

**SELF-ESTEEM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE AMONG
ADOLESCENTS IN A MINORITY GROUP, THE CASE
OF THE ZANZIBARIS IN DURBAN**

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ABSTRACT

The Zanzibaris of Durban constitute the smallest minority in South Africa's ethnically diverse society. The largest cluster of Zanzibaris reside in a predominantly Indian area of Bayview, Chatsworth. Their adolescents attend schools with black and Indian peers. The theoretical perspectives of self-esteem and social distance imply that adolescents in such circumstances face a complex task of identity formation.

This study compared levels of self-esteem, as measured by the Piers Harris Self Concept Scale, in Zanzibaris, Zulu-speaking blacks and Indian boys and girls aged 13-16 years. The sample consisted of 263 respondents of 3 racial groups (Zanzibaris (n=60); Indians (n=154) and Zulu-speaking blacks (n=49), of both genders drawn from two urban schools in Bayview, Chatsworth (a socio-economically heterogeneous area) in Durban. An adaptation of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was employed to assess the attitudes of Zanzibari adolescents to other racial groups. These attitudes were examined for gender differences and in relation to self-esteem scores. In view of the sensitivity of the study, parental consent was sought and respondents were briefed before and after administration of the measures.

The results were analysed using analysis of variance, t-tests and correlation co-efficients. Interracial comparisons did not uphold the prediction that Zanzibaris would exhibit significantly lower levels of global self-esteem or its six components. Zanzibaris displayed significantly higher scores globally and for five of the components. No significant gender differences were found in self-esteem scores of the entire sample or for each racial group.

The prediction, that Zanzibari adolescents in view of their circumstances, would show greater social distance towards blacks than towards Indians was not supported. Zanzibari boys and girls were similar in their ranking of other racial groups in terms of out-group preference, with boys showing greater social distance towards each group. Self-esteem and social distance scores were positively correlated at a non-significant level. This did not support the prediction that minority adolescents who preferred out-groups over in-groups would have lower self-concept scores.

The findings are discussed in terms of theories of self-esteem, social identity and contact hypotheses, and contrasted, with those of other studies conducted in South Africa and

abroad. Attention is drawn to the strengths and limitations of this study. The findings have implications for policy makers at the level of school and community in order to reduce prejudice and promote intergroup harmony. It is suggested that curriculum packages include social science sessions to explore concepts of tolerance, racism and inter-ethnic communication both at individual and institutional levels. In the light of this study, suggestions are made for further research to inform the discourse around marginalised minorities.

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PREFACE

The study is about a minority group whose life story is embedded in very particular circumstances. Theirs has been a moving, touching history of a people trapped by prejudice at both an institutional and personal level. The Zanzibaris as a marginalised community have made an impact on me at various stages of my life. As a child I knew them as youngsters who visited Muslim homes during the month of Ramadaan (the month of fasting). They recited verses from the Qur'an in their resonating, moving voices, in return for alms. I felt the indifference of others towards them. This was the only context in which I knew them.

Later, as a teacher, I were to interact with the Zanzibari adolescents, this time in a different context. I was acutely aware of the hostility and antagonism expressed towards them, both by adults and children. I was sensitive to the prejudice and ignorance that surrounded this virtually unknown community. Certain attitudes and stereotypes, mostly negative, became long standing facts. The need to understand these discriminated against youngsters became a growing interest. It was largely the nature and influence of their social experience and this impact on their personal development that I have been interested in making sense of. Hence, the topic of this dissertation was not just an academic interest or intellectual pursuit.

“O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female,
And made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other
(Not that ye may despise each other). Verily, the most honoured of you
In the sight of God is (one who is) the most righteous of you”.

(The Qur'an, 49:13)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

TOPIC: Self-esteem and social distance among adolescents in a minority group, the case of the Zanzibaris in Durban.

1. 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1.1. Background to the study

“Whether or not ethnic prejudice offends some universally conceived ethical code, the phenomenon is characteristic of human behaviour in that it attracts the attention of men in general and of social scientists in particular” (Vaughn, 1964, p. 137). Vaughn further adds that one of the many aspects of prejudice is the psychological development of unfavourable attitudes towards out-groups.

Racial prejudice (attitudes), group favouritism and intergroup relations have long dominated the field of social psychological research both abroad (Aboud, 1988; Spenser & Markstrom-Adams, 1990) and in South Africa (Foster, 1991a; Kelly & Duckitt, 1995).

One of the central issues for adolescents is to come to terms with who and what they are. Uncertainty about the self-concept reaches its peak during adolescence. Altered social experience and changing demands from society lead to a shifting, unstable self concept, a concept which Erikson (1959) refers to as “identity confusion”. In ethnically diverse society adolescents of ethnic minority groups face a more complex task of identity formation (Phinney, Du Pont, Espinosa, Revill & Sanders, 1994).

The present study focuses on attitudes of the Zanzibari adolescent in Chatsworth, Durban. These are members of an underprivileged, economically disadvantaged community. The Zanzibaris have been the target of racism and discrimination and have often been marginalised by the broader Indian and black communities.

Of all the psychological and behavioural variables associated with prejudice and minority groups, self-esteem has received a great deal of attention. Ethnic minority

status has been viewed as impacting on self-esteem. This relationship has been an object of a great many studies both in the US (for reviews see Wylie, 1979; Aboud, 1988) and in South Africa (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995).

Kinloch (1985) states that the study of racial attitudes in South Africa is of crucial significance to the understanding of negative attitudes in general. Predominant in the study of intergroup relations is social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to this theory, discrimination between groups is a function of intergroup social comparison. Tajfel and Turner (1986) have also postulated that by derogating other groups (or having negative attitudes), one may elevate the relative status of one's own group and hence elevate self-esteem. Therefore people who are low in self-esteem are more likely to be the prejudiced (Wills, 1981).

A substantive number of studies, both in America and in South Africa (for a review see Foster & Nel, 1991) have focused on black and white relations and far less has been done on relations and contacts within black categories (Foster & Nel, 1991). The present study addresses one minority in these terms by focusing on the Zanzibaris of South Africa, who are the most overlooked, almost unknown ethnic minority of Chatsworth, Durban. Their total population is approximately 10 000. (Chothia, 1993). The study examines the issue of self-esteem during the crucial period of adolescence and considers how this relates to racial attitudes (prejudice). This is done by measuring the social distance experienced by the Zanzibari adolescent to other groups.

1.1.2. The community in question : the Zanzibaris

The Zanzibaris of Durban are descendants of freed slaves. Their ancestors came mainly from the Makua people of Northern Mozambique (Oosthuizen, 1982). They were liberated by the British navy in the 1870's when British anti-slavery laws were being enforced. They arrived in Durban in 1873 to replace the programme of indentured Indian labour which had run into problems. They were placed in the care of the protector of Indian Immigration and were settled in Kings Rest on the Bluff. Being devout Muslims they soon discovered fellow Muslims among the Indians and forged close links with them. According to Seedat (1973) while the Zanzibaris lived in Kings

Rest there was considerable interaction and 'apparent amity' between themselves and the Indians. Initially the authorities kept them separate from local blacks because of their religious faith and because of their "somewhat different style of life" (Oosthuizen, 1985).

They lived a fairly exclusive and sheltered life on the Bluff, almost unnoticed by the outside world. Because of their distinctive dress, secluded existence and religion, the Zanzibaris came to be known as the 'lost tribe', as the authorities could not 'pigeon-hole' them into any known, existing African tribes. It was also a label that became popular in the media. The Zanzibaris resent being referred to as the 'lost tribe' of Durban; they state quite emphatically that they are fully aware of their ancestry and identity. They felt it was the authorities and administration that were lost and confused. Wally Shaik, a community leader (Chothia, 1993) commented, "We are not lost. We know who we are, what we do and what we want" (p. 13).

The Zanzibaris' sheltered and unobtrusive life in Kings Rest was disrupted when the Population Registration Act of 1950 had much difficulty in trying to place the Zanzibaris in one of Apartheid's 'pigeon holes'. The classification proved difficult due to the Zanzibaris' wide range of physical features and their cultural distinction (Eveleth, 1993). They were first classified as freed slaves then as Bantu, then as Coloured and finally as "other Asiatic" because of their religious Islamic background.

According to local administrators the Zanzibaris could not be classified as Bantu as they were of mixed origin (Seedat, 1973). Coloureds objected to the Zanzibaris being classified as coloured on the grounds that they differed in both race and religion from the South African coloured (Zwane, 1993). The Zanzibaris were relocated to Chatsworth, an Indian township in 1962 as a result of the "other Asiatic" classification. In spite of being promised better housing, employment and education, the Zanzibaris in fact encountered overcrowding, mounting unemployment and have generally faced a traumatic and uncertain time. Since then the acute housing shortage has resulted in the creation of an informal settlement behind the Chatsworth homes in Bayview.

The Zanzibaris have encountered ongoing racial hostility and discrimination. During the 1960's and 1970's many right wing politicians campaigned for their removal from an Indian area. They have often been marginalised by the broader Indian community (Padayachee, 1995). According to Alfa Frank, chairperson of the Zanzibari Civic Association, in spite of this, many Zanzibaris apparently preferred Chatsworth to an African or Coloured township as there was a significant number of Muslims among the Indians. It was felt that they would be able to keep their religion if they lived among people of the same faith.

The Zanzibaris yearn to return to Kings Rest where a mosque and a cemetery are the only indications of a culturally rich past. In a new democracy, the community has engaged in a legal battle to file a claim for the return of their land (Ahmed, 1996).

1.2. INTRODUCTION OF CONSTRUCTS USED IN THE STUDY

1.2.1. Self-esteem

Self-esteem has been subject to numerous definitions and has had a long prolific history in psychology and sociology. It has generally been investigated as the negative and positive feelings a person has about himself/herself. For the purpose of this study, self-esteem refers to "the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself, it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy" (Coopersmith, 1967, p. 4 & 5). The rationale for selecting the above definition is presented in chapter 2.

According to Howcroft (1990) self-esteem plays a central role in the individual's social functioning and sense of well-being. He adds "how people think of and evaluate themselves both as a consequence of a basic social condition and as a predisposition for subsequent behaviour is an essential behavioural construct for interpreting human conduct" (p. 31).

It has been well recognised that feelings about the self maybe related to prejudice and intergroup behaviour (Crocker, Blaine & Luhtanen, 1993). Membership in social

groups provides an important source of self-esteem. Being a member of a high status, successful group gives rise to a sense of value, self respect and self worth (Coleman, Brown & Lohr, Cusick, cited in Crocker et al., 1993). Conversely, members of a disadvantaged minority might have lower self-regard, self-confidence, feel insecure about themselves and in general have a more negative view towards themselves (Verkuyten, 1994), and may also be regarded unfavourably by others (Crocker et al., 1993). However, a great deal of controversy surrounds the idea that ethnic attitudes are related to self-esteem (Aboud, 1988). Nonetheless, self-esteem remains a useful construct in determining the qualitative nature of behavioural interaction (Long, 1993).

