating, depression, psychosomatic disturbances, and other symptoms associated with post-traumatic stress (Martinez & Richters, 1993).

The effects that political violence in South Africa may have on children are varied (Chikane, 1986). As the life of the township child is extremely violent they may spend their time thinking of ways to avoid violence. They may show adaptive behaviour patterns such as moving in groups to ensure safety. The children who are not very politically active are sometimes forced by the pervasive atmosphere of violence into becoming more politically active than they would like to be. Eventually Chikane concludes that this ethos of violence will harm children's social, physical, spiritual, moral, and mental development. Finally they will find violence acceptable as part of their lives, attaching little value to human life.

Dawes (1994) warns, however that the effects of political violence may not be limited to a simple mechanical cause and effect relationship. Violence could have no effect at all but make a child more sensitive to future exposures to violence (sensitising effect) or a child could be left more resilient to the effects of future experiences of violence (steeling effect). A child could show signs of his/her ordeals in adulthood (sleeper effect). Additionally, delayed effects can also be caused by certain associated triggers in the form of symbolic events which are based in the child's previous experience of violence.

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There are certain mediating factors which moderate the effects that violence may have on the young child and increase the steeling effect. These include quality of early bonding relationships, positive family relationships early in life, and easy temperaments when young. These factors include resilience and coping which are enhanced by the availability of a close individual who can provide emotional support. Additionally, "the availability of someone who can allow the child to express his/her reaction in culturally appropriate ways is helpful and containing," (Dawes, 1994, p. 184) especially with young children. The resilience and ability of the primary caretaker to contain emotions is an important protecting factor. According to Dawes the child who has had adequate support before, during, and after exposure to political violence should not show significant distress symptoms. The child who has suffered injury and imprisonment during political violence may even feel a sense of pride and commitment to a struggle.

Furthermore, Crocker and Major (in Hillman, Wood & Sawilowsky, 1992) point out that members of a stigmatised group are frequently predicted to have low self-esteem. Evidence, however, suggests that members of these groups have high self-esteem. Hillman, et al. suggest that a reduced sense of personal responsibility, through attributing failure to external sources (for example, oppression, poverty, violence), maintains a positive self-esteem. Alternatively, the disadvantaged and traumatised may learn or be forced by circumstances to adopt an external locus of control attitude in order to maintain self-esteem. Therefore an external locus of control developed by the children in this study may be an adaptive mechanism to maintain self-esteem.

Cross (1987) has also found that minority status does not result in automatic inferiorisation as popularly believed. He suggests that black children start school with a strong self-concept. For e.g., it is suggested that, rather than through membership of a minority group, it is through racism, ethnocentrism and poverty that the child is prevented from adequately forming an adequate academic self-concept (Rosenthal, 1987). This happens simply because the components which are present in the middle class to facilitate learning are not present. Rosenthal feels that wherever a link between self-concept and minority group membership has been shown, the link has been positive.

According to Barbarin (1993) the relationship between self-concept and membership of minority groups is mediated by the parent-child relationship. Therefore minority group status only has an effect on self-concept through the way in which it influences the parent-child relationship. Rovner (1981) suggests that socio-economic status influences parental supportiveness, especially with regard to male children, which in turn has an effect on the self-esteem component of self-concept.

Rovner (1991) suggests that since the comparison reference group which a child uses to evaluate him/herself is usually within his/her cultural group there should be little negative influence on self-concept from other groups. "The most powerful evaluations come from one's own group which is normally consonant with oneself and thus will not downgrade ethno-cultural features, but rather affirm them." (Rovner, 1991, p. 431)

Phinney and Chavira (1992) also found that there is a significant relationship between the self-esteem component of self-concept and ethnic identity. They suggested that ethnic identity is important because of its relationship to psychological well being of ethnic minority group members. Phinney and Chavira suggest that that self-esteem is increased by ethnic identity through providing a sense of belonging and by acting as a buffer against the negative impact of experiences such as discrimination. It is also suggested that strong support from the family is an important factor.

It also may be possible that higher self-esteem is related to higher ethnic identity (Phinney & Chavira, 1992) and that a spiral effect is possible whereby a strong ethnic identity leads to high self-esteem which in turn strengthens ethnic identity.

The transitive quality of some stressful events is cited by Dawes (1994) as an important determinant of the effects of political violence. Violence which has severe and permanent features such as the death of a parent are likely to have a more severe effect on the child than violence which results in less important losses. Other contributing factors which lead to distress symptoms in the wake of political violence include lack of support during and after experiencing violence, the loss of a parent without the possibility of supportive relatives who can take care of the child, and experiencing continuous trauma and loss. When the caretakers of children who have been exposed to political violence show distress symptoms these children are also more likely to show distress symptoms.

2.7 SELF-CONCEPT AND STRESS

In order to find a link between self-concept and violence it may be useful to explore the link between self-concept and stress.

Corson (1989) states that stress reactions vary between individuals and situations. Thus, their experiences of stressors vary. Corson suggests that self-concept is affected with each instance in which a person interacts with a particular stressor and experiences a particular stress response. It is suggested that self-concept and stress experienced are in "constant flux" (Corson, 1989, p. 7).

Corson (1989) does suggest some stability of constructs relating to self-concept, which influence the reaction to stressful situations.

First, there is the compelling situation which captures the attention of the individual in his/her life. The events happening in this situation may then lead to specific types of

behaviour which are linked to, and reciprocally influence the sequences of interactions with the environment in which the individual finds him/herself. Corson equates stressors with compelling situations and states that some of these situations are universally stressful. It is the universally compelling situations or stressors which provide the contexts in which the stable aspects of personality emerge.

Second, Corson refers to the possible self which, simply put, is the self which a person would like to be in the future. For example, a person could say "I want to be ready for him the next time he tries to intimidate me". The extent to which the person could act according to this possible self premise would be indicative of stable aspects of the self. Therefore the psychological resources of an individual would be expressed in behaviours. Similarly, behaviours or reactions would be determined by psychological resources such as self-concept in this case.

Third, there is the working self. This is the self-concept which is actually present in the here and now. The possible self may appear in the working self but would disappear after short periods. As explained earlier, self-concept is a conglomerate of meanings and perceptions, formed by past experience, which influence the development, behaviour and future perceptions of a person. Thus formed by experience, it "filters" development and experiences. Since self-concept is a collection of generalisations about the self from past experience, it helps the individual to integrate and explain his or her behaviour. It is suggested that in various situations of stress, various aspects of the working self would be in operation.

Fourth, the "essential audience" (Corson, 1989, p. 18) are those significant others who provide the feedback for the behaviour. The role of the essential audience forms in the early years of life when parents give an infant attention and he or she responds to this attention in a certain manner. It represents the internalisation of certain aspects of parental attention. In past experiences, events and processes which are identifiable, underlie and steer the development of the self-concept, including possible selves. Labels given to children by parents are possible selves, and so are negative reinforcements. It is then

possible that a child who has experienced violence has developed a possible self which is anxious and fearful. Thus, the development of self-concept is influenced.

Finally, it is noted that individuals are all "personal scientists" in that they work and battle to make sense of the world (Kelly, in Corson, 1989, p 19). A person would hereby develop a structure which he or she could use to make life a little more predictable and "internalise-able". It is then obvious to imagine the effects of certain compelling situations on the outlook of youngsters. They may intellectualise stressful experiences as part of their lives in order to lessen the effects of these events.

2.8 SELF-CONCEPT ASSESSMENT

In addition to reviewing the theoretical perspectives used in this study it is also important of be aware of the pitfalls which may make research on self-concept difficult. Perhaps it is most noteworthy that the interpretation of self-concept measures may not be valid (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976). Shavelson et al. suggest that there are three reasons why this is so.

Firstly, definitions of self-concept are not precise and change from the one study to the next. This lack of precision results in difficulty of identifying the population of self-concept items from which a proper representative sample would be drawn for the research instrument which the researcher would want to use. It is also hard to identify the population of subjects for which the instruments and interpretations would be suitable. In a review of self-concept definitions Shavelson et al. also found that there were seventeen conceptual dimensions on which these definitions could be classified.

Secondly, it is hard to interpret self-concept data or measures because data is not available on the equivalence of different self-concept measurement instruments. Often researchers have to develop their own instruments for their specific area of study, hence the development of numerous different self-concept measurement instruments (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976). Thus the shortage of scientifically proven equivalence between

self-concept measures makes it hard, even impossible to generalise between studies which have used different instruments.

Thirdly, there is no data available to test rival counter-interpretations. This happens because of the effects of social desirability of subjects in responding to instruments. Self-evaluative tests, such as the Piers-Harris, are not immune against criticism regarding the intentions of the respondents.

For the purposes of this study three self-concept measures will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.9 RATIONALE

American studies have documented the psychological effects of family, criminal and community violence. They have found that violence has a definite effect on the emotional well being of children. While these studies touch on the effects of violence on self-concept, none have considered the effects of political violence as such on self-concept. Recent South African studies have also started to explore the possible effects of violence on black children but also have not examined self-concept as such.

At the time of writing the research proposal for the present study little research regarding the development of self-concept in black South African children was available. In the review of literature it was found that the development of self-concept is influenced by certain factors. These include family relationships, relationships with significant others, life experiences, culture, influences of the organisation that individuals belong to, psychological resources, academic resources, and physical aspects. It has been demonstrated that certain types of violence in turn may influence the development of self-concept through the disruption of these factors which contribute to the formation of self-concept of black children. Therefore, the link between self-concept and violence may be indirect.

This study aims to explore the effects that political violence might have had on the

development of self-concept of black children in South Africa. It is not clear what influence the current violence, political oppression and poverty in South Africa has had on the development of the black child's self-concept. This study would try to determine this effect by looking at how the factors which form self-concept are influenced by political violence. By comparing the self-concepts of children who have been exposed to political violence with those of children who have not it would be possible to see differences more clearly.

The author proposes to compare two groups, one violence and one non-violence group, with regard to self-concept and those factors which influence self-concept on an exploratory level. Through this method the author will attempt to determine how these factors may have been influenced by political violence. Additionally, a self-concept scale will be used to determine differences in self-concept between children who have been exposed to political violence and children who have not. Thus self-concept and the factors influencing self-concept will be studied.

This study would attempt to explore how the above mentioned factors which contribute to self-concept may have been influenced by political violence by using unstructured methods. Thereafter structured measures of self-concept as such may be used to determine the differences in self-concept between children who have been exposed to political violence as opposed to those who have not been exposed to violence. It therefore seemed appropriate to adopt an exploratory approach in the present study. This would enable the author to elicit relevant aspects and pointers to future research regarding self-concept and violence. Special consideration was given to problems in this area of research and the research method used.

2.9.1 AIMS

The aims of this study are therefore

- i.) To explore the effect of political violence on the development of self-concept in the black child,
- ii.) To explore other factors which may influence the development of self-concept in black children.

2.9.2 IMPLICATIONS

This is an exploratory study which may yield the following:

- i) A better understanding of the development of self-concept in the black child;
- ii) Possible insights into the relationship between political violence and the self-concept of the black child;
- iii) The applicability of current theories of self-concept development to black children;
- iv) Possible findings with regard to the validity of using current psychometric instruments such as the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale with black children; and
- v) Possible guidelines for future research and applications for cross-cultural research methodology.

2.10 SUMMARY

In this section various theories of self-concept development were discussed. Research findings suggest that familial influences have a profound effect on the development of the children's self-concept. This lays the baseline for the experience of certain life events which also affect self-concept to different degrees. Among the most salient effects are life experiences, culture, organisation, psychological resources, academic resources, and physical aspects. Political violence in South Africa was also discussed and it is possible that political violence has an influence on these factors which form components of self-concept. Through the impact that political violence may have on these factors self-concept may be influenced.

In order to link political violence with self-concept a model of self-concept was developed. This model contained those factors which were found to theoretically contribute to self-concept formation and in turn could be influenced by political violence. It was found that self-concept is a diffuse concept which is difficult to research yielding conflicting results from various studies. The problems with self-concept assessment were discussed and it was found that a major factor contributing to the difficulty of measurement of self-concept was the lack of precise definitions thereof. Doing research in the area of violence does not make the task any easier as there are many factors which have to be taken into account. No one factor has a specific effect on self-concept. The link between self-concept and violence may lie in the effects that violence may have on various aspects which contribute to the formation of self-concept as discussed in the model. The direct application of self-concept theory in relation to the experience of violence is inappropriate, therefore extrapolations have to be made to link theory with research.

What emerges from the literature review is that the link between self-concept and violence may be indirect. The collective effect of various influences, as discussed in the model, on the development of self-concept can be affected by political violence in an indirect manner as violence impacts on so many spheres of the life of the individual and the community.

Again, this points towards an exploratory approach to the research in this area using unstructured instruments which have limitations of their own. Individual factors which contribute to the development of self-concept can be measured through quantitative methods. Other factors which cannot be measured by quantitative methods can be measured by qualitative methods such as content analysis. This study will compare two groups, one violence group and one non-violence group. Through this method the author will attempt, through unstructured methods, to determine how the factors which influence self-concept development may be affected by political violence. Additionally, a self-concept scale will be used to determine differences in self-concept between the two groups. Thus, self-concept and the factors influencing self-concept development will be studied. In Chapter 3 the quantitative and qualitative measures of self-concept used in this study are discussed as they relate to the components of self-concept discussed in the literature review.