1.2.2. Racial attitudes

The concept of attitude has long dominated the field of social psychology (McGuire, 1986) and attracted much debate. The debate has centred around the American “individualistic” perspective and the European perspective which adopts a more social approach. The South African trend, from as early as 1930 with MacCrone’s first attitudinal study, has taken the latter perspective. South African research has focused on intergroup relations and differences, while the ‘classical’ view of attitudes focuses on intra-individual differences. Given that South African society was divided on the basis of ‘race’ it is no surprise that research in social psychology in South Africa has been exclusively concerned with ‘racial attitudes’ (Foster & Nel, 1991).

According to Duckitt (1991) prejudiced attitudes are in part determined by factors within the prejudiced individual. These factors include concepts such as personality traits, cognitive styles, self-esteem and other stable attributes of the individual. Low self-esteem is thought to influence an individual’s susceptibility to prejudice (Ehrlich, 1973).

The literature reports that prejudice tends to be a generalised attitude. Allport (1954) asserts that people who reject one out-group will tend to reject other out-groups. Thus, persons who report favourable attitudes towards some out-groups would tend to be favourable towards other out-groups too. (Fink, 1971; Bierly, 1985). Other empirical

findings refute the idea that prejudice may be generalised (Prothro, 1952) and show that individuals could have positive feelings towards some groups and negative feelings towards others.

1.2.3 Adolescence

Minority youth face pressures from within ethnic groups to conform to ethnic traditions in addition to pressure from the wider society to identify with mainstream culture. As a result they become increasingly aware of negative stereotypes and discrimination as well as the lower status and power of their group. (Anderson, 1991). Studies have shown that ethnic group membership coupled with a sense of ethnic pride has a positive relationship to one's sense of self-worth (Verkuyten, 1995).

It has generally been assumed that youth who are members of a disadvantaged minority group have lower self-regard, self-confidence and feel insecure about themselves. They are also more often the victims of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination. (Verkuyten, 1994). Generally minority youths are confronted with unfavourable conditions. Verkuyten (1994) argues that in this respect most disadvantaged minority groups around the world are comparable.

1.2.4. Minority groups and intergroup discrimination

Social factors as well as numerical factors determine the definitions of ethnic minorities. Hutnik (1991) and Tajfel (1981) postulate that minority groups are more particularly determined by the social position of the groups concerned.

Minorities are generally held in low regard and are the victims of negative stereotypes, social derogation and discrimination and are generally seen as subordinated groups in society. They are relatively disadvantaged in terms of socio-economic and educational opportunities. These unfavourable conditions are often assumed to have important implications for the self-feelings of minorities (Verkuyten, 1995). According to Grossack (1956) members of a minority group who encounter overpowering barriers show a desire to leave that group. More recently Hogg & Abrams (1988) theorise that unfavourable social conditions may cause a person to become increasingly self

conscious about his/her membership in a minority group or even to reject the group entirely. Some minority groups in a particular society are more accepted than others.

1.2.5. Further definitions of terms relevant to this study

Minority Group: Verkuyten (1995) defines minorities as “subordinated groups in society that are held in low regard by the dominant group and are often the victims of negative stereotypes, social derogation and exclusion”(p. 155 & 156). This definition highlights that minorities are not only determined by numerical criteria but by the social position they occupy in society.

Ethnic Groups: Aboud and Skerry (1984) refer to an ethnic group as a socially and or psychologically defined set of people who share a common culture or cultural background, often because of similarity of race, nationality or religion”(p. 3).

Out-groups: Duckitt (1992) describes the term through the concept of ethnocentrism. “Ethnocentrism consist of a belief in the unique value and rightness of one’s in-group and a disdain for out-groups to the extent that they differ from the in-group” (p. 6).

Attitudes, Awareness, Preferences and Identification: According to Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) ethnic and racial attitudes are often treated as synonymous with ethnic and racial preference. Foster (1994) notes that the development of children’s racial attitudes and their intergroup orientations is not a unitary phenomenon. “It manifests as different aspects, awareness, preference (attitude) identification” (p. 226).

Ethnic attitude: Aboud and Skerry (1984) define ethnic attitude “as a predisposition to respond in a favourable or unfavourable manner toward people from different ethnic groups (p. 3).

Stereotypes: tend to be rigid, overgeneralised beliefs about the attributes of ethnic group members. Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) define the concept of stereotype as “ a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people” (p. 16).

Racial category: The term race is a value laden concept and racial terminology in South Africa is not without controversy. Race categories used in the study are historically specific and socially constructed.

Social Distance: Duckitt (1992) defines social distance “as reflecting the preferred degree of closeness in inter-personal contact and relationships with members of another group” (p. 8).

1.3. AIMS OF THE STUDY

Generally for more than a century, attitudes of others towards the Zanzibaris have not been favourable (Padayachee, 1995). The present study investigates the issues of tolerance (social distance), prejudice and the relationship with the level of self-esteem in a group of Zanzibari, black and Indian adolescents.

More specifically the aims of the study are to investigate:

- 1) The assumption that discrimination against ethnic minority youth might lead to impaired self-esteem.
- 2) Gender differences in self-esteem in Zanzibari, Indian and Zulu-speaking black adolescents.
- 3) The social distance of Zanzibari adolescents towards other groups.
- 4) Gender differences in social distance in the Zanzibari group.
- 5) The suggestion that high social distance (prejudice) is associated with lowered self-esteem in minority children (in this study, the Zanzibari group).

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

Although South Africa now enjoys a new democracy and institutionalised racism is a thing of the past, the majority of South African society is still splintered by racial, ethnic and tribal factors. Unemployment and housing are still contentious issues with many of its people. A case in example is the Zanzibari community; as a minority group they have achieved very little social and economic advancement. Juxtapositioned between the blacks and Indians, accepted by neither, the Zanzibaris typify the extreme

with respect to prejudice and discrimination. The intergroup tension and hostility in a now liberated country make this a precedent area in contemporary research.

Bogardus (1968) emphasised the need for the study of ethnic attitudes over periods of time in various parts of the world. He stated that “such studies at intervals will give information regarding trends in racial reactions” (Bogardus, 1968, p. 156). This statement bears relevance to the South African situation as it would be interesting to note whether racial/ethnic attitudes and social distances have been reduced or perhaps redirected after the apartheid era. This kind of enquiry is necessary as attitudes are affected by large-scale events. For example, studies by Niewoudt, Plug & Mynhardt, 1977; Niewoudt & Plug, 1983) found that after the Soweto riots in 1976, whites expressed more positive attitudes towards Indians and more negative attitudes towards blacks. Foster and Nel (1991) refer to a host of public attitude surveys that show that there are fundamental shifts in attitudes of people, for example, whites show a positive attitude towards other groups.

According to Bogardus (1968) studies of ethnic attitudes assist the social scientist in understanding the changes that are taking place in society. Heaven (1977) adds “it is imperative that we constantly seek to improve our knowledge and understanding of race attitudes in an attempt to improve communication between the various groups” (p. 68).

Lever (1975) has said that “race relations loom so large on the South African scene that it is not possible to understand South African society without understanding the dynamics of race relations” (p. 41).

South African studies have in the main focused on racial attitudes and contact between blacks and white (MacCrone, 1938; Kinloch, 1985; Foster & Nel, 1991). To date, very little literature exists on attitudes and contacts within black categories and other minority groups. The relevance of the present study is the focus on a minority group that is almost unknown to South Africa, even to those living in Durban.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of prejudice is riddled with complexities and contradictions. This is indeed an intriguing topic as it pervades every aspect of human social life. Duckitt (1992) points out that as long as some criteria are available to separate people into groups, be it racial, religious, occupational or tribal, prejudice makes a noticeable presence.

In South Africa, a country exposed to racial separation for over three centuries, the study of prejudice becomes necessary to provide an understanding of a deeply splintered society. To this end research in intergroup dynamics and relations becomes a priority area (Kinloch, 1985; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986; Duckitt, 1992; Foster & Nel, 1991). Duckitt (1992) stresses the necessity of a scientific investigation, as prejudice is a seriously problematic phenomenon.

Although South Africa has made a fairly smooth transition to a democracy and apartheid structures of the past are being dismantled, racial segregation has not wholly disappeared as Naidoo (1997) states “the role played by ethnicity for most South Africans is and will continue to be a highly contested issue”. (p. 6). Therefore the topic of intergroup relations is still of interest and value in providing an understanding of this society.

Racism has had far-reaching consequences: not only have the dynamics of prejudice and stereotype impacted on the widely divergent living space of the different population groups in South Africa (Nel, 1989; Devine, cited in Long, 1993), it has also resulted in negative consequences. Intolerance (social distance), impaired self-concept, reduced self-esteem, distorted identity and the acceptance of one's own group (in-group) as inferior and other groups (out-groups) as superior are indirect, subtle consequences of racism (Foster, 1994).

The study employs the constructs of self-esteem and social distance (level of tolerance) to depict the orientations and preferences of a specific group of disadvantaged adolescents.

It is noted in the literature that less research has been done on black than white attitudes (Duckitt & Foster, 1991; Foster & Nel, 1991). Even less has been done on minority groups other than blacks (Aboud, 1988). Both international research (for reviews see Foster, 1994; Aboud, 1988) and South African research (see Foster, 1994) have focused mainly on black and white attitudes. There is a distinct absence of research on the attitudes of numerous minority groups in the country.

This study uses the instance of South Africa's smallest minority group viz. the Zanzibaris of Chatsworth - Durban. A brief historical background of the Zanzibari community will be given with specific references to the South African political context. The writer has noticed in her own experience a surprising lack of awareness of the existence of the Zanzibari community among the people in the Durban area. They are unknown to many sections of the society in Durban and in South Africa.

This chapter focuses on the issues of prejudice, the construct of self-esteem and its impact on adolescence within a developmental framework. Relevant theories of prejudice and intergroup relations are examined. The concepts of attitudes and social distance, with particular reference to the development of attitudes in children and adolescents are explored and relevant studies are reviewed. Finally, the relationship between prejudice and self-esteem is considered.

2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

South Africa has had unique social political circumstances and the issue of racial domination has made South African society unique (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). The issues of race relations and social attitudes are highly salient features within the South African context.

It was mentioned earlier that although apartheid structures have been dismantled, racial attitudes have not automatically changed. It will take time before the consequences of racism are ameliorated. Therefore one cannot understand intergroup relations in the present democratic context without an understanding of the history of race relations in a country that was steeped in apartheid policies. As Lever, (1975) stated "Race relations loom so large in the South African scene that it is not possible to understand

South African society, without understanding the dynamics of race relations” (p. 4). The study of intergroup relations and racial attitudes is of prime importance within the South African context.