Studies suggest that effects of political violence on children may be moderated by certain factors. Most important moderators are the effects of early bonding, social support, and the reactions to violence of significant others.

South African research in the area of self-concept and violence is a relatively new field, therefore extrapolations of the possible effects of violence were made using the results of foreign studies.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to determine the effect of violence on self-concept, two samples were drawn from the greater Natal region. Sample one consisted of subjects who were thought to be exposed to low levels of violence or no violence at all and this sample was named "The control group". Sample two consisted of subjects who were thought to be subjected to high levels of violence and named "The experimental group". Sampling techniques and instruments are discussed as they relate to the various factors influencing self-concept.

Three self-concept measures were administered to the two groups to determine the structure of each individual member's self-concept. The measures are described and their applicability is discussed. A content analysis for thematic content was conducted on the unstructured research instruments. This was performed by a qualitative analysis of the main themes of individual subjects' results. This being a relatively new area of study, qualitative analysis of some of the data seemed to be the most appropriate methodology to adopt. Hereafter, these main themes were compared to the current theories of self-concept development.

Finally, multi-variate and non-parametric statistical procedures were employed to determine the differences in self-concept between the control and experimental groups.

3.2 HYPOTHESES

Main themes from the results were compared in order to explore the following hypotheses generated from the literature review.

Null Hypothesis:

There are no significant differences in self-concept between the control and experimental groups. Violence has no significant effect on the self-concept of the black child.

Alternate Hypothesis 1:

There is a significant difference in self-concept between the control and experimental groups. Violence has a significant effect on the self-concept of the black child.

Alternate Hypothesis 2:

The control group has higher self-concept measures than the experimental group. Violence has a negative effect on the self-concept of the black child.

Alternate Hypothesis 3:

Self-concept levels in the experimental group decrease with increased exposure to violence up to a certain point where, with a further increase in exposure to violence, self-concept levels start to increase again.

In the case of Hypothesis 1 being correct, other factors which may have had some possible effects on the development of self-concept in the children were to be explored.

3.3 SUBJECTS

Male and female, Zulu speaking, black children, in the eight to ten year age group were sampled. These samples were all intended to be in the Pietermaritzburg and Vulindlela area. Permission was obtained from the Department of Education and Training (now the new National Department of Education).

Consideration was given to gender, socio-economic status, family structure (intact vs. chaotic structures) and the geographic location of subjects, with special reference to exposure to violence.

3.4 SAMPLING

The sampling procedure was conducted by obtaining a computer-generated list from the Centre for Social and Developmental Studies (University of Natal, Durban) of the incidence of violence in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area. A school from an area with a high incidence of violence and a school from an area with a low incidence of violence were selected. Within these schools pupils were sampled with the aid of The Life Events Questionnaire (Killian & Mason, 1993). Due to a limited number of pupils in the age group (between eight and ten years of age) available in the schools the maximum sample size per school which the author was able to obtain was thirty. The two schools targeted were Hilton Intermediate School in Hilton and Funulwazi Primary School in Imbali.

(Note: the experimental and control groups were re-defined, as, and for reasons, discussed in the following sections.)

3.5 INSTRUMENTS

Independent variables were the degree of exposure to violence. Moderator variables were family stressors, other stressors, and socio-economic deprivation and were controlled by three structured questionnaires (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995). All these variables were measured by the Life Events Questionnaire (Appendix A), and Socio-Economic Deprivation Questionnaires for both the pupils (Appendix B) and their teachers (Appendix C).

One structured and two unstructured self-concept measures which measured the dependent variables were employed for both samples. The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Piers, 1984) was the structured measure and the Human Figure Drawing Test (Koppitz, 1968), and Incomplete Sentences, based on the Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank (Rotter, 1950), were the unstructured measures.

These instruments were selected because they were the self-concept measures of choice in the department where the present study was conducted. The unstructured measures were used to generate hypotheses while the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale provided confirmation of these hypotheses through imperical measurement of self-concept.

Special consideration was given to the administration of instruments and all the instruments were translated into Zulu by an interpreter with a good working knowledge of psychology. Interpretation coupled with repeated back translations was used with the assistance of the Zulu Department at Pietermaritzburg University. The instruments were administered in Zulu by the interpreter in classrooms at the schools under the supervision of the author.

3.5.1 Life Events Questionnaire

(Killian & Mason, 1993)

The Life Events Questionnaire was designed by Mason (1994) and consisted of a demographic information section, a life events section, and a symptom checklist. According to Mason this questionnaire was designed by using information drawn from literature on children and violence in South Africa and was validated by psychologists working in the field of violence as being adequate for the measurement of exposure to violence. For the purposes of this study the symptom checklist component was omitted.

An indication of the reliability of the Life Events Questionnaire was determined in a pilot study by Mason (1994). For each subject the information obtained in the questionnaire was compared with corresponding information from interviews. The percentage of corresponding items where information was in agreement was calculated for each subject. It was found that an average of 81% of the information which could be compared was consistent between the interviews and the questionnaire. Mason clarified items containing ambiguities with other researchers as well as with the translator of the questionnaire. Correlations of the total Life Events score and the Life Events sub-scale scores with each other were also calculated. All the scales were found to have a positive correlation with a two-tailed significance of $p < 0.001$ (Table 1)

The Life Events Questionnaire was used in the sampling procedure to determine the level of exposure to violence of the control and experimental groups. The life events section of this questionnaire consists of four sub-scales totalling 45 items (Appendix A). They were direct (LE Scale 1) and indirect exposure to violence (LE Scale 2), family related stressors (LE Scale 3), and other stressors (LE Scale 4).

Table 1

Correlation Matrix Of Life Events Scale Scores
(Mason, 1993)

	LE Total	LE Scale 1	LE Scale 2	LE Scale 3	LE Scale 4
LE Total	1.0000	0.8386	0.8732	0.5431	0.6553
LE Scale 1	0.8386	1.0000	0.6639	0.2460	0.4172
LE Scale 2	0.8732	0.6639	1.0000	0.2972	0.4370
LE Scale 3	0.5431	0.2460	0.2972	1.0000	0.2924
LE Scale 4	0.6553	0.4172	0.4370	0.2924	1.0000

3.5.1.1 Direct Exposure to Violence

This sub scale contained 16 items (Table 4) indicating direct exposure to violence to be measured for each pupil in both the experimental and control groups. Counts were taken for the "yes" responses to the questions relating to the direct exposure to violence.

3.5.1.2 Indirect Exposure to Violence

Indirect exposure to violence was measured by 15 items in a similar manner as the direct exposure to violence and these items are given in Table 6.

3.5.1.3 Family Related Stressors

Family related stressors were determined by the following 8 items and scored by the presence thereof as with direct and indirect exposure to violence. Death of parents and/or family members, domestic arguments, being displeased by the arrival of younger siblings, not living with own family or having had to leave own family and live with others, physically beaten by parents.

3.5.1.4 Other Stressors

Other stressors were covered by the following 6 items and scored in the same manner as the above. Repeating a year at school, having been very ill, sometimes having no food at home, having had to live outdoors before, having had no house to go to, having stayed in hospital before, affiliated to a political grouping, having experienced other stressors which have made the child feel bad or unhappy.

3.5.1.5 Open-Ended Responses

Pupils who have answered "yes" to three of the questions which were open-ended were given an opportunity to expand and state examples. These open-ended questions related to the following -

- i.) the presence of violence at school,
- ii.) being in any other situations where they were harmed or afraid of being harmed, and
- iii.) whether there were any other situations which made them feel bad or unhappy.

3.5.2 Reassigning Experimental and Control Groups

Initial analysis of the results (see Appendix H) suggested that, geographically, the control and experimental groups did not differ significantly in terms of their exposure to violence as measured on the Life Events Scale (Killian and Mason, 1993). This may have been due to a number of factors such as some of the low violence area pupils being refugees from high violence areas. It was not possible to pursue the reasons for a non-significant difference between these two groups more empirically and therefore an alternate strategy was adopted. Both the control and experimental groups were re-shuffled according to individual exposure to direct and indirect forms of violence instead of geographical exposure. Therefore subjects, irrespective of the community from which the subjects were

drawn, were individually assigned to either the experimental group (high exposure to violence) or the control group (low exposure to violence) according to the following procedure.

It is noteworthy that the reassigned experimental and control groups may have mingled, i.e., through geographic relocation subjects who were not exposed to violence mixed with subjects who were previously exposed to violence. If formation of self-concept is influenced by other people with whom an individual comes into contact (Mead, 1972), this mingling may have caused a convergence in self-concept resulting in no significant differences in self-concept between the groups.

Three experienced workers within the field of trauma were asked to discuss and reach consensus on those items which could be indicative of high emotional impact on children and to indicate those items which were considered to be of low emotional impact on children living in the townships of Kwa-Zulu Natal. The rated items were then used to assign subjects into the experimental or control group. The presence of any of the items in the Life Events Questionnaire listed in Table 2 was considered to be indicative of high emotional impact in terms of exposure to violence.

In assigning subjects to the control group the absence of the items listed in Table 2 was primarily used. In addition the presence of the items of the Life Events Questionnaire listed in Table 3 were not regarded as significant due to the frequency with which these items were ticked by the subjects or for their relatively low emotional impact on the subjects.

Table 2

Items Used For Assignment to the Experimental Group

Direct exposure to violence

1. Seeing a person being killed
 2. Own house has been attacked or burned
 3. Has personally been arrested
 4. Has personally seen a family member being killed
 5. Has personally seen a friend/s being killed
 6. Has personally seen a family member being attacked
 7. Has personally been attacked
 8. Has personally been assaulted by the security forces
 9. Has personally been in jail
 10. Own house has been raided by the security forces
-

Indirect exposure to violence

1. Has been frightened by vigilantes
 2. Has been frightened by the security forces
 3. Has seen a family member being arrested
 4. Has seen friends being arrested
 5. A family member has been killed in the violence
 6. Friends have been killed in the violence
-

Table 3

Low Emotional Impact Items For Assignment to the Control Group

1. No items from Table 1 present.
-

2. Low emotional impact items:
-

Violence has occurred at own school
 Personally seen a person being assaulted
 Been in other situations where harmed or afraid of being harmed
 Personally found that life is dangerous in the townships
 Houses in the area have been attacked or burned
 Has been prevented from going to school because of the violence

3.5.3 Socio-Economic Deprivation Questionnaires

Socio-economic deprivation questionnaires for the pupils and their teachers which were based on the Socio-Economic Deprivation Questionnaire (SED Questionnaire) used in the Senior South African Individual Scale - Revised (SSAIS-R) (Van Eden, 1991). This questionnaire which was originally designed by Van Den Berg (1985) when he discovered that there was a lack of a common socio-economic deprivation scale and was first used with the Junior South African Individual Scale. His original intention was to examine the effects that socio-economic deprivation have on intelligence scores in the JSAIS and to calculate a socio-economic deprivation intelligence score. According to N.C.W. Claassen (personal communication, September 5, 1997), Van Den Berg consulted experts in the field of psychology to determine the which items would be suitable to indicate socio-economic deprivation. These items were weighted and the socio-economic deprivation of subjects was graded with increasing socio-economic deprivation with no particular cut-off point (Van Den Berg, 1985).

The SED Questionnaire provides information regarding parents' formal qualifications, the family's economic prosperity, and the educational opportunities at home. Studies conducted by Van Den berg (1985) regarding the effects of socio-economic deprivation on subjects' intelligence showed different intelligence scores for different levels of socio-economic deprivation ranging from scores of 0 (no socio-economic deprivation) to 10 (extreme socio-economic deprivation). This showed that the SED Questionnaire did indeed give a reliable indication of socio-economic deprivation. Van Eden (1991) later suggested that scores higher than three are indicative of socio-economic deprivation.

For the purposes of this study the items which were selected from the SED Questionnaire (Van Eden, 1991) were validated and edited by an experienced clinician and administered with both the pupils and their teachers. Items in this questionnaire mainly concerned the families' prosperity and living conditions. Two SED questionnaires were made, one to be completed by pupils and one by their teachers.

Subjects were asked to check the items which were applicable to their socio-economic status. Teachers were asked to check the items which were applicable to the socio-economic status of the subjects in question.

3.5.3.1 Socio-Economic Deprivation Questionnaire for Pupils (Appendix B)

The Socio-Economic-Deprivation Questionnaire for Pupils was scored by adding the total amount of instances in which socio-economic deprivation was present for 15 questions or items. Raw scores of above three would be indicative of socio-economic deprivation (Van Eden, 1991). A rating of 15 would indicate the most severe socio-economic deprivation.

3.5.3.2 Socio-Economic Deprivation Questionnaire for Teachers (Appendix C)

For each pupil in both groups a socio-economic questionnaire was filled in by the class teacher. This questionnaire was scored in the same manner as the socio-economic deprivation questionnaire for pupils, with the major difference being the number of items which was reduced to five. Raw scores above three would be indicative of socio-economic deprivation (Van Eden, 1991). A score of five would represent the most severe socio-economic deprivation.