2.2.1. The History of the Zanzibaris in Durban

The ‘distinctive’ community referred to as “Zanzibaris” or “Siddhis” by local people appeared in Durban in 1873. They were predominantly descendants from the Makua peoples who originated from Southern Tanzania, (Eveleth, 1993) and Northern Mozambique, (Oosthuizen, 1985). However, evidence suggests that most of the freed slaves who were brought to Natal came from the northerly region of Mozambique (Seedat, 1973; Oosthuizen, 1982). Most of the freed slaves who came to Natal via Zanzibar had come into contact with Islam or were already Muslim (Oosthuizen, 1982). They had acquired an Islamic orientation as a result of the penetration of Islam into the East Coast of Africa by Arab merchants who spread the faith of Islam. Many of the Makua began accepting Islam. The arrival of the Zanzibaris in Durban can be traced to the time after the abolition of slavery in Britain in the 19th Century. Inhabitants along the East Coast were still captured from various points by pirate slave traders after the British abolition of slavery in 1833 and were held as captives in the “warehouses of slavery” on the island of Zanzibar. From there they were destined for the slave markets of Europe, America and the Middle East.

Although Britain tried to eradicate the slave trade (after she had abolished it in her colonies in 1833) she had problems in persuading the Sultans to take action against the slave trading activities in the East Coast of Africa and in Zanzibar. The Sultans were reluctant to comply with the anti-slavery call as they feared hostility from the Arabs as well as the social and economic changes it would bring.

Eventually when Britain’s anti-slave effort was enforced with earnestness, the Sultan of Zanzibar on the 8th July 1873, signed a treaty to stop the slave trade in his domain. According to Seedat (1973) the liberated slaves were called Zanzibari because after they were rescued by the British they were usually taken to Zanzibar (a British colony) and held there to avoid recapture by slave-raiders. Britain was then left with the problem of locating a place to settle the slaves she had rescued from the Arab dhows

(Seedat, 1973).

Through an arrangement between the British Consul General at Zanzibar and the Lieutenant Governor of Natal, 113 former slaves were shipped to Natal aboard the *HMS Briton* in 1873 (Seedat, 1973; Oosthuizen, 1982; Sicard, 1986), to avoid recapture by other slave traders. However the real reason seems to have been the serious labour shortage on the sugar fields of Natal as the programme of indentured labour from India had run into many problems. Many of the ex-slaves experienced great hardship both at sea and during their subsequent stay in Natal. Ahmed (1996) in a revealing SABC TV documentary stated that the manner in which they arrived in Durban is a reflection of the monstrous way this community of slaves and their descendants have been treated even to this day.

A reporter from "The Natal Witness" wrote:

"A sporting friend who was on board the HMS Briton facetiously informs me that the liberated slaves are 'weight for age'. i.e. a boy of fifteen weighed fifteen pounds. It certainly appears something like cruelty to animals to bring these unfortunate people from Zanzibari waters to Natal and expose them in their worn out condition to a sea passage, under which I fear, several have succumbed. Well might they exclaim with Shylock 'Be they your Christians?'" (Ahmed, 1996).

Arrival in Durban

Shortly thereafter, another two ships carrying about 500 Zanzibaris arrived. The Zanzibaris worked as indentured labourers together with Indians in Natal's sugar fields. Their interests were looked after by the Protector of Immigration. He kept a record of all the contracts of service or apprenticeship, biographical and other relevant details.

The administration deliberately distinguished the freed slaves from the local Africans (Seedat, 1973). They were referred to as "liberated African slaves" or "freed slaves" while the local Africans were called "kaffirs". in spite of the fact that both groups were African in origin. The Zanzibaris were treated differently from local blacks (Oosthuizen, 1982) and were considered a "privileged" group. Their "lodgings" had to be "separate from those of Kaffir servants of the colony" (Government Notice No. 186

of 1875 and No. 99 of 1876). They were in many ways allotted extra privileges and treated differently because of their somewhat different lifestyle and their religion (Oosthuizen, 1985). They were also not subject to all the legislation that applied to local Africans and were looked upon as a separate and distinct group of people (Seedat, 1973).

According to Seedat (1973) their identity as freed slaves “perpetuated and strengthened their official recognition of them as a distinct ethnic category within the wider South African Society” (p. 25). While the government emphasised differences between the freed slaves and local Africans, it created links between the freed slaves and Indian labourers. These links were established from the time of their arrival as they were placed under the same administrative personnel as the Indian labourers (Seedat, 1973). The Zanzibari immigrant was on the same footing as the Indian immigrant. Their conditions and contracts were similar although they differed in detail (Seedat, 1973; Sicard, 1986). Points of differences referred to issues such as wages, pass systems, period of indenture and opportunities made available after termination of contract.

The immigrant status and condition of employment that the two groups shared with each other brought the Zanzibaris closer to the Indian labourers. They felt nearer to the Indians than the local Africans to whom they refer as “them” and “they” (Oosthuizen, 1982). This created a psychological and social distance from the indigenous blacks. The Zanzibaris saw themselves as culturally different from local blacks. Their religion, style of dress (long white robes and fez caps), language and diet were completely different.

The Muslims amongst the Zanzibaris (ex-slaves) sought the help of the Indian Muslims who played an important role in the lives of the Zanzibaris and the sustenance and development of their religion. The Indian Muslims and Zanzibari Muslims prayed together, were buried in the same cemetery and joined each other for various religious activities.

After completing their three year term of indentured labour (Seedat, 1973) they settled near the Bluff area, which lies south of Durban. Here they lived a peaceful, fairly isolated life and made a living by fishing and growing their own fruit and vegetables. They maintained a high degree of self-sufficiency (Ahmed, 1996). Some of the men were employed as sailors and others worked as domestic servants. The fact that they now lived apart from the Indians did not weaken ties between them. The Indian Muslims were very impressed at the devotion shown by the Zanzibaris as they turned up faithfully every Friday for the weekly congregational prayer in the Grey Street Mosque in Durban. The religious zeal of the Zanzibari prompted the Jumm'ah Trust (known as the Mohammedan Trust at the time) to purchase a piece of land in Kings Rest on the Bluff. Here they built a mosque, which was maintained by the Trust. The Zanzibaris were deeply involved with the mosque and the activities associated with it. Here they prayed and lived a quiet existence, almost forgotten and unnoticed by the outside world. They loved this place and felt very much at home here. Wally Shaik (1993), a community leader said, "It was very much our life-blood and identity".

Religious and Cultural background

Although the Zanzibaris shared a strong bond with Indian Muslims because of their religious affiliation, they also showed a marked attachment to their traditional past. Many of their practices (e.g. ritual healing practices and rituals surrounding burial and death) are rooted in an African background and are contrary to Islamic beliefs (for details see Seedat, 1973; Oosthuizen, 1982; Sheik, 1986). It is these ritual practices that created an air of mysticism and aura around the Zanzibari people. Living apart from other groups gave the Zanzibaris a strong sense of community and according to them "their isolation kept their culture intact".

In the 1950's the association of the Trust to the Zanzibari community weakened, with the Trust only retaining an ownership of the Kings Rest property. When the Group Areas Act (Act No. 77 of 1957 as amended) took effect in the early 1960's the Trust was forced to sell the land to the government as the area was designated as a white residential area. The Zanzibaris were hurt as they felt that they were never consulted, as they would have refused the compensation the government offered for their forced removal. (Ahmed, 1996).

2.2.2. Apartheid and its destructive consequences

The Zanzibaris' relationship with the Indian Community was pivotal in the legislation and classification of the Zanzibari people on the population register. One of the most unsettling and traumatic periods for the Zanzibari community was at the time the Population Registrations Act of 1950 was enforced. "Due to the Zanzibaris' wide range of physical features and cultural distinctions, classification proved difficult" (Eveleth, 1993). First they were classified as African, then as Coloured, then as Indian and finally they were registered as "Other Asiatics" because of their Islamic background and beliefs. Eventually, it was largely through the efforts and perseverance of the trust that the classification of the Zanzibaris was finalised. Through the intervention of the Jumm'ah Masjid Trust, the Durban City Council decided to set aside a block of land in Section 20 of the Indian area of Chatsworth in 1961 for the settlement of the Zanzibaris.

A sympathetic press referred to them as "the lost tribe of Durban" because none of the groups under which they were classified accepted them. This label was both inaccurate and offensive (Friedman, 1996). The Zanzibaris resented that label, They were quite firm in their belief that they were fully aware of their identity and it was the authorities who confused the issue. The late Talib Tinambo conveyed these feelings in the *Drum Magazine*, cited in Seedat, 1973: "It hurts us each time we are referred to as the 'Lost Tribe'. We were never a lost tribe. I admit that we were uncertain of our future for many years but we knew where we had come from and knew our ancestry as well as other races in this country".

In another response Wally Shaik, a community leader, angrily retaliated, "We are not lost. We know who we are, what we do and what we want" (Chothia, 1993). After the decision of the Appellate Division in 1933 the Zanzibaris had come under the administration of the Department of Native Affairs (Seedat, 1973). This placed them in the same position as the local Africans. Doubts were expressed by the local municipal Bantu Administration Department about classifying the Zanzibaris as "Natives", as the African Housing Scheme did not have the necessary machinery to re-house people of mixed origin in a "Native" area.

In 1958, after a visit by officials of the Office of the Population Register, it was felt that the Zanzibaris should be classified as “Coloured” (Seedat, 1973). In this point in South African history the term “Coloured” was flexible enough to accommodate a variety of groups.

Coloured Reaction

As soon as the Zanzibaris were classified as Coloureds in 1959, the Coloureds of Durban objected. Mr. F. Eksteen, then secretary of the Coloured Ratepayers Association was quoted in the press (Zwane, 1993) “Most of our people in Durban are unhappy because these Zanzibari people who are not Christian but Muslims, have been classified as Coloured”. He further stated that Coloureds were more or less of European descent and “these people were not”.

The Coloured saw the Zanzibaris as an economic threat and were afraid they might impose on their already stringent housing and school accommodation. The Zanzibaris were humiliated, felt neglected, and went through a crisis of identity and insecurity. Seedat (1973) reports that a Zanzibari stated “We were treated worse than dogs. Even dogs had their papers (licences) but we were told no one wanted us”. However, the Zanzibaris were keen on being classified as Coloured as that meant an elevation of their legal status and a notch higher in the South African race structure. It also meant that they would no longer be subject to some of the restrictive laws such as the poll tax, influx control laws and pass systems that applied to being classified as “Bantu”

Indian Reaction

Coloured opposition to the proposed classification as Coloured resulted in a re-classification as “other Asiatic group”. They were classified as “Other Asians” (to solve the housing problem) and “dumped” in Chatsworth (an Indian township). The Indians complained bitterly as they felt that the Zanzibaris were not Asians. They were made to feel unwelcome in Chatsworth. Strong feelings against them were expressed both from Hindu and Muslim Indians. Shan Mohan (1970) of Chatsworth argued that while the Zanzibari “embraces the Islamic religion that does not make him an Indian or entitle him to live in an Indian township”. Others echoed similar sentiments. (Douglas, 1970; Khan, 1970 & Nadraj, 1970). A prominent Indian businessman from Cliffdale in

Chatsworth said he would “not rest until the Zanzibaris were ousted from Chatsworth and resettled in an Indian area (Zwane, 1993).