3.5.4 Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Appendix D)

This scale is widely used in conjunction with other measures to determine children's self-evaluative attitudes and behaviours which relate to self-concept (Piers, 1984). According to Piers individuals have a relatively stable perception of themselves which is formed and stabilises during childhood. Piers assumes that children will disclose major aspects of their underlying self-concept by identifying or denying a series of statements relating to how they may feel about themselves. Furthermore Piers suggests

that this measure of self-concept should relate significantly to other aspects of their personalities and predict future behaviour.

The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale is an 80 item self report questionnaire of self-concept (see Appendix D) designed for children and adolescents between the ages of 8 and 18 years. The questionnaire consists of 80 statements and subjects are asked to indicate which statements refer to the way they feel about themselves by checking "yes" or "no". Responses can be hand scored and raw scores converted to normalised T-scores yielding a total self-concept score and scores on six sub scales. The sub scales are similar to the factors discussed in the literature review and include behaviour, intellectual and school status, physical self-concept, anxiety, popularity, and happiness and satisfaction. High levels of self-concept on each sub scale are associated with high scores on that particular scale. To reduce the chances of over-interpretation Piers (1984) recommends that scores below the 16th percentile should be considered as significant.

Test-retest reliability coefficients for the Piers-Harris are in the .71 to .93 range for studies conducted in American public schools (Piers, 1976, 1984). Studies conducted by Platten and Williams (cited in Piers, 1984) on mixed ethnic groups found reliability coefficients of between .65 to .75. According to Piers the Piers-Harris compares favourably with other measures of self-concept. Collins, Kafer and Shea (1985) have also found that the factors measured in the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale are reliable diagnostic measures of self-concept.

The Piers-Harris has not been standardised for black children and studies have found that the mean scores for black children have varied from above to below the norms of white children (Piers, 1976). According to Piers, studies measuring mean self-concept of various groups of American black children have found mean scores of total self-concept which vary from 51.58 to 61.89. According to Piers these mean scores do not differ significantly from the mean scores obtained in studies on white children. Piers (1976) concludes that race as such is not a significant determinant of self-concept and

that the Piers-Harris is a suitable measure for self-concept in black children.

For the purposes of this study a pilot study to ascertain the applicability of the Piers-Harris was conducted under the supervision of an experienced clinician. The pilot study was conducted with a random sample of 10 children from a school in the Pietermaritzburg area. Subjects were asked to do the translated version of the Piers-Harris with the help of a Zulu speaking assistant. The mean total self-concept score was calculated and found to be 52.6 which falls within the range of mean scores found in the above mentioned studies.

Content validity was built into the Piers-Harris by determining the universe of items relating to areas which children liked or disliked about themselves (Piers, 1984). Items of low discriminatory power were dropped from the list. Studies reviewed by Piers found that the Piers-Harris compared favourably with other measures of self-concept and results of factor analyses suggest that roughly the same factors were found to be significant across different racial and age groups.

Piers (1984) has also found that differences in age, gender, intelligence, and socio-economic status between subjects do not have a significant moderating effect on the self-concept scores of the Piers-Harris.

3.5.5 Human Figure Drawing Test (Appendix E)

The Human Figure Drawing (HFD) Test is a projective measure developed by Koppitz in order to determine developmental and emotional indicators in children (Koppitz, 1968). Subjects are asked to draw a person whereafter the tester interprets the drawing by observing thirty given qualitative emotional and developmental indicators.

Koppitz (1968) argues that the style of a child's drawing reflects certain concerns that he/she may have. Furthermore, Koppitz suggests that "the person a child knows best is

himself; his picture of a person becomes therefore a portrait of his inner self, or his attitudes." (Koppitz, 1968, p. 5). Thus, the HFD is a useful medium of evaluation of self-concept with children who often battle to verbalise their feelings. According to Koppitz the emotional indicators are especially important when studying self-concept because these indicators disclose the attitudes and distresses of a child in a similar manner to which certain behaviours may disclose these covert concerns.

Being a qualitative measure the reliability of the HFD Test may be subject to the experience level of the tester. In a reliability study Koppitz (1968) found that differences in results between two independent experienced clinicians were low with an inter-rater reliability coefficient of .95. Normative studies comparing public school pupils with patients from a child guidance clinic suggest that certain emotional indicators from the HFD test are significantly more prevalent with subjects who have higher levels of disturbance (Koppitz, 1968). A validation of a subject's difficulties cannot be made if only one indicator is present on a drawing. Koppitz suggests that a combination of more than one indicator should be present and that certain indicators are age appropriate.

Psychological tests should not be used in isolation and Koppitz (1968) recommends that the HFD test should be used as a component of a battery of tests including, for example, incomplete sentences, incomplete stories, or the Bender Gestalt Test.

The Human Figure Drawing Test was rated by the author and an independent rater on the thirty emotional indicators used in the Koppitz scoring system (Koppitz, 1968). Totals were obtained and the inter-rater reliability determined by calculating the correlation between the sets of scores.

Initially the correlation of the total scores of the HFD test between the rater and independent rater was rather low. Upon examining these correlations it was decided that the whole scoring procedure should be repeated by both raters in order to eliminate the large discrepancies in the scoring.

The inter rater reliability was higher after the second attempt at scoring. Major contributors to the previous discrepancies were found to be lack of understanding of the Koppitz manual and certain administrative errors in the scoring procedure.

3.5.6 Incomplete Sentences (Appendix F)

There are various types of incomplete sentence tests which consist of series of sentence stems and subjects are asked to complete each sentence in a way that reflects how they think, feel, or act (Graham & Lilly, 1984). According to Goldberg (1965), incomplete sentences can be interpreted by formal analysis and content analysis. Goldberg has found that content analysis is more useful as this is a projective technique and a method of generating useful data which the researcher may use interpretively.

In a review of studies of the Rotter Incomplete Sentences Blank, which is the most widely used incomplete sentences method, most reliability and validity data were based on the formal scoring method of the test (Graham and Lilly, 1984). These reliability coefficients varied between .83 and .96. According to Golberg (1965), the validity of a clinician's interpretations of an incomplete sentence test is related to his/her experience, perception, and clinical experience. Additionally Golberg has found that, "there is no unequivocal claim for the validity. Many tests are scored in many ways, using a variety of criteria, applied to a variety of populations, have yielded a variety of data." (p.14).

In the present study, fifteen incomplete sentences (Appendix F) were selected from the Rotter Incomplete Sentences Blank (Rotter, 1950) under the guidance of an experienced clinician.

The pupils' responses to the Incomplete Sentences were content analysed according to the model of self concept described in section 2.5 and the responses were scored according to 14 categories or main themes determined through this content analysis procedure (Weber, 1985). These categories were positive or negative life experiences/history, positive or

negative identification or sense of belonging to their institution/culture, positive or negative identification with organisation, positive or negative psychological resources, positive or negative academic resources, positive or negative feelings regarding physical/bodily aspects, no response, and vague/ill defined responses (see Appendix G). Subjects with more negative responses would be seen as having higher levels of psychological disturbance affecting self-concept.

An independent rater was employed in order to score individual responses into main theme categories. This also enabled the author to determine an inter rater reliability score for the test.

The incomplete sentences yielded fifteen possible responses making the total score for each subject fifteen. There were fourteen scoring categories whose total would then be a maximum of fifteen for each subject.

Inter-rater correlations were calculated in order to determine the accuracy of the scoring procedure. However, these correlations were again found to be low and the scoring procedure was repeated in order to iron out the inconsistencies amongst the scorers. Subsequently it was found that there was some disagreement between the raters regarding the semantics of definitions of scoring categories together with certain scoring errors. Changes to the definitions were made before re-scoring (see Appendix G).

3.6 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The raw data was hand-scored and entered onto a computerised data spreadsheet.

Quantitative analyses were performed by means of the Minitab version 10 " Extra " computerised statistics package. This programme provided the author with the descriptive statistics, chi-squares, correlations, analysis of variance, discriminative analysis, correlations and contingency table analysis.

3.6.1 Multivariate Analysis

A linear discriminant function analysis of the dependent variables was performed to determine which independent variables discriminated most between the control and experimental groups ("Minitab User's Guide," 1995). The aim of this exercise was to determine the differences between these two groups (Stevens, 1986; Krzanowski, 1988), that is, how exposure to violence may have influenced self-concept scores, and how the individuals could be assigned to the two different groups on the basis of several variables (Kerlinger, 1992). Lebart, Morineau and Warwick (1984) suggest that "Multiple discriminant analysis finds a set of linear combinations of the variables whose values are as close as possible within groups and as far apart as possible between groups." (p. 70).

Results from the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale, total amount of Human Figure Drawing Test emotional indicators, and Incomplete Sentences Test scores were entered into the Minitab computerised statistics package as the discriminants or predictors.

3.6.2 Analysis of Variance

According to West (1991), the Minitab generated discriminant function output is rather limited and in order to determine how successful the dependant variables discriminated between the two groups West suggests that an analysis of variance (ANOVA) be employed. A major assumption underlying the use of ANOVA is that the scores should be normally distributed (Kerlinger, 1992). If the distributions of scores are skewed a non-parametric analysis should be used.

The stem-and-leaf display would be used to observe distributions indicating the need for a non-parametric test which is not dependent on the assumption of normality distribution as is the ANOVA (Kerlinger, 1992).

Should the stem-and leaf displays suggest significantly skewed results, a chi-square

analysis would be used in this study as a non-parametric method (Du Toit, 1985; Levin, 1973).

3.6.3 Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of Variables

In order to explore which variables were most similar a cluster analysis was performed (Romesburg, 1984). The child violence variables for both groups entered into the discriminant function analysis were entered into the cluster analysis programme of Minitab in order to produce a dendrogramme which was visually inspected.

3.6.4 Factor Analysis

To determine which variables belong together and whether the sub-tests which they represent measure common factors a factor analysis was performed (Kerlinger, 1992). The question to be answered was which variables have something in common and what is it that they have in common. In other words which constructs explained the underlying similarities between variables (Kerlinger, 1992). However, Kerlinger warns that due to the complexity and often unreliability of research data this is not a simple process and it should therefore be used with caution.

The twenty dependent variables were entered into the factor analysis programme of Minitab. A matrix of rotated factor loadings was obtained. This matrix was needed in order to determine, how many factors there were, which sub-tests were loaded on which factors, as well as the weight of the loadings (Kerlinger, 1992). The rotated factor matrix method was chosen above the principal factor matrix method because, according to Kerlinger, it could provide the configurations of the variables in "factor space" (p. 579) in a more parsimonious manner.

The factors in this matrix would indicate the maximum amount of variance for each factor as it is calculated yielding a certain amount of factors according to their level of variance in descending order. According to Kerlinger (1992) the variables with higher or positive

correlations should be near each other in space and far from variables with which they do not correlate. Kerlinger also recommends that factor loadings above .30 are significant.

3.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter the research procedure was described. This included the description of the sample which was drawn from the Pietermaritzburg area and consisted mainly of sixty, eight to ten year old male and female subjects. A control and experimental group were devised according to exposure to violence by using the Life Events Questionnaire developed by Killian and Mason (1993). However, it was found early in the study that there was no significant difference between the experimental and control groups regarding exposure to violence and the groups had to be reassigned. Socio-economic deprivation was determined by both teacher and pupil questionnaires.

One structured and two unstructured self-concept measurement instruments to determine the differences between the groups were discussed. The structured measure was the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Piers, 1984), and the unstructured measures were the Human Figure Drawing Test (Koppitz, 1968), and the Incomplete Sentences Test designed by the author with the help of an experienced clinician.

The scoring of the Incomplete Sentences Test was performed by utilising content analysis in an attempt to quantify these responses. Descriptive statistics were obtained and the success of the sampling determined by Chi-square analysis. The methods of multivariate analysis used to determine differences between the groups were discriminant function analysis and analysis of variance. Non-parametric methods may be used if the assumptions of multivariate analysis were not met adequately. Hierarchical cluster analysis was used in conjunction with factor analysis in order to determine common factors found in this study.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section the results and analysis of findings from the study will be presented. Descriptive statistics will be presented in order to give an outline of the experimental and control groups. This will be discussed according to the sub-scales of the Life Events Questionnaire, the two Socio-economic Deprivation questionnaires, and the three self-concept measures. Character stem-and-leaf displays are included in Appendix I. Regarding the accuracy of assigning subjects to groups the significance of differences in sampling between the experimental and control groups is displayed. All the results reported refer to the revised experimental and control groups rather than the original geographical groups.

The analysis of results includes a discriminate function analysis and the resulting analysis of variance indicating significant findings. The results of a non-parametric chi-square analysis are included. A subsequent hierarchical cluster analysis of variables and factor analysis are included in order to explore which variables may have certain constructs in common.

4.2 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

4.2.1 Demographic Information

A contingency Table of the distribution of gender in the revised control and experimental groups is given in Table 4. Inspection of Table 4 showed that the subjects were not evenly distributed according to gender. However, there was no significant difference found at the one percent level between the amount of males and females (Chi-square=1.54, df=1, $p>.01$).

The age of the subjects ranged between 8 and 10 years. Of the 60 subjects which were sampled, the results of 56 were usable or valid. The remaining 4 subjects were rejected due to omitted responses.

Table 4

Gender Frequencies For Both Control and Experimental Groups

Group	Female	Male	Total
Control	17	8	25
Experimental	16	15	31
Total	33	23	56

4.2.2 Life Events Questionnaire

4.2.2.1 Direct Exposure to Violence

In Table 5 the percentage of the control and experimental group responses are listed according to each individual item in the Life Events Questionnaire. Table 6 represents the mean, median, standard deviation (Sd), standard error of the mean (SEMean), and confidence intervals (CI) for both the control (Cntrl) and experimental (Exp) groups.

Most items showed a significantly higher direct exposure to violence in the experimental group ($p < .05$). Items marked by asterisks in Table 5 are the items which did not differ significantly when compared between the groups ($p > .05$) using Chi-Square analysis.

Table 5

Experimental (Exp) and Control (Cont) Group Percentage for Direct Exposure to Violence

Item	Exp	Cntrl
Witnessed a person being killed	42.0%	0.0%
Own house has been attacked or burned	16.1%	0.0%
*Been arrested before	3.2%	0.0%
Witnessed the killing of family member	16.1%	0.0%
*Witnessed the killing of a friend	3.2%	0.0%
Witnessed a family member being attacked	16.1%	0.0%
*Personally been attacked before	9.7%	0.0%
*Personally been assaulted by the security forces	6.5%	0.0%
Personally attacked people	0.0%	0.0%
Personally killed a person	0.0%	0.0%
Has been part of a group that has killed a person	0.0%	0.0%
Been in jail	0.0%	0.0%
Own house has been raided by the security forces	5.5%	0.0%
*Has been violence at own school	6.5%	4.1%
*Personally seen someone being attacked	42.0%	20.0%
Been in other situations where harmed or afraid of being harmed	19.4%	0.0%

*p>.05

Table 6

Direct Exposure to Violence of Both Groups

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.05-0.55
Experimental	2.2	2.0	1.7	0.3	1.47-2.94

The experimental group showed a higher mean score ($\bar{x}=2.2$) than the control group ($\bar{x}=0.3$) for direct exposure to violence. Subsequently the total scores and frequencies for direct exposure to violence for both groups was calculated and it was found that the total amount of direct exposure to violence was significantly higher at the one percent level in the experimental group (Chi-Square=24.66, df=6, $p<.01$). These results suggest that assignment to the experimental and control groups was successful.

4.2.2.2 Indirect Exposure to Violence

The items regarding the indirect exposure to violence are reflected in this sub-scale in the same manner as the sub-scale reflecting the direct exposure to violence.

In Table 7 the percentage of indirect exposure to violence are listed according to the specific items for both the experimental and control groups. Table 8 shows the mean, median, standard deviation, standard error of the mean, and confidence intervals (CI) for both the control and experimental groups.

Table 7

Experimental (Exp) and Control (Cntrl) Group Percentages For Indirect Exposure to Violence

Item	Exp	Cntrl
*Have found that life is dangerous in the townships	38.7%	24.0%
Houses in the area have been attacked or burned	61.3%	32.0%
Personally been frightened by vigilantes	19.4%	0.0%
Personally been frightened by the security forces	45.1%	4.0%
Family member has been arrested before	35.5%	0.0%
Witnessed family member being arrested	23.3%	0.0%
*Friends have been arrested before	3.2%	0.0%
Witnessed friends being arrested	0.0%	0.0%
Family member has been killed in the violence	29.0%	0.0%
*Friends have been killed in the violence	6.5%	0.0%
Family member has been attacked in the past	16.1%	0.0%
*Had to move house in order to be safe	35.5%	20.0%
Family and/or close friends have gone missing	22.6%	4.0%
Family members have gone into hiding	3.2%	4.0%
Prevented from going to school because of violence	29.0%	8.0%

* $p > .05$

Items marked by asterisks are the items which did not differ significantly when compared between the groups ($p > .05$) using Chi-Square analysis.

Table 8

Indirect Exposure to Violence of Control and Experimental Groups

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.2	0.5-1.5
Experimental	3.7	3.0	2.1	0.4	2.72-4.68

Here too the experimental group showed higher mean ($\bar{x}=3.70$) than the control group ($\bar{x}=1.0$). The total scores and frequencies for indirect exposure to violence for both groups were also calculated and as with the direct exposure to violence most items here showed a significantly higher indirect exposure to violence in the experimental group. The total amount of indirect exposure to violence was significantly higher in the experimental group at the one percent level (Chi-Square=29.81, $df=9$, $p<.01$). These results also suggest that the assignment to the experimental and control groups was successful.

4.2.2.3 Family Related Stressors

Table 9 denotes the mean, median, Sd, standard error of the mean, and confidence intervals (CI) for both the control and experimental groups.

Table 9

Family Related Stressors For Both Groups

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	1.8	2.0	0.8	0.2	1.3-2.3
Experimental	2.4	2.0	1.1	0.2	1.91-2.9

The total scores and frequencies for family stressors for both groups were also calculated and the total amount of family stressors found to be significantly higher in the experimental group at the five percent level (Chi-Square=10.72, $df=4$, $p<.05$).

4.2.2.4 Other Stressors

Table 10 denotes the mean, median, Sd, standard error of the mean, and confidence intervals (CI) for both groups.

Table 10

Other Stressors For Both Groups

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	1.3	1.0	0.7	0.1	1.1-1.50
Experimental	2.2	2.0	1.3	0.2	1.71-2.7

The total scores and frequencies for other stressors for both groups were also calculated and the total amount of other stressors were found to be significantly higher in the experimental on the one percent level (Chi-Square=17.7, df=6, $p<.01$). As with family related stressors these results may suggest a relationship between exposure to violence and to other stressors.

Pupils who have responded to the three open-ended questions were given an opportunity to expand and state examples. As mentioned earlier (see section 3.5.1.5) these open-ended questions related to the following

- i.) the presence of violence at school,
- ii.) being in any other situations where they were harmed or afraid of being harmed, and
- iii.) whether there were any other situations which made them feel bad or unhappy.

The responses given were the following

i) Presence of Violence

Control Group

None

Experimental group

"They were shooting at us."

ii) Other Harmful Situations

Control Group

None

Experimental Group

"People were shooting at us."

"People were shooting at random."

"There were people carrying guns next to my home."

"People were attacking our area and they were shooting."

"I was knocked down by a taxi."

"I was playing with friends, stood on the roof and fell down."

iii) Other Situations Which Made Them feel Bad or Unhappy

Control Group

"After the death of relative or friend."

Experimental Group

"If they hit me."

"If they're shooting each other at home."

"When mother comes home with things and she gives them to others and not me."

The nature of the violence that subjects have been exposed to can be seen by the type of responses given.

4.2.3 Socio-Economic-Deprivation Questionnaire for Pupils

Table 11 gives a representation of the mean, median, Sd, and the standard error of the mean for both the control and experimental groups.

Table 11

Socio-Economic Deprivation as Indicated by the Pupils

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	4.3	4.0	2.6	0.5	3.1-5.55
Experimental	3.0	3.0	2.0	0.4	2.02-3.98

The control group mean score ($\bar{x}=4.3$) was found to be higher than the experimental group mean ($\bar{x}=3.0$). As mentioned in section 3.5.2.1 scores above 3 indicate significant socio-economic deprivation. This suggests that the experimental group was not significantly socio-economically deprived. Subsequently the total scores and frequencies

for socio-economic deprivation (SED) as indicated by the pupils for both the experimental (Exp) and control (Cntrl) groups were also calculated and are expressed in Table 12. The frequencies represent the number of pupils who obtained the given scores. The total of socio-economic deprivation for pupils was not significantly more on both levels in the experimental group (Chi-Square=9.81, df=9, $p>.01$). This may suggest that both groups suffered more or less similar degrees of socio-economic deprivation.

Thus, it may be possible to assume that socio-economic deprivation would be less likely to explain differences between the results from the control and experimental groups. However, the somewhat better socio-economic deprivation scores of the experimental group may provide a possible " buffering " effect for the impact of violence.

Table 12

Scores and Frequencies of SED For Pupils of Both Groups

Score	Exp Grp	Cntrl Grp	Total
0	4	0	4
1	3	4	7
2	4	3	7
3	6	3	9
4	3	4	7
5	5	3	8
6	2	1	3
7	1	4	5
9	0	1	1
10	0	1	1
Total	28	24	52

4.2.4 Socio-Economic-Deprivation Questionnaire for Teachers

In Table 13 the mean, median (Mdn), Sd, standard error of the mean (SEMn), and confidence intervals (CI) of both the control and experimental groups are given.

Table 13

SED of Pupils As Seen By Class Teachers

Group	Mean	Mdn	Sd	SEMn	CI
Control	0.04	0.0	0.2	0.04	-0.06-0.14
Experimental	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.8	0.3-0.7

It was found that in this case the experimental group mean ($\bar{x}=0.5$) was higher than the control group mean ($\bar{x}=0.04$) and the total scores and frequencies for socio-economic deprivation as indicated by the teachers for both control (Cntrl) and experimental (Exp) groups were also calculated and are shown in Table 14. The total scores for socio-economic deprivation as indicated by the teachers was found to be significantly higher in the experimental group (Chi-Square=8.21, $df=3$, $p<.05$). However, as mentioned in section 3.5.2.2, scores below 3 do not indicate a significant level of socio-economic deprivation. Thus teachers' scores indicated that their pupils were not especially socio-economically deprived.

Table 14

Scores and Frequencies of SED as Indicated by Teachers

Score	Exp Grp	Cntrl Grp	Total
0	20	24	44
1	9	1	10
2	1	0	1
5	1	0	1
Total	31	25	56

4.2.5 Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for children

The mean, standard deviation (Sd), and F-value for the seven sub-scales for both groups, along with their significance are given in Table 18 (see section 4.3.2.).

4.2.6 Human Figure Drawing Test

As discussed in section 3.5.4 the inter-rater correlations for the Human Figure Drawing Test are given in Table 15. These high inter-rater correlations may be due to the small number of emotional indicators found in the drawings. This can give rise to smaller mathematical differences.

In Table 19 (see section 4.3.2) the mean, standard deviation (Sd), and F-values along with their significance for both the control and experimental groups are listed for the total Human Figure Drawing Test scores.

Table 15

Inter-Rater Correlations For Human Figure Drawing Test

No.	Emotional Indicator	Correlation
1	Poor integration	1.0
2	Shaded face	1.0
3	Shaded body	.9
4	Shaded hands	.7
5	Asymmetry	1.0
6	Slanting figure	1.0
7	Tiny figure	1.0
8	Big figure	1.0
9	Transparencies	1.0
10	Tiny head	1.0
11	Crossed eyes	1.0
12	Teeth present	1.0
13	Short arms	1.0
14	Long arms	1.0
15	Clinging arms	1.0
16	Big hands	1.0
17	Hands cut off	1.0
18	Legs together	1.0
19	Genitals present	1.0
20	Monster figure	1.0
21	Three or more figures	1.0
22	Clouds	1.0
23	No eyes	1.0
24	No nose	1.0
25	No mouth	1.0
26	No body	1.0
27	No arms	1.0
28	No legs	1.0
29	No feet	1.0
30	No neck	.9

4.2.7 Incomplete Sentences Blank

After re-scoring all the incomplete sentences (see section 3.5.5) the inter-rater correlations improved and are shown in Table 16.

The descriptive statistics were calculated from the raw scores and are listed in Table 20 (see section 4.3.2).

Table 16

Inter-Rater Correlations For Incomplete Sentences Test

No.	Item	Correlation
1	Positive experiences/history	.91
2	Negative experiences/history	.96
3	Positive identification with culture	.99
4	Negative identification with culture	.98
5	Positive identification with organisation	.99
6	Negative identification with organisation	1.00
7	Positive psychological resources	1.00
8	Negative psychological resources	1.00
9	Positive academic resources	.94
10	Negative academic resources	.98
11	Positive physical	1.00
12	Negative physical	.98
13	No response	1.00
14	Vague/ill defined responses	.99

4.2.8 Character Stem-and-Leaf Display

In these displays (see Appendix I) the stem indicates the class intervals of the data and the leaf section indicates the frequencies of observations in a particular class (Bouwer and Schumann, 1989).

Most of these displays revealed skewed and scattered distributions. This suggests that both the control and experimental groups' variables leaned towards certain similar responses. The directions in which these distributions were skewed varied according to which variable was being measured (Appendix I). This violates the assumptions behind

the multivariate procedures carried out and indicates the use of the non-parametric chi-square test as suggested in section 3.6.2. Results of this chi-square analysis are given in Table 21 and Table 22.

4.3 MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

4.3.1 Discriminant Function Analysis

Of the 60 cases in this study, 56 cases were used ($N=56$) and 4 contained missing values. Of the 56 cases 23 were correctly classified as belonging to the experimental group (Proportion correct=.74) and 19 to the control group (Proportion correct=.76), giving the total number of correctly classified or predicted discriminants as 42 (Proportion correct=.75). Fourteen cases were misclassified.

The squared distance between the two groups was given as 2.19. This gives the differences between the mean scores of each group on the discriminant function (West, 1991). However, the Minitab package does not indicate the significance of this statistic.

Table 17 contains the discriminant functions or weights for the variables entered for both experimental (Exp) and control (Cntrl) groups.

Upon inspection of the results given in Table 17 it became obvious that the weight given to the variables did not differ much between the two groups. This suggests that the dependent variables possibly do not discriminate much between the groups (West, 1991).