In response to this shameless outcry, an attitude survey was carried out by Meer, (a renowned sociologist) and Seedat (an anthropologist) in 1969 and 1970. The findings (Seedat, 1973) showed that the overwhelming majority of both Zanzibaris and Indians interviewed expressed favourable reactions to each group. The study also indicated that there was no hostility that came from cultural and ethnic differences. Results further showed that the Zanzibaris were deeply aware of their minority status and had a sharp sense of insecurity.

Meer (1970) in defence of the Zanzibaris in a newspaper report stated that “the first claim to being Indian is the fact that they share the culture of Indian Muslims. Placing them in an African area, they would be as much out of place as any Muslim Indian family because of their cultural identity. Because of their cultural identity they are well integrated with Indians”. However, there were many subtle forms of discrimination that the Zanzibaris faced. For example, as soon as they moved into Chatsworth, the Jumm’ah Masjid Trust began in earnest to provide separate worship facilities by building a Jamaat Khana (prayer room) and later a mosque in spite of the fact that the Indian Muslims already had a mosque in the area. A prominent Indian Muslim said: “There is no accident in the fact that they have their own mosque which is rarely frequented by Indian Muslims. Because they have the same handicaps as the Africans and because of their appearance, they are economically depressed. The men usually speak Swahili and marry Zulu women, so culturally there are obvious differences. However, they are accepted. They live there and their children go to the same school as ours. Accepted, but not quite, if you follow me.....” (The Natal Mercury, 1979).

If early in the history of this country Zanzibaris and Indians shared a common bond because of their plight as indentured labourers, the enforcement of apartheid policies changed that relationship. With the forced removal of Zanzibaris to Chatsworth, they faced economic hardship, a reconsideration of occupational status, smaller dwelling units, financial crisis and above all poor relations with their Indian neighbours. As Padayachee (1995) reports, since their move to Chatsworth “life has been uncertain and

traumatic for a community whose only bond with their neighbours has been religion.

The Zanzibaris clearly became the targets of racism and discrimination and were often marginalised by the broader Indian community (because of their African features) as well as the black community because of their “Indian” religion. “For more than a century they have been twilight people who have suffered tremendous hardship, pain and identity crisis under apartheid” (Padayachee, 1995). They have always lived in or near poverty and have been mistreated or disregarded by authority.

Intermarriages

Although the Zanzibaris have lived and associated with the Indian for over a century, very little intermarriage has taken place. Recent updated statistics were not available and reports are contradictory. According to Oosthuizen (1985) only three marriages took place between the Indians and Zanzibaris and two marriages between the Zulus and the Zanzibaris. According to a reporter from the Chatsworth Sun (1992), in the informal settlement of Bayview many Zanzibaris are married to blacks.

Effects of Classification

“Pigeon holing” the Zanzibaris into an official race group classification affected the solidarity of the small tightly-knit community. It disrupted family life, to an extent created psychological and social distances. Within a single family sometime, three different identity documents were issued, e.g. “other Asiatic”, “Coloured” and “Zanzibari”. Those who opted for coloured identity cards moved to areas reserved for Coloureds such as Sparks Estates and Wentworth. However, the confusion created by “incorrectly” classifying people meant the threat of eviction if they resided in an area that did not correspond to the ID document.

Present events in the Zanzibari community

Since they moved to Chatsworth, the Zanzibaris have faced uncertainty, hostility and overcrowding. As the Zanzibari population grew, so did the housing shortage. After the initial allocation of the 145 houses in Bayview, Chatsworth, further houses were not made available. This situation has resulted in the creation of an informal settlement (known as the Bayview Informal Settlement) behind the Chatsworth homes. Even here

the Zanzibaris have been faced with discrimination and hostility. Friction exists between them and the blacks from neighbouring Umlazi and Lamontville that have moved into the informal settlement (Chatsworth Sun, reporter, 1992).

Frustrated, that they have been overlooked even by the new government and with the indifference of the Trust, that had taken a keen interest in their welfare for decades, the Zanzibari Civic Association (ZCA) was formed in the early 1990's. The hope of the ZCA is to regain their land on the Bluff, Durban not only to give them the space they so desperately need but also to return to their historical roots. The Zanzibari population has reached approximately 10 000 (Chothia, 1993).

The return of the land on the Bluff is important as they wish to protect their religious sites and establish an Islamic Institute and provide a few residential units (Ahmed, 1996). However, the ZCA is engaged in a bitter battle with the authorities. The Durban City Council, which has owned the land since it acquired it under the Group Areas Act, has given permission to the South African Railways' Association to build a retirement village and health care centre. The Jumm'ah Masjid Trustees, without notifying the ZCA, has also filed their own claim to the land.

The Zanzibari community are frustrated that once again their rights have been overlooked, this time by a supposedly democratic, progressive government. Through the Zanzibari Civic Association they are looking at ways to improve their living conditions and to find a dignified place in society.

It is ironical that the very policies of the white government inadvertently strengthened the sense of a community spirit among the Zanzibaris. It perpetuated their identity as a separate and distinct ethnic category. As Friedman (1996) states "Their pariah status was also entrenched by the surrounding Indian, black and coloured communities".

In spite of the difficulties and social derogation the Zanzibaris encountered, a sense of unity and togetherness still exists. They are proud of their origin and want to be recognised as East Africans imbued with an Arab-Islamic culture and not as a lost tribe of Africa (Sheik, 1986). While the youth may feel disengaged and unaccepted in their

relation with their Indian and black neighbours, they seem to make up for that lack of acceptance by strengthening their Islamic identity. According to Yusuf 'abd al-Rahman Mola, cited in Sheik (1986) there seems to be a revival of Islamic consciousness among the Zanzibari youth in Chatsworth today. The elders are trying to integrate the youth in to the "Rahmania" or Zanzibari society because it is felt that they should perpetuate Zanzibari religious, social and cultural activities within the community. It seems that the youngsters have been co-operating (Sheik, 1986).

2.3 THEORIES OF PREJUDICE

The theories most helpful in conceptualising this study have been chosen. These are: social reflection theory, social identity theory, psychodynamic theory and social cognitive developmental theory. Many theories have been proposed to explain the causation of prejudice, which is the expression of a negative attitude. This has increased the complexity of the problem rather than decreasing it (Stroebe & Jonas, 1989; Duckitt, 1992). Long (1993) points out that when sifting through the literature it is unclear whether the different approaches and terminology used is contradictory or complimentary. Most researchers have concluded that "prejudice is a complex phenomenon which is determined by many factors" (Ashmore, 1970; Simpson & Yinger, 1985; Harding et al.; Condor & Brown, cited in Duckitt, 1992).

About (1988) argues that scientific theories of prejudice do not differ substantially from everyday theories based on personal experience. According to her, however, a scientific theory that provides a good explanation must adequately address certain facts that are known to be true about prejudice:

- 1) Certain groups are more vulnerable to more intense prejudice than others.
- 2) Certain individuals and certain societies are more prejudiced than others.
- 3) A good theory considers the development of prejudice and accounts for the differences between child and adult forms of prejudice.

In a thorough review of theories of prejudice, Duckitt (1992) reports that many theorists have proposed classification systems as an attempt to explain the phenomena of prejudice. One of the most extensive classification is that of Allport (1954). He identified six different levels: the historical, sociocultural, situational, personality,

phenomenological and stimulus object levels. Later reviewers, however, have found Allport's classification too cumbersome and proposed two levels of analysis (Ashmore, 1970; Aboud, 1988). These are societal level sociological theories and individual level psychological theories.

2.3.1. Social reflection theory of prejudice

This theory states that an individual's thoughts and attitudes about ethnic groups are a reflection of the structure of society. It focuses between the power differential and status between groups. Powerful groups are viewed and valued differently. The theory claims that prejudice is a reflection of the differential values attached to different groups in a stratified society. People form attitudes and stereotypes after they acquire social knowledge about the power and status of particular groups from others. The social order is organised according to social status, domination and power. Foster (1994) adds that in social orders such as South Africa, the United States and Britain racial criteria are an important feature in the power structure.

Social reflection theory explains why certain ethnic groups are derogated more than others or why certain groups are the targets of prejudice. Groups low in status and power are expected to be most derogated. Because differential values are based on the status of the groups, all members of the society will know the same set of values (Aboud, 1988).

Turner and Giles (1981) stated that "prejudice is to be understood as a social or cultural norm, and that, furthermore, where this is not the case, it is unlikely to be of social significance". (p. 12) Prejudice therefore is considered to be a norm embedded in the social environment. Kinloch (1974) in a study of social distance preferences among South African whites found support for normative rather than psychological approaches to prejudice. Societal contexts are paramount in understanding racial attitudes.

The normative influences are transmitted through socialisation and conformity. (Pettigrew, Proshansky & Westie, cited in Duckitt, 1992). Research generated by this perspective has focused on observational research of childhood socialisation, (for a

review of studies see Proshansky, 1966) and correlational studies of conformity or perceived social pressure and prejudice (e.g. Hamblin, Fredrich, De Fries & Ford, Ewens & Ehrlich, Pettigrew, cited in Duckitt, 1992).

2.3.1.1. Social learning perspective

One view within the social reflection trend is that of social learning theory which considers prejudice and stereotypes as a direct result of education, communication and direct observation. Here the social learning perspective considers that prejudice is acquired as any other knowledge. Children adopt attitudes corresponding to the social structure as perceived by their parents and significant others (Aboud, 1988). Children learn to evaluate groups the way parents do, either by direct training or by observing and imitating their parents' verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Allport (1954) however, believed that direct training of prejudice was rare. He stated that prejudice was not "taught" by the parent but was "caught" by the child in an atmosphere of negative attitudes. He theorised that children imitate their parents' attitudes because they identify with them or want to please them. According to him children learn to imitate the labels and associated emotions that are attached to groups. These negative emotions develop into negative attitudes and a total rejection of the group. Based on observation of nursery school children, Allport (1954) implied that young children are unprejudiced as they are naturally curious of differences between racial groups. Gradually as children begin to categorise, prejudice becomes generalised and stable and is integrated into their whole personality.

This perspective holds that children's attitudes reflect their parents' values, namely a preference for ones' own group and a rejection of out-groups. Attitudes are linked to ones' ethnic group membership.

2.3.2. Social identity theory

Social identity theory formulated by Tajfel (1978; 1981; 1982) focuses on intergroup behaviour and social categorisation. People categorise themselves into groups and see themselves as members of groups (in-groups) and exclude themselves from other groups (out-groups), Tajfel (1978; 1981). Group membership becomes internalised as part of the self-concept, which consists of two subsystems personal and social identity

(see section 2.6). An individual is motivated to achieve and maintain a positive social identity.

Crucial to the study of intergroup relation is social identity theory, which stresses the position of the individual within society and explains intergroup relations in terms of cognitive motivational factors. It provides an interface between psychological and social explanations of prejudice and discrimination. (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). Concepts of social categorisation, social identity and social comparison form the key concepts of this theory. It considers social factors such as power, dominance, hierarchies and perceived legitimacy in its explanation of prejudice. It explains, according to Foster (1994): (i) black, or minority-group, out-group preference, (ii) the widespread and shared aspect of certain racial orientation, and (iii) changes over historical time as a result of the perceived legitimacy and stability of the power arrangement in society.