Table 17

Linear Discriminant Function For Both Groups

Variable	Exp	Cntrl
Constant	-259.4	-249.1
Behaviour	0.8	1.0
Intellectual and school status	1.0	0.9
Physical	-0.2	-0.2
Anxiety	0.2	0.2
Popularity	0.2	0.2
Happiness and satisfaction	2.0	1.9
Total self-concept	-1.0	-0.9
Total human figure drawing scores	4.0	4.0
Positive experiences/history	21.6	21.7
Negative experiences/history	25.3	24.8
Positive culture	22.9	23.0
Negative culture	29.6	28.1
Positive organisation	23.8	25.1
Negative organisation	-6.8	-5.8
Positive psychological	24.0	23.7
Negative psychological	25.7	25.8
Positive academic	24.8	24.4
Negative academic	31.4	31.3
Positive physical	118.6	115.0
Negative physical	26.3	25.7

4.3.2 Analysis of Variance

Table 18 shows the descriptive statistics, F-value and the significance of the differences between groups for each sub-scale of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale as determined by one-way analysis of variance.

From Table 18 it can be concluded that the differences between the groups regarding these dependent variables were not large enough to be significant. These differences therefore could possibly have occurred by chance.

Table 19 shows the same statistics as Table 18 for the Human Figure Drawing Test total scores.

Table 18

Piers-Harris Scores, Difference Between Experimental and Control Groups (One-Way ANOVA)

Sub-Scale	Group	Mean	Sd	F	p
Behaviour	Experimental	50.6	6.8	0.01	NS
	Control	50.8	7.5		
Intellectual and School Status	Experimental	57.6	8.1	3.63	NS
	Control	54.0	5.9		
Physical	Experimental	54.1	6.3	2.03	NS
	Control	51.3	8.4		
Anxiety	Experimental	51.7	7.8	0.70	NS
	Control	49.9	8.5		
Popularity	Experimental	46.8	6.6	0.05	NS
	Control	46.4	7.5		
Happiness and Satisfaction	Experimental	47.3	7.3	1.80	NS
	Control	44.5	7.9		
Total Self-Concept	Experimental	54.4	5.6	1.02	NS
	Control	52.8	6.4		

NS=Not Significant

Table 19

Human Figure Drawing Test, Difference Between Experimental and Control Group (One-Way ANOVA)

HFD Score	Group	Mean	Sd	F	p
Total	Experimental	1.8	1.0	1.11	NS
	Control	1.5	1.5		

NS=Not Significant

Again the differences in means is not large enough to be significant. The experimental group did not score significantly higher on emotional indicators.

In Table 20 the Incomplete Sentence Test mean and standard deviation scores are also shown together with their F-values and significance.

Table 20

Incomplete Sentence Test, Differences Between Experimental and Control Group (One-Way ANOVA)

Item	Group	Mean	Sd	F	p
Positive Experiences	Experimental	0.48	0.62	0.05	NS
	Control	0.52	0.58		
Negative Experiences	Experimental	3.36	1.56	0.29	NS
	Control	3.56	1.19		
Positive Culture	Experimental	4.29	1.40	0.64	NS
	Control	4.00	1.30		
Negative Culture	Experimental	1.22	0.99	1.38	NS
	Control	0.96	0.61		
Positive Organisation	Experimental	0.94	0.68	5.81	p<.05
	Control	1.48	1.00		
Negative Organisation	Experimental	0.03	0.18	0.02	NS
	Control	0.04	0.20		
Positive Psychological	Experimental	1.74	0.89	0.87	NS
	Control	1.52	0.87		
Negative Psychological	Experimental	0.71	0.90	0.30	NS
	Control	0.84	0.85		
Positive Academic	Experimental	0.29	0.59	0.01	NS
	Control	0.28	0.46		

Negative Academic	Experimental	0.42	0.85	0.01	NS
	Control	0.40	0.65		
Positive Physical	Experimental	0.03	0.18	0.02	NS
	Control	0.04	0.20		
Negative Physical	Experimental	0.87	1.15	0.45	NS
	Control	0.68	0.95		
No Response	Experimental	0.13	0.56	0.15	NS
	Control	0.20	0.82		
Vague or Ill Defined	Experimental	0.48	0.63	0.00	NS
	Control	0.48	0.65		

NS=Not Significant

Here there were also differences between the groups, but only positive feelings towards organisation turned out to be significant ($p < .05$). This result leaned towards the control group and it seems as though control group subjects were more likely to positively identify with their organisation than their experimental group counterparts.

4.3.3 Chi-Square Analysis

As suggested in section 4.2.8 the distribution of results were skewed indicating the need for a non-parametric test. Subsequently a chi-square analysis was performed. The results of the chi-square analysis of the Piers-Harris are given in Table 21.

As can be seen from Table 21 no significant differences between the experimental and control groups were found.

Table 21

Chi-Square Analysis of Piers-Harris Scores

Item	Chi-Square	df	p
Behaviour	16.52	12	p>.05
Intellectual and School Status	11.44	12	p>.05
Physical	13.64	12	p>.05
Anxiety	15.55	10	p>.05
Popularity	8.21	10	p>.05
Happiness and Satisfaction	7.29	8	p>.05
Total Self-Concept	21.61	21	p>.05

The chi-square analysis of the total scores of the Human Figure Drawing Test indicate a significantly higher total score for the experimental group (Chi-square=12.47, df=5, $p < .05$).

In Table 22 the results of the chi-square analysis for the Incomplete Sentences Test are given.

Table 22

Chi-Square Analysis of Incomplete Sentences Test

Item	Chi-Square	df	p
Positive Experiences	0.50	2	p>.05
Negative Experiences	13.69	7	p>.05
Positive Culture	5.31	6	p>.05
Negative Culture	4.78	3	p>.05
Positive Organisation	6.32	4	p>.05
Negative Organisation	0.02	1	p>.05
Positive Psychological	1.84	3	p>.05
Negative Psychological	2.71	4	p>.05
Positive Academic	2.58	2	p>.05
Negative Academic	1.43	3	p>.05
Positive Physical	0.02	1	p>.05
Negative Physical	2.29	4	p>.05
No Response	2.07	3	p>.05
Vague or Ill Defined	0.11	2	p>.05

It is noteworthy that the significantly higher score of the control group on the positive organisation scale obtained during the ANOVA was found to be insignificant after the chi-square analysis (Chi-square=6.32, df=4, $p > .05$). (Note: When its assumptions are met, ANOVA is a much more powerful technique than chi-square analysis.)

4.3.4 Hierarchical Cluster Analysis of Variables

Figure 3 displays the dendrogramme generated by the hierarchical cluster analysis of the dependent variables.

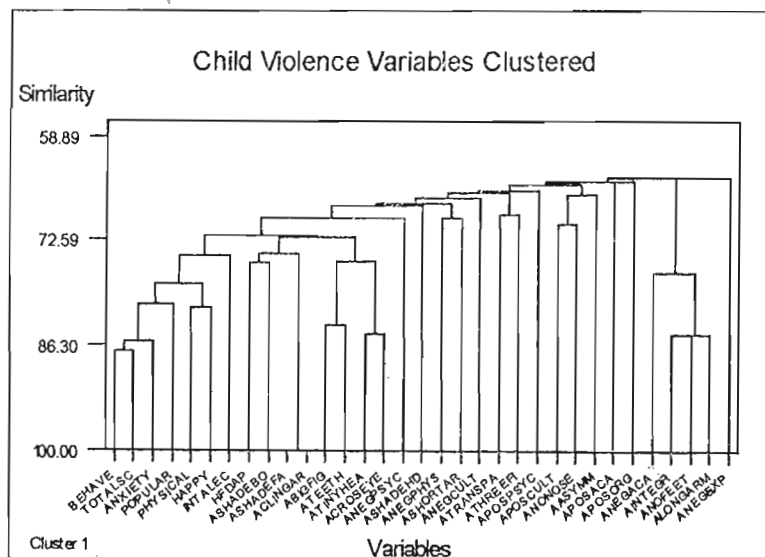


Figure 3. Child Violence Variables Clustered

Inspection of this dendrogramme did not yield any variable clusters with a high level of similarity (West, 1991).

4.3.5 Factor Analysis

The rotated factor matrix found three common factors but only factor 1 showed significant factor loadings (correlations above .30). These variables were found to be from the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale measuring the construct of self-concept. This suggests that of the three self-concept measures employed in this study

the Piers-Harris may have been the most reliable measure of the self-concept of black children. The significant factor loadings are displayed in Table 23.

Table 23

Significant Factor Loadings From Rotated Factor Matrix

Variable	Loading
Total self-concept	.98
Behaviour	.76
Anxiety	.70
Popularity	.64
Happiness and satisfaction	.52
Physical	.50
Intellectual and school status	.45

4.4 SUMMARY

The results in this section were analysed in order to determine differences in self-concept and the relationship thereof with different levels of exposure to violence. In the analyses self-concept scales were used as dependent variables in order to determine differences in self-concept according to the level of exposure to violence and possibly other demographic variables, that is, independent variables. The independent variables included direct and indirect exposure to violence, family stressors, other stressors and socio-economic deprivation.

The analysis of the independent variables suggested the following. There appeared to be no significant difference between the number of male and female subjects. Sampling of direct and indirect exposure to violence was reasonably accurate after reshuffling the control and experimental groups, yielding a significantly higher direct and indirect exposure to violence in the experimental group. Family related stressors were significantly higher in the experimental group. There was no significant difference between the groups regarding exposure to other stressors. Generally, there were no significant levels of socio-economic deprivation.

Analysis of variance to determine the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables, that is, self-concept, suggested that there was generally no difference between the outcome of self-concept measures of the control and experimental groups. The only significant finding here suggested that the control group experienced more positive feelings toward their organisation. However, the stem-and-leaf display suggested that scores of the self-concept measures were skewed, indicating the use of the non-parametric chi-square analysis. Subsequently it was found that there were generally no significant differences between the control and experimental groups. The single significant outcome was that of the Human Figure Drawing Test which showed the presence of significantly more emotional indicators for the experimental group. The factor analysis produced one factor which encompassed all the sub-scales of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-concept scale.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study initially set out to investigate the effect of violence on the self-concept of black children. Due to the fact that this is a new area of study an exploratory approach was adopted. A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods were used and it was found that this was a task which had certain methodological difficulties. It was also found that it was hard to marry current research and theory with the difficulties that black children are faced with due to exposure to violence.

This study yielded results which may have useful implications. The most noteworthy outcome of this study may be the applicability of the structured and unstructured instruments used as well as suggestions for research methodology and practice. The following discussion of these results is structured around these findings and the possible explanations for the outcomes generated.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS REACHED FROM THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

5.2.1 Exposure to Violence and Self-Concept

The experimental group was exposed to significantly higher levels of both direct and indirect violence. It was, however, found that generally there was no significant difference between the self-concept scores of the two groups.

Results obtained through content analysis from the incomplete sentences suggests that the control group experienced significantly more positive feelings towards their organisation ($p < .05$). Therefore, the control group subjects identified more positively with their organisation than their experimental group counterparts. As discussed in

section 2.5.3 the feeling of belonging to a social system or an organisation can affirm self-concept through providing the individual with certain physical and psychological resources. It is possible that the experimental group may have developed negative feelings towards the organisation they belong to through the experience of violence. Thus, experiencing violence may have negatively influenced the attitudes of the subjects towards their organisation affecting their aspirations. However, the effects which negative feelings towards the organisations were supposed to have on psychological aspects such as self-esteem, satisfaction, emotions, and anxiety (see in section 2.5.3) are not reflected by a lowered score of the experimental group on the psychological resources scale. Another possible interpretation is that children who have experienced violence may have been relocated.

The chi-square analysis suggested that the experimental group showed lower self-concept according to the Human Figure Drawing Test. However, this finding should be interpreted with caution as the chi-square analysis is less powerful than the ANOVA which showed an insignificant difference (Kerlinger, 1992). The Human Figure Drawing Test is also a subjective measure that is not as reliable as the other measures used in the present study. Additionally, this finding was not substantiated by the other instruments used in this study.

5.2.2 Family Related Stressors

Of the controlled variables, family related stress was significantly higher in the experimental group. It is possible that this could also have an effect on the dependent variable. This result may suggest that there is a relationship between high exposure to violence and family stressors. This result was not expected and may be explained by the possibility of higher family stress in families which have had a higher direct and indirect exposure to violence.

5.2.3 Socio-Economic Deprivation

In the socio-economic deprivation questionnaires scores of above 3 indicate socio-economic deprivation. The highest mean score was obtained by the pupils' questionnaire of the control group ($\bar{x}=4.3$). Chi-square analysis, however, suggested that there was no significant difference in socio-economic deprivation between the control and experimental groups ($p > .01$). The teachers in the experimental group indicated that their pupils were significantly more socio-economically deprived than those of the control group ($p < .05$). However, mean scores for both experimental and control groups as measured by their teachers were below 3, the required cut off point for socio-economic deprivation.

As no significant differences between the self-concept of the two groups were found, the socio-economic deprivation results indicate that socio-economic deprivation may be less likely to account for this finding. However, as suggested in section 4.2.3, the somewhat better socio-economic deprivation scores of the experimental group may provide a possible "buffering" effect for the impact of violence.