Social identity theory stresses that a sense of identity is closely linked to group membership and this has consequences for intergroup behaviour. The core concept of this theory is that individuals are motivated to strive for a positive self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The theory proposes that self-esteem is a basic human need and that individuals strive to maintain a positive view of themselves and their own reference group. A relationship exists between intergroup differentiation (prejudice) and self-esteem. The theory argues that social groups based on criteria such as race and gender influence self-identity. Group membership is therefore an important means for the expression of self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Social identity theory proposes that membership of such groups contributes to an individual's self-concept by providing a source of social identity. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) group membership is internalised as part of the self-concept which has two distinct aspects. One is personal identity, which is part of the self-concept and refers to personal self descriptions. The second aspect is social identity, which is defined as "that aspect of an individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). Social

identity according to Tajfel describes: “ (1) limited aspects of the concepts of self which are (2) relevant to certain limited aspects of social behaviour” (p. 255).

Membership in social groups therefore contributes positively or negatively to the image that an individual has of himself. Membership further creates a distinction between those who are inside the group (in-groups) from those who are outside the group (out-groups). Through this group differentiation process an individual's self-esteem is enhanced or lowered.

Since it is assumed that individuals are motivated to seek a positive self-concept, group members strive for positive in-group distinctiveness by comparing themselves with other groups as well as other individuals. It was stated in Chapter 1 that membership in high status, successful social groups results in positive self-esteem and self-worth. Membership in disadvantaged, low-status group leads to a negative input of an individual's identity. Membership of such a group may lead to a member seeking to leave the group (de la Rey, 1992).

Children develop a sense of social identity within a framework that is based on a comparison between social categories. This would imply that all children would show an in-group bias, a favouritism for their own group (Foster, 1994). However, minority group children, to maintain a positive social identity, strive towards dominant group values which results in out-group preference. Foster (1994) notes that when group domination is considered to be illegitimate as was the case in South Africa, then out-group bias for many black children may be discarded. The present study investigates this bias.

This model suggests that children (depending on their mental capacities) are acutely aware of the social status and power ordering of society. Individuals actively construct identities and attitudes through their knowledge of the social world, experience and interaction with others. Tajfel's theory rejects the view of the oppressed as passive victims of domination (Foster, 1994).

Social identity theory predicts that members of high status groups would reflect high in-group favouritism. Members of low status groups would reflect low in-group favouritism and greater out-group favouritism (or greater tolerance and least social distance) (de la Rey, 1992, parenthesis mine). A criticism against social identity theory is that while the theory emphasises the role of social categorisation as a cognitive variable in causing group behaviour, it does not pay enough attention to the different levels of group identification and to the evaluative orientation toward social categories (Verkuyten, 1991).

2.3.3. Psychological (personal) explanations of prejudice

Psychological explanations of prejudice explain prejudice as a consequence of attributes within the individual and not as a behaviour that is a result of one's social environment. Inherent in this approach is that prejudice is a generalised concept and that it can be influenced by factors within the individual. This gives rise to the idea that people who report favourable attitudes towards some out-groups will more likely express favourable attitudes to other out-groups. On the other hand persons who express hostility or prejudice towards one out-group will also have less favourable attitudes towards other out-groups or minorities. Allport (1954) asserted that "one of the facts of which we are most certain is that people who reject one out-group will tend to reject other out-groups. If a person is anti-Jewish, he is likely to be anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti-any other group". (p. 68) Pettigrew (1960) also echoes this idea. Duckitt (1992) notes that the idea of the generality of prejudice can be interpreted in a relative sense. Individuals tend to be negative or positive to out-groups depending on the prevailing attitudes in their social environment. They are not literally negative or positive to all out-groups.

The generalised attitude of prejudice gives rise to the notion of some inner need in individuals to be hostile and discriminatory to other groups. In this regard psychodynamic theories focus on intrapersonal processes that result in prejudice. Adorno, Frenkel, Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950) developed the idea that a specific personality type was particularly prone to prejudice, known as the authoritarian personality. Adorno and his colleagues worked within a psychoanalytic framework and conceptualised prejudice as an irrational phenomenon. Prejudice was a sign of some

intrapersonal conflict or maladjustment, which is a symptom of a deeper personality conflict. This approach to prejudice has been dubbed as “symptom theories” (Ashmore, 1970).

Adorno and his colleagues claimed that rigid patterns of discipline during childhood lead to feelings of ambivalence towards parents. Outwardly these children love their parents but inwardly they experience feelings of hostility and anger. In order to identify with parents, such children repress inward feelings of hostility and never learn to express feelings of hostility to their parents and to authority figures. This hostility is displaced onto people who lack authority and power, that is, onto minority groups. Prejudiced people, however, deny these anti-social impulses and project these negative feelings onto others.

According to Aboud (1988) one of the strengths of this theory is that it accounts for individual difference in the levels of prejudice. It explains why some people are extremely prejudiced and others very tolerant. Another strength of the theory is that it explains the stability of prejudice; it shows why adults maintain prejudice even when they relocate to different places. Prejudiced people simply find different minority groups to derogate, therefore their target for prejudice changes. Prejudice is considered an entrenched aspect of the person’s personality structure.

This approach, according to Duckitt (1992), however, is unable to account for extremely high levels of prejudice in social settings where a whole society is racist, as in South Africa. Another weakness of the theory is that it does not specify the targets selected for prejudice, or why different groups become targets of prejudice. It implies that all minority groups are treated similarly by prejudiced persons. The only criterion that a target group must satisfy is that it must be low status and powerless, so that they cannot retaliate (Aboud, 1988). A further limitation of the theory as cited by Aboud (1988) is that it does not distinguish between adult and child forms of prejudice. Psychodynamic theory does not serve to explain the phenomenon of prejudice in a society made up of many minorities, as in South Africa.

2.3.4. A social cognitive developmental theory of prejudice.

This theory provides a different perspective to the development of prejudice. It predicts that different types of prejudice exist at different developmental stages due to changes in cognitive structure (Katz, 1976). Piaget (1932) theorises that a critical change in prejudice takes place around seven years of age, as children move from pre-operational to concrete operational ways of thinking.

Piaget theorises that preferences develop parallel to cognitive processes. He described a three stage sequence to prejudice, based on the concept of egocentrism (Piaget & Weil, 1951). Piaget considered that from 4-7 years of age, children are egocentric and as such unaware of national and ethnic groups. Preferences tend to be random personal considerations. From 7 to 10 years the focus is sociocentric. Children shift the focus from themselves to their own groups. Other groups, however, are not viewed favourably. Children within this group express positive feelings, show a preference to their own group, and are negative towards other groups.

From 10 to 15 years of age children apply the principle of reciprocity as they experience extensive decentration and integration. "Reciprocity refers to symmetry in a relationship" (Aboud, 1988, p. 23). The 10-15 years old accepts the validity of different perspectives and understands that other groups will have in-group preferences just as his own group would.

Aboud (1988) pointed out that Piaget's theory was limited in that he reduced decentration to an awareness of group differences, and did not focus on individuals within these groups. Also, Piaget did not qualify what early preferences are. Piaget assumes that preferences during the egocentric stage are random and different for each child. However, research evidence indicates that ethnic preferences of egocentric children are similar to one another and appear to be systematic (Hraba & Grant, 1970; Goldstein, Kooperman & Goldstein, 1979 & Cross, 1987).

In addressing the shortcomings in Piaget's developmental theory, Aboud proposed a social-cognitive developmental theory that accounts for age-development trends. It explains the development of ethnic attitudes in terms of two overlapping sequences of

development:

- 1) One sequence involves psychological functioning - the processes that dominate a child's experience (affective states, perceptions and cognition).
- 2) The other sequence describes focus of attention (self, group, individual).

The following is a schematic representation of Aboud's theory: (reproduced from Foster, 1994)

Psychological functioning:	Affective	Perceptual	Cognitive
Focus of attention:	Self	Group	Individual

The two sequences operate in combination, to produce differing racial orientation in increasing age-groups. Initially, children are dominated by their emotions and preferences, that is, by their affective process (roughly ages 3-5 years). During this period children are also dominantly egocentric. Their prejudice is determined by their emotions and need satisfaction, not by their ethnic self-identification.

During the second stage when perceptual processes begin to emerge (roughly around age 6-8 years), perceptions of others develop relative to oneself. The child focuses on particular external cues, such as colour, language, clothing and hair texture. Group differences are evaluated in terms of these particular cues. Prejudice is therefore determined by perceptions of dissimilarity. Children identify themselves with people to whom they are similar, forming the basis of ethnic self identification. A number of studies provide evidence for children's preferences based on skin colour and other physiognomic cues (Goodman, 1954; Morland, 1962; Gregor & McPherson, 1966 & Melamed, 1968; 1970).

More recently in an extensive study in multiracial schools in the Netherlands, Verkuyten, Masson and Eflers (1995) found that for children, (10-12 years) skin colour was, among other features, still an obvious criterion used for categorisation. Ramsey (1991) in a study of 93 pre-school children found that race was a more salient feature than gender when categorising photographs of unfamiliar people. Children preferred members of groups whom they saw as similar to themselves.

At the third step of this sequence cognitive understanding develops around age 8-12 years). The child will focus on groups in terms of categories, followed by a gradual focus on individual differences. Children at this stage begin to understand the basics of ethnicity. The child at this stage is able to decentre and attend to two or more different perspectives simultaneously, allowing him to accept different but reciprocal preferences in another person.

The focus of attention at this stage is equivalent to Piaget's sociocentric stage where children are preoccupied with the groups. Prejudice is a result of the difference that children see between one's own and other groups. Their attitudes tend to be exaggerated into a pro-anti dichotomy. Prejudice begins to decline during this stage when children become aware of the similarities as well as the differences between their own and other groups. This shows that the child has attained cognitive flexibility.

During this stage the focus of attention is towards individuals. People are judged for personal qualities not on ethnic group qualities. This stage should be accompanied by lower levels of prejudice as the child in this stage focuses on individual differences. Aboud's cognitive view implies that prejudice will disappear by around age 12 years. However, practical experiences tell a different story. The South African situation is a vivid illustration that prejudices persist into adulthood (Biko, 1978 Kuzwayo, 1985). Inter-attitudinal research has also suggested that black self-disparagement and white ethnocentrism persists well into adulthood Foster (1994). Aboud and Doyle (1995) found that perception of racial differences increased with age, but reconciliation of these differences also increased with age. Conservation and reconciliation were not associated with racial attitudes.

In summary, according to the developmental view, the prejudice seen in a child is developmentally different at each stage because of a different understanding of the social world. Thus, "prejudice in young children is not really prejudice but a bias due to limited mental capacities" (Foster, 1994, p. 233). The theory, however, falls short of a social perspective. Its focus is on personal identity and cognitive processes rather than social identity. It ignores social influences such as status and power that children are aware of.

2.3.5 Relevance of theories of prejudice

From a discussion of the above theories it can be clearly seen that each theory provides a different perspective to the understanding of a complex phenomenon. A single theory cannot provide a complete explanation of a highly emotive topic. The various theoretical positions put forward should complement each other in providing a comprehensive understanding of the concept. In this regard the social identity theory perspective provides a social explanation of prejudice while Aboud's (1988) theory describes a developmental perspective which takes into account personal development. Together the theories provide a valuable insight into the development of prejudicial attitudes in children.

2.4 INTERGROUP RELATIONS: THE CONTACT HYPOTHESES

The contact hypothesis, initially proposed by Allport (1954), forms an important area of research on prejudice. Two approaches have arisen. The first considers the extent of interracial contact (Amir, 1976) while the second specifies optimal conditions for the effectiveness of the contact situation (Pettigrew, 1986).

Extent of interracial contact

The first view suggests that interracial contact reduces prejudice by reducing stereotypic views of other groups and that increased contact between members of various social groups will reduce prejudice between them. It is based on the assumption that inter-racial contact facilitates racial attitude change. Contact between members can reduce intergroup discrimination and hostility. According to the contact hypothesis, intergroup differentiation is a result of the limited contact that takes place between the members of different social groups. Limited intergroup contact prevents the discovery of similarities between group members. This emphasises differences instead and results in the expression of hostility.

Through inter-racial contact it is also believed that by reducing stereotypes, areas of similarity will be discovered. Growing similarity in turn generates increased mutual attraction. Increased contact provides sufficient information, which alters negative stereotypes and discards the illusion of out-group homogeneity. Many studies however do not support the hypothesis. Amir (1976) notes that it is an erroneous assumption that

contact will lead to improved attitudes. Certain criteria have to be met for contact to be effective. Interracial contact can lead either to greater acceptance and respect or greater rejection and intolerance (social distances).

Mynhardt and du Toit (1991) note “one of the problems regarding contact is that there are always individuals who confirm negative stereotypes” (p. 276). Masson and Verkuyten (1993) state that “contact would allow for the discovery of similarities of beliefs and values that are generally found to lead to attraction. However, people can also discover basic dissimilarities through contact, and, moreover, negatively experienced contact can reinforce prejudice and hostility”. (p. 158).

Conditions for effective interracial contact

The second view of contact hypothesis holds that for positive interracial contact to occur, certain optimal conditions have to be met for contact to be effective. Allport (1954) theorised that for contact to result in positive consequences it must occur on an equal-status basis. A number of factors can facilitate equal status in contact situations. Examples include the existence of common goals, co-operative inter-dependence, social and institutional support (support from authorities) and interpersonal attraction between members of different racial groups.

If optimal conditions are met then prejudice can be effectively reduced (Riordan, 1978 & Cook, 1985). For contact to produce beneficial effects, it has to occur under highly specific conditions (Cook 1985). Baron and Byrne (1987) outline the following conditions for effective contact:

- 1) The interacting groups must be equal in social economic or task-related status.
- 2) The contact situation must involve co-operation and interdependence to enable working together to reach shared goals.
- 3) Contact between groups must be informal to facilitate “getting to know each other”
- 4) Existing norms should allow for increased association between individuals in each group.
- 5) Individuals must be regarded as typical of their respective groups in order to generalise their pleasant experiences to other people and situations (Wilder ,1984).

Research on equal status in attitude change

Research on equal status and attitude change has produced conflicting results. Some studies have shown that equal status contact results in positive attitude change (MacKenzie, 1948, Wagner & Machliet; Saler, cited in Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991; Masson & Verkuyten, 1993).

American research has shown that a number of factors can facilitate equal status in contact situations. Early research considered co-operation and camaraderie (Amir, 1976). Sherif (1967) investigated the establishing of task interdependence, common goals and shared copying. Contact studies focus on the antecedents of interpersonal attraction and task interdependence that may facilitate waiting together but do not bring about attitude change (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Hewstone and Brown (1986) argue that this tends to be the case as research implicitly assumes that interpersonal contact will lead to more positive intergroup relations. These authors note that intergroup contact and not interpersonal contact will affect intergroup behaviour. This is an important distinction as the contact hypothesis has been criticised for neglecting the distinction between intergroup and interpersonal contact. This assumes significance in the South African context as contact is categorised by intergroup rather than interpersonal forms of interaction.

Other studies have shown that contact is not always successful in promoting favourable attitudes (Amir, Bizman & Rivner, 1973). Equal status however, poses a problem in unequal status societies (such as South Africa) which are hierarchically stratified in terms of norms and policies (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). They note that even under the most favourable conditions, interpersonal contact is unlikely to occur because of the deeply entrenched racial and social relations in the country. Contact will have little effect unless deep seated, underlying structures are changed and the social order is transformed.

Laboratory studies have shown equal status is not easily attained; and may only be achieved by extensive prior manipulation of contact groups (Riordan & Ruggiero, 1980). A further consideration is that the contact situation viewed by majority members as equal status might not be accepted by minority members as such. (Mynhardt & du

Toit, 1991).

In an attempt to understand the contact hypothesis within the South African situation an important theoretical distinction with regard to status equality needs to be understood. Riordan (1978) draws a distinction between status equality within the contact situation and status outside the situation. The first refers to issues such as role relations and equal contributions to the task at hand. The second refers to a socio-cultural idea of status. Foster and Finchilescu (1986) note that in South Africa, within situation status is difficult to satisfy as social-structural contact and power differences influence most contact situations.

Face-to-face encounters are likely to involve intergroup rather than interpersonal behaviours. Race categorisation is still a recognisable feature in a newly democratic South Africa and interpersonal contact might still not overcome socially structured identities.

Within the South African context, a different set of criteria or conditions applies in order to facilitate racial attitude change. For example, Russell (1961) showed that geographical proximity was an important condition. Luiz and Krige (1981) found that engagement in co-operative tasks and an achievement of super-ordinate goals facilitated racial attitude change.

There is a voluminous body of research on the different forms of the contact hypothesis. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to review all of these. The paper will dwell briefly on Southern African research. The classic contact hypothesis has been studied in a number of settings: work situations, residential areas, defence force and schools. These discussions will focus specifically on adolescents.

Mynhardt (1980) researched racial attitudes of 289 white high school students towards blacks found that the white students who had ongoing inter-racial contact with black students were more negative in their racial attitudes than white students who had no contact with black children at school.

Niewoudt, cited in Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991 found that children attending parallel medium schools have more positive attitudes towards other language groups. Afrikaans speaker from single medium schools exhibited the most negative attitude. Watson (1970) found that inter-racial interaction among white and coloured high school children in a Johannesburg school improved racial attitudes towards one another. Luiz and Krige (1985) also found that inter-racial contact produced racial attitude change. Coloured girls in the study showed greater positive attitude change than did white girls. Moreover the attitude change was maintained over a one year period.

Spannenberg and Nel (1983) found that attitudes of white academics with Coloured colleagues in an equal status contact situation were more positive on the overall social distance measure. Bradnum, Niewoudt and Tredoux (1993) in a study comparing South African and Zimbabwean school children found that white South African children in racially integrated schools showed less prejudice and, in some cases, reverse prejudice (favouring blacks over whites) while Zimbabwean whites who had experienced contact for as much as ten years showed a high degree of racial prejudice. Finally, more recently Long (1993) in a study of different racial groups in a Student Leaders Training School also found that contact, measured by attendance at the Training school engendered decreases in racial prejudice scores, leading to attitude change. In sum, the evidence points towards the positive effects of interracial contact in South Africa. Foster and Finchilescu (1986) in a review of studies support the above contention.

However, the matter of causality is a problem in contact studies. Hewstone and Brown (1986) state:

“one cannot be certain whether contact will result in a more favourable attitude or whether positive attitudes lead to greater contact. Moreover it is almost impossible to gauge precisely what preconditions for contact have or have not been complied with in a particular field experimental study”.

2.5 ATTITUDE RESEARCH AND THEORY

The study of attitudes has been highly attractive to researchers and is or regarded as central to social psychology (McGuire, 1986). Allport (1935) in fact equated social psychology itself with the study of attitudes. The study of social and ethnic or racial

attitudes has been an important aspect of attitude research. In South Africa especially “racial attitudes” have been a prominent feature. Louw and Foster (1991) note that this is hardly surprising as race has been “an organising principle of South African Society”. (p. 67)

Attitudes have been the most researched of concepts (about 20209 articles). According to Dawes and Smith (1985), very little agreement exists with regard to definition. As Allport (1935) observed “attitudes are observed more successfully than they are defined”. (p. 9). The three-component or tripartite conceptualisation of attitude, viz., cognitive, affective and behavioural is the most accepted approach in research (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960; Bagozzi, 1978; Hewstone et al., 1989, Foster & Nel, 1992).

However, for many researchers, the affective component of attitudes remains a central focus (Fishbein, 1967; Foster, 1991b). The reason for this unidimensional preference is that they can be measured more easily (for e.g. by a Likert scale) (Dawes & Smith, 1985; Foster & Nel, 1991).

A number of theories have been proposed on the concept of attitude. These classical theories have been restricted by their individualistic approach that stressed processes within the individual. These perspectives ignored interpersonal or interactive levels of analysis (Doise, 1986). Foster and Nel (1992) further criticise the classical approach on the basis that little attention is given to “attitude content and almost no concern with attitudes as serving to maintain intergroup relations and social structures”. (p. 138). An alternative to the individualistic approaches to attitude is the functionalist approach, which looks at functions served by attitudes. These theorists look at the concept of attitude in a group based or social sense (MacCrone, 1937a; McGuire, 1986).

Kinloch (1974) in reviewing early race literature in South Africa draws the conclusion that racial attitudes link the individual to a sociological context. It is within this social structure that attitudes are formed. A review of South African literature shows “that racial attitudes are all related to an individual’s position in society, the kind of race socialisation he has been exposed to and the kind and amount of racial contact he has

experienced". (p. 3)

Foster and Nel (1992) note that South African research has been mainly concerned with attitude as an index of intergroup relations rather than with processes within individuals. In a survey investigating intergroup relations conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (1985), racial attitudes were identified as the most important research area in South Africa. Over the past 60 years South African research has dealt almost exclusively with "racial attitudes". (Foster & Nel, 1992; Bradnum et al., 1993). Kinloch (1985) notes that the study of racial attitudes in South Africa is of crucial significance in understanding negative attitudes in general.

MacCrone can be considered to be the father of research into race attitudes in South Africa. He developed the concept of the "Frontier Hypothesis" to explain intergroup relations and the origin of prejudice in the Eastern Cape Frontier conditions (MacCrone, 1937a). For a detailed description of the hypothesis refer to MacCrone (1937a).