5.2.4 Results of Factor Analysis

The results of the factor analysis (see section 4.3.4) suggested that the seven factors listed in Table 20 had a construct in common. It was found that these seven factors were the six sub-scales of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and the seventh, the total score of this scale. This finding may suggest that the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale may be reliable when used with black children. The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale appears to have been the only reliable measure of black children's self-concept in this particular study. These results are consistent with results of a study conducted by Collins, Kafer and Shea (1985) on a group of school pupils between the ages of 8 and 15 years.

5.2.5 Development of a Model of Self-Concept

For the purposes of this study no other model of self-concept was as comprehensive in the author's readings as the model suggested by the author. This model, integrating various theoretical points of view regarding the development of self-concept, was developed. In this model the author set out to link theory with research by isolating certain important factors which influenced self-concept directly and indirectly. It is suggested that self-concept is constituted by influences from external factors as suggested in the section discussing the structure of self-concept. These influences included life experiences or history, institution or culture, organisation, psychological resources, academic resources, and physical or bodily aspects. All the mentioned influences were indicated as significant contributors to self-concept development by the theories which were reviewed.

The present study has found that this model could be taken further in order to operationalise self-concept for research purposes. Firstly, this can be done by refining the definitions of components of the model in order to improve the reliability of unstructured instruments used to measure self-concept. Furthermore, studies using the proposed model may further clarify certain components or refute the significance of their influence. Secondly, when clarifying the model further, it should be noted that there is a possibility that various components which form self-concept interact with one-another in the same manner in which they interact with self-concept possibly giving rise to a buffering effect between components which form self-concept. This may result in a moderating effect that these components may have on one-another before they affect self-concept, either in a positive or negative direction. Thus, the effect that the significantly higher negative organisation score in the experimental group (as measured by the incomplete sentences test) may have had on total self-concept scores of the other instruments used in this study, may have been buffered by the lack of significant effects of violence on the other factors mentioned in the model.

This may contribute to the lack of significant findings in the present study.

5.2.6 Comments on Methodology

5.2.6.1 Reliability and Validity of Instruments

Measures used in this study are mostly qualitative instruments developed under the supervision of an experienced clinician. No reliability data was available for these instruments. Two of the measures are quantitative but have not been used much with a population of black children. They are the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale and the Human Figure Drawing Test. However, their reliability data seemed to be satisfactory.

The reliability of a test is indicated by the consistency with which it can be used again and again and produce the same or similar results. This is referred to as stability. Linked to reliability is also the issue of accuracy. That is whether an instrument is measuring the construct in question, in this case self-concept. At the same time the error of measurement which an instrument possesses will affect the reliability. Measurement error can consist of systematic variance and/or random error. Systematic variance can be described as a kind of constant bias where results would lean towards the one or the other direction. Random error leans to the one and the other direction and usually cancels itself out (Kerlinger, 1992).

Kerlinger (1992) suggests that reliability is reflected in the standard error of the mean and the reliability coefficient (r-squared). The value of r-squared is a measure of the percentage of the true variance, excluding error variance. The larger this value the less reliable the instrument in use.

Due to the qualitative nature of the Incomplete Sentences Test, the Life Events Questionnaire, and the Socio-Economic Questionnaires it is possible that there may have been some ambiguous items which could be interpreted in different ways. This

gives rise to the possibility of an error variance in the results affecting the reliability of these instruments. There is also the possibility that the items were not all relating to the construct of self-concept as defined in this study.

Reliability can be assessed by using four techniques described by Carmines and Zeller (1979). First, in test-retest method the same test is given to the same individuals over a period of time whereafter the correlation between the two administrations of the same test are obtained. This is called the reliability coefficient. A coefficient of 1.0 would mean the results were exactly the same giving a high reliability. Carmines and Zeller caution that a low coefficient does not necessarily indicate low reliability, but it may mean that the theoretical concepts underlying the measure may have changed, especially if the time between the repetition of measures was long. Low reliability can also be caused by reactivity which is caused by subjects becoming sensitized to the test material over a period of time.

The second method suggested by Carmines and Zeller (1979) is the alternative form method. This is related to the test-retest method in that the same group of subjects is used over time, but a different form of the same test is administered. Two different forms of the same test are used to measure the same construct. An advantage over the test-retest method in this method is that the extent to which the subjects' memory influences the retest is limited. The alternative-form method is limited because it may be difficult to construct items which are different, but measure the same construct.

Thirdly, the split-halves method also uses the same group of individuals, but the items are split into two halves and the scores of these two halves are then correlated to determine the reliability coefficient. However, the reliability is influenced by the manner in which the items are split giving a different reliability for every different manner in which the items are split. Normally items are split into a group of even-numbered items and a group of odd-numbered items (Carmines & Zeller, 1979).

Carmines and Zeller (1979) suggest that when using the split-halves method the correlation between the first and second halves of the items of a test would be different to the correlation between the odd and even numbered items. Fourth, when using the internal consistency method only a single test administration would be required without splitting or repeating items. There are many reliability estimates which measure internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha is one example of this method and is calculated by substituting the inter-correlation between items into a formula which gives a value between .0 and 1.0. This value gives the reliability of a test. This is an estimate of the expected correlation of a test with a hypothetical alternative form containing the same number of items. Carmines and Zeller suggest that alpha gives a conservative estimate of reliability and that the value of alpha depends on the inter-correlation and the number of items in a test. The reliability of a test can be increased by increasing the number of items. However, more items increases the reliability to a progressively lesser degree. Additionally, it takes more resources and time to increase the number items in a test. Cronbach's alpha is also more difficult to calculate previously mentioned coefficients.

Validity also plays an important role in the results obtained from the qualitative instruments (Kerlinger 1992). The question to be answered in this regard is whether or not the instruments used were measuring what they were supposed to measure, that is, self-concept. Since these instruments were used for the first time there are no empirical statistics regarding their validity. One can explore the validity of these instruments by using them again in subsequent studies.

According to Kerlinger (1992) there are three types of validity. They are content validity, criterion related validity, and construct validity.

Firstly, content validity represents the representativeness of the items of a measure with the "universe" (Kerlinger, 1992, p. 417) of possible items relating to the concept being measured. It is possible to draw random samples of the possible items relating to self-concept and include a number of them in a measure, but Kerlinger warns that these

items will always be in question especially if applied in social sciences. It is an exercise of subjective judgement to determine these items and this is not a simple task. The universe of items must be clearly defined and since self-concept is not easily defined problems can be expected. For this reason the author took the advise of Kerlinger that "other 'competent' judges should judge the content of the items." (p. 418).

Secondly, criterion related validity comes into play when the researcher wants to link the items used in a test to practical outcomes. In the case of this study the question to be asked is one regarding the similarity of the outcomes of self-concept as measured by the various instruments used. For example, if the Incomplete Sentences Test results are similar to the other self-concept measures it may be possible to assume that the criterion related validity is good. In the present study criterion related validity of the qualitative instruments may have been low as the outcomes of these instruments were not consistent.

Thirdly, the construct validity links the theory under investigation with practical "psychometric" (p. 420) measures. If the theory of self-concept discussed in this study can be linked to practice giving rise to plausible hypotheses and be successfully measured in a water tight and scientific manner to test these hypotheses, construct validity is high. However, with self-concept being the diffuse construct it is, it was found to be a difficult task to find clear cut links between theory, hypothesis and measurement instruments, that is, to achieve high construct validity. The possibility of the consequent measurement errors due to poor construct validity may also have had an effect on the outcome of this study.

5.2.6.2 Assumptions of Statistical Tests

Inspection of the stem-and-leaf displays (Appendix I) suggested that results of tests were significantly skewed, violating the assumptions underlying the proposed parametric statistical tests (Kerlinger, 1992). In this scenario non-parametric methods

are indicated. Subsequently, a chi-square analysis was used to determine whether differences between groups were significant.

5.2.6.3 Type II Error

There is always the possibility of two types of errors in hypothesis testing (see Table 24). They are Type I error which occurs when a true null hypothesis is rejected, and Type II error where a false null hypothesis is not rejected (Hinkle, Wiersma & Jurs, 1988). In this study the null hypothesis was not rejected. This eliminates the possibility of Type I error and raises the possibility of Type II error. According to Hunter and Schmidt (1990) it is wrong to assume that there was no effect when the null hypothesis is not rejected. They suggest that meta-analysis has shown that treatments rarely have no effect at all. In this study the treatment effect was small, but it was there, albeit insignificant. Thus it may be possible that this study could have significant findings if certain modifications were made to the methodology.

The size of the sample is an important factor to bear in mind when trying to avoid Type II error. If the sample is small the chances of Type II error are higher because statistically the differences between groups could be so small that they will not be significant. Hunter and Schmidt (1990) suggest that for typical sample sizes the Type II error rate is quite high. There may however be differences which may be larger if a bigger sample was used (Hunter & Schmidt, 1990; Edwards, 1968). According to Hinkle, Wiersma and Jurs (1988) the findings of this study may be more reliable if a larger sample was used, even if the effects of the independent variable on the dependant variable was small, providing that other variables which may have an influence are adequately accounted for. In reducing the likelihood of Type II error Hinkle et al. suggest that the following factors should be considered,

- i.) The level of significance. Using less conservative levels of significance, for example $p=.10$ instead of $p=.01$, will reduce the chance of Type II error, but at the same time increase the probability of Type I error. It is suggested that

one should decide which error will be most serious before determining significance levels. In this study a Type I error may be more serious as it would lead to the assumption that exposure to violence will always have an effect on self-concept whereas in the case of the Type II error one may conclude that there could be an effect, but it may not be particularly large. Perhaps there were also some moderator variables in play in this particular study which reduced the treatment effect. This study may also suggest that consequent studies which use larger sample sizes should consider significant results with caution.

- ii.) The power of the tests used. Power is defined as the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis when it is false. A test is more powerful when the standard error of the mean is small. The standard error of the mean is caused by sampling error. In the case of this study it is possible that the tests lacked power. Therefore, incorporating better defined sampling criteria would increase the power of the tests and consequently decrease the probability of Type II error.

Other factors influencing power are the following. Firstly, the directional nature of a test. One-tailed or directional tests are more powerful than two-tailed or non-directional tests. When examining the alternative hypothesis a directional alternative hypothesis would state that the parameter is greater or less than the hypothesised value. The non-directional alternative hypothesis states that the parameter is only different from the hypothesised value (Hinkle et al., 1988, p. 193). A larger sample size is needed to reject a null hypothesis for a two-tailed test than for a one tailed test. Secondly, as stated earlier, increasing the level of significance will result in a more powerful test. Thirdly, increasing the sample size will decrease the standard error of tests and thus increase the power. In the case of this study, which used a small sample, the standard errors may have been quite large. Finally, the effect size, which is the desired difference to be detected if results were to be significant, also influences

the power of a test. It is recommended by Hinkle, Wiersma and Jurs (1988) that effect sizes should be pre-determined before proceeding with statistical analysis.

Table 24

Possible Outcomes of Hypothesis Testing
(Hinkle, Wiersma & Jurs, 1988)

Decision	Nature of Hypothesis	
	Null Hypothesis Is True	Null Hypothesis Is False
Reject Null Hypothesis	Type I error	Correct decision
Do Not Reject Null Hypothesis	Correct decision	Type II error

5.3 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Being a relatively new area of study, exploring the effect of violence on self-concept was expected to have certain limitations.

The theories of self-concept discussed in the literature review were found to be of the classical Western type with little or no reference made to the South African situation. Generalisations were made by the author from these theories to the South African situation and this in itself is a subjective exercise. Furthermore, the link between self-concept and violence may lie in the effects that violence may have on various aspects which constitute, and contribute to the formation of self-concept as discussed in the model of self-concept. The direct application of self-concept theory in relation to the experience of political violence is inappropriate, therefore extrapolations have to be made to link theory with research. This was found to be an inherent weakness of this

study.

As suggested earlier by Shavelson , Hubner and Stanton (1976), defining self-concept in itself may always be intrinsically difficult leaving studies such as this one hard to quantify and interpret. Therefore it would be hard to replicate studies such as this one.

It was found to be rather difficult to achieve consistent and appropriate sampling of subjects. The size of the sample was limited by the availability of subjects in the particular age group used in this study who were exposed to violence. Subsequently it was found that the two groups did not differ significantly regarding exposure to violence and the group were reassigned on the basis of exposure to violence. This raises the possibility that the control and experimental groups may have been mingled before assignment to the two research groups resulting in a convergence of self-concept. Thus, there would be no significant differences between the groups. Furthermore, it is possible that the low emotional impact items selected during the reassignment could in reality be significant, then all the children will have been exposed to high levels of violence. An attempt to reduce this possibility was made by consulting clinicians working in this field regarding the reassignment.

Due to small sample sizes, gender, socio-economic-deprivation, and family stressors of subjects were difficult to control. It is also possible that subjects may have given what they thought were favourable responses in the instruments administered in order to portray a positive view of themselves.

While one of the aims of this study was to explore the applicability of established instruments to the subjects, the instruments used may have affected the outcomes as they may not be totally valid and reliable. Some of the instruments used were also designed specifically for this study and used for the first time raising further doubts regarding their reliability and validity.