MacCrone's framework covered four different accounts: historical, personality type, psychoanalytic and a group based theory. The latter closely resembles social identity theory, which was developed much later in the 70's. He also had strong interest in psychometric interpretations of race attitudes and constructed one of the earliest South African race attitudes scales (MacCrone, 1932) for measuring attitudes of whites towards blacks. A copy of the original scale can be found in Lever (1968a). MacCrone administered this scale over an 11 year period to the University of Witwatersrand students from 1934-1944. He found that whites displayed a high degree of ethnic identity and in-group racial preference and a high degree of racial intolerance towards blacks. However, he found that the racial attitude pattern exhibited by whites was not mirrored by blacks that exhibited minimal racial prejudice. Amongst the whites, Afrikaans speaking whites were more racially prejudiced. (MacCrone, 1932; 1933; 1937b). These racial attitude patterns have been supported by a number of studies for over a period of 60 years (see section 2.10.1).

A vast number of studies have been conducted in the area of ethnic attitudes and prejudice. It is beyond the scope of this research paper to review all of these. Reference will be made to a few pertinent ones. Within South African research three common methods have been used to elicit race attitudes: Thurstone type attitude scales; Bogardus type social distance scales and Semantic differential techniques. (Bradnum et al., 1993). This study will focus on social distance research (see sections 2.10.1 & 2.10.2).

Foster and Nel (1991) note that there has been less research on black attitudes than white attitudes. Research samples used have been small and unrepresentative and assessment methods inconsistent. Generally, studies have indicated that blacks preferred English speakers over Afrikaners (Crijns, 1959; van den Berghe, 1962; Brett, 1963; Edelstein, 1972; Viljoen, 1974; Lobban 1975). Also, blacks favourability to English speaking whites ranked above their own group (Niewoudt & Plug, 1983). For detailed reviews on studies of black attitudes, see Lever (1978) and Kinloch (1985).

2.5.1 Prejudice as an attitude

The most important indicator of prejudice is a negative evaluation or negative attitude. Another indicator of prejudice is that the evaluation is a response to a person's ethnicity and not necessarily a response to the personal qualities of an individual (Aboud, 1988). In reviewing definitions of prejudice, Ashmore (1970) identified four basic points of agreement. These are:

- 1) prejudice is an intergroup phenomenon
- 2) prejudice is a negative orientation
- 3) prejudice is bad
- 4) prejudice is an attitude

Based on the above points Duckitt (1992) states that prejudice could be defined as a negative intergroup attitude which is bad, irrational and unjustified. According to Aboud (1988) prejudice can be seen as "a unified, stable and consistent tendency to respond in a negative way toward members of a particular ethnic group". (p. 6)

2.6 THE SELF-CONCEPT

The self-concept has attracted a great deal of attention from psychologists and has been considered a major element in their theorising about human behaviour and personality. (Burns, 1979; Campbell, 1990). But also obvious is the imprecision regarding terminology, lack of theoretical basis and disagreement on definitions and poor quality of measuring instruments (Wylie, 1974; 1979; Marsh & Shavelson, 1985).

Burns (1979) theorises that the most useful approach to understanding the various elements of the self is to view it as an organisation of self-attitudes. The concept of attitudes embodies the following essential components:

- 1) a belief, knowledge or cognitive component
- 2) an affective or emotional component
- 3) an evaluation

Cognitive perspective theorists such as Kelly, Epstein and Sarbin (Burns, 1979; Markus & Sentis, 1982) argue that each person is concerned with making sense of themselves by constructing patterns of events involving self. They view the self as a cognitive knowledge structure. The self-concept is viewed as a cognitive scheme because it organises abstract and concrete memories and controls the processing of self-relevant information (Markus & Sentis, 1982; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1983).

Markus and Smith, cited in Widdicombe (1988) theorising within the cognitive view of self outlined above, postulate that the cognitive schemata systematise and organise individual experiences and promote selective perception. This process gives rise to a self-schema, which becomes part of the self, and has two characteristics: one relates to personal or self-characteristics and the other is more social or group related in nature.

Gergen (1971) and Turner (1982) argued that individuals describe themselves within these two terms, group membership (social identity) and individual attributes (personal identity). The first category is described in terms of membership to various formal and informal groups (social identity, see section 2.3.2.)

The second category is described in terms that are of a more personal nature and refers to specific attributes of an individual (personal identity) such as personality traits, personal likes and dislikes and interests. This was supported by Gordon (1968) who found that people tend to describe themselves first in terms of group membership (e.g. gender, nationality, religion etc) and then in terms that are more personal in nature (e.g. personal traits and intellectual concerns, feelings of competence, bodily and psychological characteristics).

Through the process of social identity the individual becomes part of the social group and the group becomes part of the individual's self-concept. Social identity is the key factor in the manifestation of intergroup behaviour. Turner (1982) argues that interpersonal and intergroup behaviour are controlled by different psychological processes located in the self-concept by linking the self-concept with group membership and intergroup behaviour. Hogg and Abram (1990) noted that social self-evaluation and social self-esteem are intricately linked to social identity. Social identity defines an individual as a member of a certain group and differentiates the in-group from the out-group. It is from this understanding of social identity that social identity theory was derived (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Based on experimental findings, (Turner, 1982; Brumer & Perlmutter & Sherif, cited in Widdicombe, 1988) argued that different situations tend to be associated with different conceptions of self. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, Wetherell (1987) further argued that personal identity is not superior or more real than social identity, it is simply that social identity may sometimes function to the exclusion of personal identity and therefore the self image at that time will be based purely on group memberships. The discussion above shows the difficulty in separating group and individual identity.

2.6.1. Dimensions of self-concept

The self-concept is not an all or none phenomenon or a single entity. Evaluating dimensions of self-concept give a more detailed picture of an individual's self-concept. Each individual possesses multiple self-conceptions. Different elements of the self-concept are perceived with varying degrees of clarity at different times. Individuals therefore are not characterised simply by an overall level of self-concept but have a

view of the self that is quite different across different areas.

Recent research has emphasised the multi-dimensionality of the self-concept but for practical reasons research still describes the self-concept with a single score, referred to as general, overall or global self-concept/esteem. Aspects of psychological well being are affected in different ways, like all aspects of self-concept are affected in a uniform way. Shavelson and Bolus (1982) note that the multifaceted nature of self-concept has been implicit rather than explicit in research reviews. Many areas make up the content of self-concept: academic achievement, social variables, physical appearance, body image, behavioural consistencies and emotional tendencies.

A great deal of research has focused on the relationship between self-concept and achievement. Shavelson and Bolus (1982) indicate that more research is needed to emphasise the multifaceted nature between general self-concept and other areas of self-concept e.g. social, physical, emotional. Marsh (1986) notes that although evaluation of the self on specific dimensions such as academic ability and physical appearance tend to be correlated with global feelings of self-worth it is not conceptually or empirically related.

Piers (1984) uses self-concept and self-esteem interchangeably. In this research the terms will also be used interchangeably.

2.6.2. Theories of self-concept

There are complementary ways in which knowledge and evaluation of the self-concept can be developed. Rosenberg (1979), distinguishes between three general principles under which the social structure affects self-esteem, namely Social comparison, Reflected appraisal and Self-attribution. All these components reflect the formation of attitudes to self. Rosenberg (1965) indicates that since the self-concept is acted upon and in turn acts upon society, it is relevant to view it as a social force and social product.

Traditional application of self-attitude formation theories to members of ethno-cultural minority groups has postulated that they will internalise the dominant social groups

negative evaluations of them and thus suffer low self-esteem.

Social Comparison

The basic tenet of the social comparison theory is that human beings learn about themselves by comparing themselves to others (Pettigrew, 1986). People compare their own opinions and abilities with those of other people (Festinger, 1954). Comparisons with other people can be made with a single person, with a peer group, to others in the same social category, and to remote reference groups (Pettigrew, cited in Verkuyten, 1993). The process of self evaluation leads to positive, neutral, or negative self-rating which is relative to the standards set by those individuals employed for comparison (Coopersmith, 1967; Taboton, cited in Long, 1993).

The above dimension explains interpersonal social comparison within Festinger's (1954) framework. Tajfel (1972) extended Festinger's theory to incorporate intergroup comparison, a central focus of social identity theory. Through the categorisation process there is a perceptual accumulation of interclass similarities and interclass differences. According to Brown (1988) categorisation allows for the selection of specific dimensions for self-evaluation and social comparisons in a given setting. Intergroup comparisons centre on perceptual discontinuities between in-group and out-group members. This results in differences (distinctiveness) and not similarities contributing to self-esteem. Individuals seek positive social identity (positive self-concept based on group membership) through social comparisons with their own and other groups (Brown, 1988).

Perceived status determines whether group membership contributes positively or negatively to the individuals social identity. A high status conferred to the in-group will result in a positive social identity for members. If social comparison leads to low status the individual will have a negative social identity. Individuals attempt to achieve a "positive distinction" in order to enhance themselves, so as to protect and maintain their self-esteem (Amir, 1976; Major, Testa & Bylsma, 1991)

Reflected Appraisals

According to symbolic interaction theory people come to view themselves as significant others see them (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). Mead held that the self-concept is based on the appraisals of others. Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self theory explained the self-concept as a passive reflection of other peoples appraisals (more specifically the reference group's).

Kinch (1963) pointed out that there are three elements in the process of reflected appraisals:

- a) how individuals see themselves (self-appraisal),
- b) how individuals believe others see them (reflected or perceived appraisal); and
- c) how other people actually see the individuals (actual appraisal).

Gecas (1982) and Schrauger and Schoeneman (1979) in an examination of empirical evidence in over 50 studies found that self perception agrees substantially with the way people think others see them, and does not agree with how they are actually viewed by others. Gecas and Schwalbe (1983) criticised the dominant theoretical perspectives of reflected appraisal in self-concept research because it exaggerated the role of others and has projected an overly passive and overly socialised view of human beings. The above authors suggest that research should concentrate on how individuals construct their self-concept according to their individual psychological agendas and actions.

This view of self can be explained in the third principle of self-esteem formation, that of self-attribution. This perspective holds that a sense of self is not only based on reflected appraisal of others but is also influenced by the individual observation of his or her own behaviour. (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983; Rosenberg, 1981). According to Bem (1972) this perception and attribution of our own behaviour and its outcome teaches us to like ourselves and modify our self-concepts.

Self-conception develops out of characteristics attributed to a person by himself or by others., According to Rijsman (1983), these include four classes of cues - bodily characteristic, possessions and actions, words and deeds and group membership (the latter is of most relevance to this study).

This perspective suggests that membership of derogated, discriminated against groups may develop negative self-concepts. This occurs because specific individuals, with whom members of disadvantaged groups interact, will hold negative attitudes towards them or because members of these groups are generally devalued. According to the symbolic interactionists' view, the awareness of negative stereotypes and discrimination against one's group should result in negative self-evaluations among stigmatised individuals.

2.6.3. Broad definitions of self-concept

Shavelson, Hubner and Stanton (1976) broadly define the self-concept as an individuals perceptions of himself/herself which are formed through one's experience with and interpretations of one's environment and are influenced especially by reinforcements, evaluations by significant others, and one's attribution of one's own behaviour.