The use of content analysis in this study poses particular difficulties. Since the

construct of self-concept is hard to define accurately it will inevitably lead to difficulties in ascertaining the variables to be searched for (Kerlinger, 1992). This study has certainly found that it is very hard to pigeon-hole the responses of subjects given in the Incomplete Sentences Test into themes relating to self-concept. There is the danger that in order to link theory and practice the author may have strayed somewhat in measuring the self-concepts of the subjects through content analysing the Incomplete Sentences Test resulting in bias. Additionally, the categories found may not be related to violence and the assignment to categories may include error due to unreliable classification. While an independent rater was utilised, the possible effects of the subjectivity of the content analysis cannot be overlooked either. Some of the content of responses may also have been lost while translating responses from Zulu to English.

When analysing the results, discriminant function analysis was used for its ability to separate groups along one variable at a time and its parsimonious discriminations between variables (Stevens, 1986). However, Stevens warns that discriminate function analysis could discriminate on chance especially if the proportion of subjects to number of variables is not large. Stevens suggests that the ratio of sample size to amount of variables should be at least twenty to one. In this study twenty predictors were used for sixty group members, that is a ratio of three to one. It may therefore be hard to repeat the results of this study using different samples and therefore these results should be interpreted with caution.

Additionally, in this study the assumptions of parametric testing were not met completely. The stem-and-leaf displays showed skewed distributions and parametric tests require normal distributions of results. It was decided to use chi-square analysis as a non-parametric test. Except for the lower self-concept in the experimental group indicated by the Human Figure Drawing Test, results were still generally found to be insignificant.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The following recommendations for future research in the area of self-concept and violence were generated from the present study.

- i.) It is widely accepted that self-concept is difficult to define and describe comprehensively. Simply applying the current theories to South African blacks is difficult to do. This study did attempt to provide a model of self-concept which may be relevant in the South African context. As the author has suggested previously, this model should be investigated further and clarified more. Perhaps it may prove fruitful to utilise other fields, for example such as sociology and anthropology, in conjunction with current theories when describing the development of self-concept in black children. Relying solely on Western theories will only compound the methodological difficulties already described. There is clearly a need for future research regarding this issue.
- ii.) While qualitative methods involve more work than the simple administration of quantitative instruments they have a great deal of potential in exploratory study. Methods such as content analysis allow the researcher to explore new options when moving into uncharted terrain. In the field of self-concept in South Africa the development of more accurate quantitative measurement instruments should be preceded by the broadening of knowledge by exploratory methods.
- iii.) Researchers should beware of using elaborate procedures while guarding against oversimplifying research. This implies that there may always be an element of subjectivity and error as in all research in regarding the social sciences. Therefore, researchers should be open to the fact that their methodology may not be watertight and that results should be interpreted with caution.

- iv.) When designing measures for research it is suggested that this should always be done with the assistance a clinician who is experienced in the field of study.
- v.) In order to avoid Type II error researchers should keep the following in mind. The sample size should be as large as possible. The power of measurement instruments can be increased by defining sampling criteria as thoroughly as possible, by using one-tailed statistical tests for smaller samples, and by increasing the levels of significance.

5.5 SUMMARY

The present study did have certain limitations which may have contributed to the outcome thereof. It has, however produced certain useful recommendations for future research.

Results obtained in this study suggest that there is no significant relationship between the exposure to violence and self-concept in black children. This does not imply that violence will not affect self-concept, only that for the present study there was an insignificant effect. Furthermore, the link between violence and self-concept may be indirect. A model discussing this concept developed in this study.

Reliability and validity was discussed and it is possible that the unstructured methods had a low reliability and validity. The possibility of Type II error was discussed together with suggestions for reducing the chances of this type of error.

The limitations of this study were discussed. Limitations of this study may be intrinsic to the methods used and the field which was explored. However it cannot be denied that there is room for improvement in this study. Major limitations involved the difficulties of defining self-concept, finding a link between violence and self-concept as well as measuring self-concept in this regard, sample size, sampling procedure, reliabilities of unstructured instruments, and the method of content analysis.

Assumptions for parametric analysis were not met and a non-parametric analysis was indicated.

Out of the psychometric measurement instruments used, the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale proved through factor analysis to be a relatively reliable self-concept measure for black children. It may therefore be a useful instrument in future self-concept research with black children.

A need for more research in the field of violence and self-concept became apparent in this study. Providing that methodological difficulties can be minimised, future studies may yield more accurate and reliable results.

Recommendations include the following. Honing theoretical approaches in order to achieve a better match with South African conditions. This can be done by improving the model of self-concept as discussed in this study. Despite being more time consuming and complex it may be useful to use qualitative methods in exploratory research. Finally, Researchers should beware of using elaborate procedures while guarding against oversimplifying research.

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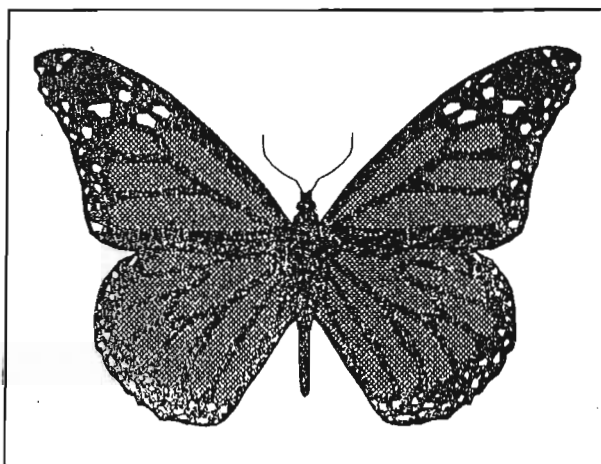
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APPENDIX A
LIFE EVENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN



INSTRUCTIONS

These pages have some questions for you to answer. There are some questions about who you are and where you live. There are some questions about things that might have happened in your life. There are also some questions about how you feel inside and any difficulties that you might have. **This is not a test.** There are no right or wrong answers. You must just say how you feel. It is important that you try to answer the questions as honestly as possible. If there is anything which you don't understand please ask for help.

"WHO I AM"

Here are some questions about you, your family and where you live. Please answer the questions in the spaces or tick the correct answer. Remember, if you are not sure what to write or how to write the answer, ask the assistant for help.

NAME: _____

1. What standard are you in? _____

2. How old are you? _____

3. Are you a boy or a girl? BOY _____
GIRL _____

4. Where do you live? _____

5. Who lives in your house with you? MOTHER _____
FATHER _____
BROTHERS _____
SISTERS _____
GRANDMOTHER _____
GRANDFATHER _____
STEPMOTHER _____
STEPFATHER _____
AUNT _____
UNCLE _____
COUSINS _____
OTHER PEOPLE _____

6. Who looks after you? _____

"WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO ME"

Here are some questions about things that might have happened to you. Please draw a circle around the correct answer.

Example: Have you ever been to school?

YES NO

1. Have you ever repeated a year at school?

YES NO

2. Have you found that life is dangerous in the townships?

YES NO

3. Have you ever been very sick?

YES NO

4. Do you sometimes have no food in the house?

YES NO

5. Have you ever seen a person being killed?

YES NO

6. Have you ever had to live outside?

YES NO

7. Have you ever had no house to go to?

YES NO

8. Are both your parents (mother and father) alive?

YES NO

9. Has your house ever been attacked or burned?

YES NO

 10. Have any houses in your area been attacked or
 burned?

YES NO

 11. Have you stayed in hospital?

YES NO

 12. Has anyone in your family died (eg. mother, father,
 brother, sister, cousin)?

YES NO

 13. Have you ever been frightened by vigilantes? YES NO

 14. Have you ever been frightened by the security forces
 (eg. police or army)?

YES NO

 15. Have you ever been arrested?

YES NO

 16. a. Has anyone in your family been arrested? YES NO

b. If they have, were you there when it happened?

YES NO

 17. a. Have any of your friends been arrested? YES NO

b. If they have, were you there when it happened?

YES NO

 18. a. Has anyone in your family been killed in the
 violence?

YES NO

b. If they have, were you there when it happened?

YES NO

 19. a. Have any of your friends been killed in the violence?
YES NO

b. If they have, were you there when it happened?
YES NO

 20. Is there often fighting between members of your family?
YES NO

 21. a. Has anyone in your family been attacked in the past?
YES NO

b. Did you see it happen?
YES NO

 22. Do you and your parents often argue about things?
YES NO

 23. Do you belong to a political group?
YES NO

 24. Have you ever been attacked before?
YES NO

 25. Has your mother had another baby since you were born?
YES NO

 26. Were you pleased that your mother had another baby?
YES NO

 27. Have you ever been assaulted by the security forces (eg. police or army)?
YES NO

28. Have you had to move to a different house, so that you would be safe? **YES NO**

29. Have you attacked people yourself? **YES NO**

30. Do you live with your own family? **YES NO**

31. Have you ever killed a person? **YES NO**

32. Have you ever been part of a group that has killed a person? **YES NO**

33. Have you ever had to leave your family and go and live with other people? **YES NO**

34. Have you ever been in gaol? **YES NO**

35. Have any of your family or close friends ever gone missing? **YES NO**

36. Have any members of your family gone into hiding? **YES NO**

37. Has your house ever been raided by security forces? **YES NO**

38. Do your parents or the people who you live with often beat you or physically harm you? **YES NO**

39. Has there ever been any violence at your school?

YES NO

If the answer is "YES" write down the things which happened in the space below. If you have any difficulty writing it down put up your hand for help:

40. Have you ever been prevented from going to school because of the violence? YES NO

 41. Have you ever seen a person being assaulted (eg. attacked or stabbed)? YES NO

 42. a. Have you been in any other situations where you were harmed or were afraid that you might be harmed?

YES NO

b. If your answer is "YES" write down these situations in the space below, or put up your hand for help:

43. a. Are there any other things or situations which make
you feel bad or unhappy? **YES NO**

b. If your answer is "**YES**" please write down these
things in the space below, or put up your hand for
help:

APPENDIX B
SED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

"TELL US ABOUT YOUR HOME"

What is your name ?

Are you a boy or girl ?

How old are you ?

What school do you go to ?

What is your teacher's name ?

* Do you own toys ? YES / NO

What toys do you own ? _____

* Is there electricity and/or gas in your home ?

YES / NO

* Do you have at least two meals a day ?

YES / NO

* Is there a flush toilet in your home ?

YES / NO

* Is there a fridge in your home ?

YES / NO

* Do you have your own bed to sleep on ?

YES / NO

Is there at least one hot water tap in your home ?

YES / NO

In your house is there a	:	Bedroom ?	YES / NO
		Living Room ?	YES / NO
		Kitchen ?	YES / NO
		Bathroom ?	YES / NO

Do you usually sleep in a room with three or more people ?

YES / NO

Do your parents (Mother or Father) read at least one newspaper or magazine a week ?

YES / NO

Do you usually receive a present from your parents on your birthday ?

YES / NO

Is there a radio and/or TV set in your home ?

YES / NO

APPENDIX C

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR
TEACHERS**

To be filled in by the teacher

Name of pupil :

Gender of pupil : Male / Female

Age of pupil :

School :

Name of teacher :

As far as you know, is the child physically and/or mentally abused ?

YES / NO

Does the child receive adequate medical, dental and health care ?

YES / NO

As far as you know, is the child usually adequately clothed ?

YES / NO

As far as you know, is the attitude of the child's parents towards his/her schooling positive or at least neutral ?

YES / NO

Does the child have any abnormal fear and/or hostility towards his/her parents, peer group and/or teachers ?

YES / NO

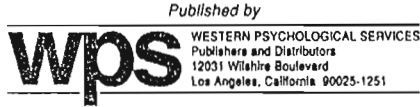
APPENDIX D

PIERS-HARRIS CHILDREN'S SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

“THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT MYSELF”

The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale

Ellen V. Piers, Ph.D. and Dale B. Harris, Ph.D.



Name: _____ Today's Date: _____

Age: _____ Sex (circle one): Girl Boy Grade: _____

School: _____ Teacher's Name (optional): _____

Directions: Here is a set of statements that tell how some people feel about themselves. Read each statement and decide whether or not it describes the way you feel about yourself. If it is *true or mostly true* for you, circle the word "yes" next to the statement. If it is *false or mostly false* for you, circle the word "no." Answer every question, even if some are hard to decide. Do not circle both "yes" and "no" for the same statement.

Remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Only you can tell us how you feel about yourself, so we hope you will mark the way you really feel inside.

TOTAL SCORE: Raw Score _____ Percentile _____ Stanine _____

CLUSTERS: I _____ II _____ III _____ IV _____ V _____ VI _____

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. My classmates make fun of meyes no | 21. I am good in my school workyes no |
| 2. I am a happy personyes no | 22. I do many bad thingsyes no |
| 3. It is hard for me to make friendsyes no | 23. I can draw wellyes no |
| 4. I am often sadyes no | 24. I am good in musicyes no |
| 5. I am smartyes no | 25. I behave badly at homeyes no |
| 6. I am shyyes no | 26. I am slow in finishing my school work.....yes no |
| 7. I get nervous when the teacher calls on meyes no | 27. I am an important member of my classyes no |
| 8. My looks bother meyes no | 28. I am nervousyes no |
| 9. When I grow up, I will be an important personyes no | 29. I have pretty eyesyes no |
| 10. I get worried when we have tests in schoolyes no | 30. I can give a good report in front of the classyes no |
| 11. I am unpopularyes no | 31. In school I am a dreameryes no |
| 12. I am well behaved in schoolyes no | 32. I pick on my brother(s) and sister(s)yes no |
| 13. It is usually my fault when something goes wrongyes no | 33. My friends like my ideasyes no |
| 14. I cause trouble to my familyyes no | 34. I often get into troubleyes no |
| 15. I am strongyes no | 35. I am obedient at homeyes no |
| 16. I have good ideasyes no | 36. I am luckyyes no |
| 17. I am an important member of my familyyes no | 37. I worry a lotyes no |
| 18. I usually want my own wayyes no | 38. My parents expect too much of meyes no |
| 19. I am good at making things with my handsyes no | 39. I like being the way I amyes no |
| 20. I give up easilyyes no | 40. I feel left out of thingsyes no |

- 41. I have nice hairyes no
- 42. I often volunteer in schoolyes no
- 43. I wish I were differentyes no
- 44. I sleep well at nightyes no
- 45. I hate schoolyes no
- 46. I am among the last to be chosen for gamesyes no
- 47. I am sick a lotyes no
- 48. I am often mean to other peopleyes no
- 49. My classmates in school think I have good ideasyes no
- 50. I am unhappyyes no
- 51. I have many friendsyes no
- 52. I am cheerfulyes no
- 53. I am dumb about most thingsyes no
- 54. I am good-lookingyes no
- 55. I have lots of pepyes no
- 56. I get into a lot of fightsyes no
- 57. I am popular with boysyes no
- 58. People pick on meyes no
- 59. My family is disappointed in meyes no
- 60. I have a pleasant faceyes no

- 61. When I try to make something, everything seems to go wrongyes no
- 62. I am picked on at homeyes no
- 63. I am a leader in games and sportsyes no
- 64. I am clumsyyes no
- 65. In games and sports, I watch instead of playyes no
- 66. I forget what I learnyes no
- 67. I am easy to get along withyes no
- 68. I lose my temper easilyyes no
- 69. I am popular with girlsyes no
- 70. I am a good readeryes no
- 71. I would rather work alone than with a groupyes no
- 72. I like my brother (sister)yes no
- 73. I have a good figureyes no
- 74. I am often afraidyes no
- 75. I am always dropping or breaking thingsyes no
- 76. I can be trustedyes no
- 77. I am different from other peopleyes no
- 78. I think bad thoughtsyes no
- 79. I cry easilyyes no
- 80. I am a good personyes no

APPENDIX E
HFD INSTRUCTIONS

HFD INSTRUCTIONS

"On this piece of paper I would like you to draw a **WHOLE** person. It can be any kind of person you want to draw, just make sure that it is a whole person and not a stick figure or a cartoon figure." (Koppitz, 1968)

APPENDIX F
INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

I wish that

Most of the time I feel

At school I feel

At home

I need

Other children usually

Women usually like to

My greatest worry is

The only trouble is

Men usually like to

I am sorry about (regret)

My greatest fear

I hate

I get scared when

My greatest dream/wish for the future is

APPENDIX G
CATEGORIES FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS

CATEGORIES FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS

Each response in the Incomplete Sentences Test was scored in one of the following categories. For each category the criteria are given.

1 Positive/Negative Life Experiences or History

In the category of experience are grouped those events which happen at school, home (regarding the family), violence, social (for example, witnessing theft, or doing wrong), doings of peers which influence the individual, physical events (for example, disturbances when trying to sleep), and abnormal behaviour or psychopathology (for example, doing things that are strange when compared to other children). Responses that are rated in this category can be rated either positive or negative. For example, witnessing violence is a negative experience.

2 Positive/Negative Institution or Culture

The acceptance of traditional chores, male/female roles, social activities like play and leisure activities which are determined by one's institution, can indicate identification with one's culture. Also included here would be the cultural aspirations or strivings, human relations, male or female expectations, need for luxuries, family relations, the individual's view on discipline or punishment reflecting moral identification, role identity (for example, doing the things boys/girls in our culture do), individuation, popularity, and the religion and myth which each culture subscribes to. Subjects can either be rated as having a positive or negative attitude towards his/her institution or culture according to his/her response to certain items.

3 Positive/Negative Organisation

This would include beliefs, norms, values, and social sanctions. Organisation relates to aspects such as power, male or female career orientatedness, the need for work, family, and scholastic aspects. Within the concept of power, Burns (1979), includes such concepts as locus of control (mastery of the external world) and self-efficacy (for example, "I have more power than my peers"). A subject who indicates that he/she aspires to certain careers indicates positive identification with the organisation. Items where the subjects rejects the beliefs, norms, and values of the day should be scored negative.

4 Positive/Negative Psychological Resources

This category includes responses that can be linked to self-esteem, happiness, satisfaction, emotions (mood), anxiety - as may be expressed by the need for transitional objects relevant to attachment theory (Piers, 1984), and psychological defences (for example, denial). Burns (1979) includes centrality, which is an inward versus an outward orientation, impulse control, and the child's psychological adjustment. This would include responses regarding coping with everyday happenings, work and social relations. For example, responses where the subject indicates feelings of inadequacy would be rated negative.

According to many theories psychological resources are influenced by the parent-child relationships. Responses relating to the child's relationship with his/her parents are important here. For example, if a subject indicates that something is lacking in his/her relationship with one or both parents this could lead to insecurity and should be rated negative in this category.

5 Positive/Negative Academic Resources

Eriksonian theory suggests that a child's self-concept will be influenced by success in school work. Therefore, a child's ability to cope academically or cognitively can determine his/her academic resources which in turn possibly influence self-concept (Burns, 1979). For example, the child who has little academic ability may feel inferior regarding his/her academic ability when compared to people who are academically superior. Other aspects may include the literacy or the lack thereof (the need to read), and academic aspirations. The child's feelings in this regard may be reflected in his/her responses to the incomplete sentences. For example, if a subject indicates that he/she wishes to pass his/her exams this would indicate feelings of academic inadequacy and should be rated negative. If the subject suggests that he/she enjoys school this response should be rated positive.

6 Positive/Negative Physical or Bodily Aspects

Responses reflecting concerns about physical aspects should be scored in this category. Depending on their content, responses can be rated either positive or negative. This includes the way a person may feel or regard his/her physical (that is, bodily) aspects. Through the evaluative aspect of the formation of self-concept the individual may evaluate him/herself on a physical level. According to Sullivan (1953) evaluations can be made against absolute standards, like the ideal, and they can be made against relative standards such as those set by peers or the perceived evaluations of others. This is not only influenced by appearance, but by body satisfaction, clothing, and physical ailments or complaints such as fatigue. There may be a link here with psychological aspects as an individual may, for example, feel unhappy or anxious when ill or when being overweight (Raath & Jacobs, 1990). If the individual also experiences an ailment this may affect

physical self-concept.

7. Vague or Ill Defined Responses

This category would include responses where the subject may have misunderstood an item and responded inappropriately as well as responses which are unclear.

8. No Response

If a subject leaves out a response the item should be scored in this category.

APPENDIX H
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS BEFORE REASSIGNMENT

Table H-1

Experimental (Exp) and Control (Cntrl) Group Percentages for Direct Exposure to Violence Before Reassignment

Item	Exp	Cntrl
Own house has been raided by the security forces	33.3%	3.3%
Own house has been attacked or burned	30.0%	36.7%
Witnessed a person being killed	26.7%	20.7%
Been in other situations where harmed or afraid of being harmed	20.0%	0.0%
Witnessed the killing of family member	16.7%	0.0%
Personally seen someone being attacked	16.7%	0.0%
Witnessed a family member being attacked	16.1%	0.0%
Own house has been attacked or burned	10.0%	0.0%
Personally been attacked before	10.0%	6.9%
Has been violence at own school	6.7%	3.3%
Witnessed the killing of a friend	3.3%	0.0%
Personally been assaulted by the security forces	3.3%	3.5%
Been arrested before	0.0%	3.5%
Personally killed a person	0.0%	0.0%
Has been part of a group that has killed a person	0.0%	0.0%
Been in jail	0.0%	3.4%

Table H-2

Descriptive Statistics for Direct Exposure to Violence of Both Groups Before Reassignment

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	0.9	0.0	1.4	0.3	0.3-1.6
Experimental	1.8	1.0	1.9	0.3	0.9-2.7

Chi-Square=5.49, df=6, p>0.05

Table H-3

Experimental (Exp) and Control (Cntrl) Group Percentages for Indirect Exposure to Violence Before Reassignment

Item	Exp	Cntrl
Houses in the area have been attacked or burned	63.3%	36.7%
Prevented from going to school because of violence	40.0%	3.3%
Personally been frightened by the security forces	30.0%	20.0%
Family member has been arrested before	30.0%	10.0%
Have found that life is dangerous in the townships	23.3%	43.3%
Witnessed family member being arrested	23.3%	3.3%
Had to move house in order to be safe	23.3%	33.3%
Family member has been killed in the violence	20.0%	10.0%
Family and/or close friends have gone missing	20.0%	10.0%
Family member has been attacked in the past	16.7%	3.3%
Personally been frightened by vigilantes	10.0%	10.0%
Family members have gone into hiding	10.0%	0.0%
Friends have been arrested before	6.7%	0.0%
Friends have been killed in the violence	6.7%	0.0%
Witnessed friends being arrested	0.0%	0.0%

Table H-4

Descriptive Statistics for Indirect Exposure to Violence of Both Groups Before Reassignment

Group	Mean	Median	Sd	SEMean	CI
Control	1.8	1.5	1.7	0.3	1.1-2.6
Experimental	3.3	2.0	3.5	0.5	2.1-4.5

Chi-Square=10.24, df=9, p>0.05

APPENDIX I
STEM-AND-LEAF-DISPLAYS

STEM-AND-LEAF-DISPLAYS

Character Stem-and-Leaf Display

Stem-and-leaf of BEHAVE N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

  1   3 3
  2   3 5
  3   3 6
  4   3 9
  7   4 111
  9   4 33
 13   4 5555
 19   4 677777
 19   4
(11)  5 00000000000
 27   5
 27   5 4444444444444444
 13   5
 13   5 9999999999999
  1   6
  1   6
  1   6
  1   6 6

```

Stem-and-leaf of INTALEC N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

  1   4 1
  2   4 3
  5   4 555
  8   4 777
  8   4
 14   5 000000
 21   5 2222222
(13)  5 4555555555555555
 23   5
 23   5 99999999
 16   6
 16   6 23333333333
  6   6
  6   6
  6   6 9
  5   7 00000

```

Stem-and-leaf of HAPPY N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

  1   2 8
  3   3 00
  6   3 222
 14   4 666667
 17   4 999
 17   5
(14)  5 333333333333333
 26   5 4
 25   5 6666666666
 15   5
 15   6 000000000000
  3   6
  3   6 44
  1   6
  1   6 9
  
```

Stem-and-leaf of ANXIETY N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

  2   2 66
  2   3
  2   3
 10   4 11144444
 28   4 777777777777999999
(6)   5 222222
 23   5 5555555555899999999
  4   6 33
  2   6 99
  
```

Stem-and-leaf of POPULAR N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

  3   3 444
  5   3 66
 11   3 999999
 16   4 11111
 16'  4
 27   4 444444444444
(11)  4 777777777777
 19   4 9
 18   5 1111111111
  9   5
  9   5 555555
  3   5
  3   5
  3   6 11
  1   6
  1   6
  1   6
  1   6 9
  
```

Stem-and-leaf of PHYSICAL N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

1    3 4
3    3 77
3    3
5    4 00
8    4 333
8    4
6    3
11   3 66666
11   3
11   4
18   4 2222222
18   4
(18) 4 77777777777777777777
21   4 8
20   5
20   5 22222222222222
7    5
7    5 6666666
```

Stem-and-leaf of TOTALSC N = 57
 Leaf Unit = 1.0 N* = 3

```

1    3 7
2    3 8
2    4
4    4 33
5    4 4
6    4 7
11   4 88899
20   5 0111111111
27   5 2233333
(7)  5 4444555
23   5 6666677
16   5 8888999
9    6 00001
4    6 23
2    6
2    6 66
```

Stem-and-leaf of HFDAP N = 59
 Leaf Unit = 0.10 N* = 1

```

10   0 00000000000
29   1 00000000000000000000
(16) 2 00000000000000000000
14   3 00000000
6    4 00000
1    5 0
```


Stem-and-leaf of APOPSYC N = 60
Leaf Unit = 0.10

7	0	0000000
23	1	00000000000000000
(29)	2	00
8	3	00000000

Stem-and-leaf of ANEGPSYC N = 60
Leaf Unit = 0.10

26	0	00
(24)	1	00
10	2	00000000
2	3	0
1	4	0

Stem-and-leaf of APOSACA N = 60
Leaf Unit = 0.10

(45)	0	000
15	1	0000000000000000
2	2	00

Stem-and-leaf of ANEGACA N = 60
Leaf Unit = 0.10

(42)	0	000
18	1	0000000000000000
5	2	000
2	3	0
1	4	0

Stem-and-leaf of APOSPHYS N = 60
Leaf Unit = 0.010

(57)	0	000
3	1	
3	2	
3	3	
3	4	
3	5	
3	6	
3	7	
3	8	
3	9	
3	10	000

Stem-and-leaf of ANEGPHYS N = 60
Leaf Unit = 0.10

(32)	0	000
28	1	000000000000000000000000
11	2	0000000
4	3	000
1	4	
1	5	0