According to Shavelson and Bolus (1982, p. 3) the self-concept can be defined by several critical features:

- 1) It is organised and structured so that people can categorise information about themselves and others.
- 2) It is multifaceted - the various parts will reflect the category system showed by a group.
- 3) It is hierarchical - this allows for inference about self in specific areas e.g. academic and non-academic and to inference about self in general.
- 4) While general self-concept is stable, as one descends the hierarchy, self-concept becomes increasingly situation specific and as a result less stable.
- 5) Self-concept becomes multi-faceted as the individual develops from infancy to adulthood.
- 6) It can be differentiated from other constructs such as academic achievement.
- 7) The self-concept has both a descriptive/knowledge (self-conception) and an evaluative (self-evaluation) component (Burns, 1979; Campbell, 1990). Much of the literature equates self-concepts with self-description and self-esteem with self evaluation (Burnett, 1994).

Campbell considered the evaluative component as trait self-esteem, a global self-reflexive attitude addressing how one feels about the self when it is viewed as an object of evaluation. Research has focused largely on the evaluative component of the self. (McGuire & McGuire, 1982; Suls, 1982). This might be so because of the motivational significance attached to the term (Gecas, 1982). According to Tesser and Campbell (1983) theorists have also realised that self-esteem may play an important role both in the structure of the self-concept and its interface with external information.

Hughes (1984) notes that in many studies the terms self-esteem and self-concept have been used interchangeably. He further points out that Rosenberg (1979) and Burns (1979) give the terms identical connotations.

2.6.4. Self-esteem

Self-esteem is regarded as a central aspect of psychological functioning and well being (Kaplan, 1982; Rosenberg, 1985). It is related to many psychological and behavioural attributes such as conformity (Janis, 1954), lack of trust (Coopersmith, 1967), competition, anomie and the coping with stressful life events, (Wylie, 1979; Rosenberg, 1985; De Longis, Folkman & Lazarus, cited in Campbell & Lavalley, 1993), general life satisfaction, depression (Abramson, Seligman and Teasdale 1978).

The construct of self-esteem, it is argued, bears some relationship to the social experience of prejudice, that is distrust (Long, 1993). Howcroft indicated that self-esteem is emerging as a “key indication in current analysis of social change, growth and progress”. (p. 31) Campbell & Lavalley (1993) stress the importance of self-esteem and note, “self-esteem has been shown to have a pervasive and powerful impact on human cognition, motivation, emotion and behaviour”. (p. 3)

2.6.4.1 Definitions of self-esteem

Self-esteem is seen as a “personal judgement of one's own worth” (Flemming & Watts, 1980, p. 921). Burnett (1994) indicates that self-esteem relates to the global feelings and feelings that people have about themselves as people for example, being satisfied with and liking oneself.

Generally most approaches view self-esteem within an attitudinal context. Coopersmith (1967) provide a comprehensive definition of self-esteem as an attitude:

“By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy”. (p. 4-5).

Defined in this way, self-esteem is seen as a positive or negative attitude towards the self. This attitudinal perspective also describes self-esteem as both global and specific. The implication is that the individual has many different qualities which are subject to evaluation and he can also total these to form an overall evaluation.

Basically self-esteem expresses the extent to which an individual feels positively about himself. Low self-esteem suggests self-rejection, self-derogation and negative self-evaluation.

The implications of the importance of self-esteem is that it can be expected that unfavourable conditions such as social derogation, prejudice and negative stereotypes will have implications for feelings of self-worth. Within the South African context, self-esteem, according to Howcroft (1990) plays a vital role in the process of social change, growth and progress and is an important concept in issues of racism and integration.

2.6.5. Self-esteem and in-group favouritism

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) stresses that a sense of identity is closely linked with group membership and that this impacts on in-group behaviour. It has been shown that the mere perception of belonging to groups created the appearance of intergroup behaviour (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Doise & Sinclair, 1973).

The acceptance and recognition of self-defining categories is considered a sufficient condition for in-group formation and preference. There is sufficient evidence that group members favour their own groups in evaluation and allocations (Brewer, 1979; Tajfel, 1982). It is argued in the social identity literature that since a part of the self-

concept is defined in terms of group affiliations, it follows that there will be a tendency to view in-groups favourably in comparison with others. Members of high status groups will show in-group formation and preference. Sachdev and Bourhis (1987) found that low status group members engaged in out-group favouritism. In-group favouritism can occur in a number of ways: the in-group can be enhanced by assessing it over-favourably, yet assessing the out-group fairly. The out-group can be denigrated by assessing it unjustifiably negatively, or by showing increasing hostility towards it, thus creating greater social distances.

Within social identity theory, self-esteem has been directly linked with in-group favouritism and preference. Social identity theory states that self-esteem is the motivation behind intergroup behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Elaborating on the above, Abrams and Hogg (1988) state that the self-esteem hypothesis embodies two corollaries:

- 1) In-group favouritism will result in an increase in self-esteem as it enhances social identity.
- 2) Low or threatened self-esteem individuals are likely to promote intergroup discrimination to protect their self-esteem.

Empirical evidence using experimentally created groups based on the above two assumptions, has however, yielded conflicting results. Some studies have supported the hypothesis that out-group discrimination is positively associated with self-esteem (as predicted by social identity theory). (Oakes & Turner, 1980; Wagner & Schonbach, 1984). Lemyre and Smith (1985) found that in-group favouritism restored self-esteem. They concluded that discrimination in favour of one's own group resulted in an increase in self-esteem.

Other studies have however produced contradictory results when testing the corollary that in-group favouritism increases self-esteem. Vickers, Abram and Hogg, cited in Abrams and Hogg (1988) found that in-group favouritism decreased self-esteem. Wagner, Lampen and Syllwasschy (1986) working within the minimal group paradigm found that discrimination was not associated with heightened post test self-esteem compared to pre test self-esteem scores. Hogg and Sunderland (1991) found that

discrimination did not enhance self-esteem. Long (1993) in a study of adolescents in a Student Leaders Training School found that as self-esteem increased, racial prejudice was likely to decrease.

Yet other studies have found that people with high self-esteem are more likely to engage in in-group favouritism. They are more likely to derogate out-groups relative to in-group (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1982). In a recent South African study of adolescents (13-15 year olds) Robins & Foster (1994) found that subjects with high collective self-esteem showed greater in-group favouritism relative to self favouritism than subjects with low collective self-esteem. This only occurred when group status was high or neutral.

There are studies that have found no relation between self-esteem and in-group bias, that is low self-esteem and high self-esteem people show the same degree of in-group favouritism. (Crocker & Schwartz, 1985; Crocker, Kayne & Alloy, 1985).

To make sense of these contradictory findings it is suggested that both high and low self-esteem individuals are prejudiced and discriminate against out-groups, but under different circumstances. Brown, Collins and Schmidt (1988) found that people with low self-esteem engage in an indirect form of self-enhancement, that is, people low in self-esteem are oriented towards self-protection. Gibbons and McCoy (1991) found that low self-esteem people engage in self enhancement through downward social comparison.

Crocker et al., (1993) have suggested that cognitive and motivational consequences of self-esteem should be considered to explain the inconsistencies in the literature on self-esteem and prejudice.

2.6.6 Self-esteem and ethnic minorities

A major issue in the social psychology of race relations has been the relationship between minority status and self evaluation. Research in this area has been based on the premise that minority groups are stigmatised and subject to a variety of unpleasant and derogatory experiences. These experiences cause members of disadvantaged

minority groups to have lower self regard, self confidence, and to have more negative views about themselves. Phinney, Chavira and Tate (1993) however in a study of Hispanic high school students (14-17 year olds) found that negative, derogatory information lowered ethnic group ratings but not ethnic self-concept. Minority youth generally belong to groups that are disadvantaged socio-economically and educationally and are subject to a variety of unfavourable conditions. Verkuyten (1994) notes that in this regard most disadvantaged minority groups around the world are comparable. The core idea is that youth who belong to a minority group will internalise society's negative views about their group and this will have consequences for the way they see themselves.

Verkuyten (1989) investigated global self-esteem as well as specific components of self-esteem on the Piers Harris Self-concept Scale among Dutch (dominant group) and Turkish children (minority group) in the Netherlands. There were no differences between the groups in socio economic class and education. Results indicated that there was no difference between the Dutch and the Turkish children for global self-esteem. Concerning the six components, there were two differences, one in favour of the ethnic minority children, and one in favour of the Dutch children. No gender differences were found in both groups of respondents.

Gergen and Gergen (1981) note that a victim of discrimination carries a heavy psychological burden and the continual rejection by others results in feelings of worthlessness, inferiority and self hatred.

For many decades, the self-esteem of youngsters from ethnic minorities has attracted a great deal of interest, in the United States, Britain, Australia and in South Africa. There has been an entrenched view prior to the 70's that the self-esteem of blacks or disadvantaged groups are lower than that of whites (Clark & Clark, 1947; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Morland, 1962). Discrimination, poverty, unstimulating conditions and dominant group expectations were some of the reasons given for this "denigration of self-worth". These studies however have been challenged on the basis that empirical studies showed serious methodological inadequacies such as lack of adequate controls, small, unrepresentative samples and unreliable measures.

Experimental studies in the past three decades have provided contrary evidence that show disadvantaged children not only have positive self-concepts (Hraba & Grant, 1970; McCarthy & Yancey, 1971; Verma & Bagley, 1975; Hines & Berg-Cross, 1981) but sometimes have higher self-concepts than advantaged groups (Trowbridge, 1970; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971; Richman, Clark & Brown, 1985). In fact, some studies have shown that a strong ethnic identity or a (positive attitude towards ones' own group) has been associated with high self-esteem in ethnic minority youths (Phinney, 1989; 1992)

South African studies on self-esteem

South African research has also pointed largely in the direction of positive self-esteem in blacks (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Lobban, 1975; MacCrone, 1975; Momberg & Page, 1977; Brandel-Syrier, 1978; Heaven, Stones & Rajab, 1984; Heaven & Niewoudt, 1981; Edwards, 1984). Howcroft (1990) in a sample 430 first year students enrolled at Vista university (Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein campuses), integrated level of self-esteem and defensiveness among black university students. Two self-esteem tests were administered. Results showed that students exhibited high levels of self-esteem. An elevated and positive level of academic self-esteem was also found. This supported other South African findings (Heaven & Niewoudt, 1981; Lobban, 1975). It must be noted that self-esteem studies in South Africa are less voluminous than that of the States and that there has not been much focus on other minority groups in the country.

A review of the above theories and research predicts that social stigma has negative effects on self-esteem. This view has become so entrenched in social psychology "to the point that it has been assumed to be true" (Crocker & Major, 1989, p. 611). They argue that while prejudice does have detrimental psychological consequences for stigmatised groups (e.g. ethnic groups) it does not necessarily lower their self-esteem. Research evidence documents factors that maintain and protect self-esteem (Khalid, 1988; Taylor & Brown, Higgins & Stucky, cited in Crocker & Major, 1989). Gaines and Reed (1994), in exploring the theories of prejudice, focus on factors such as the rich cultural heritage of Afro-American and other ethnic minorities that has sustained them through times of slavery and/or segregation.

2.7. IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

Traditionally the adolescent period has been portrayed as one of sharp discontinuity in physical, psychological and cognitive development from that of childhood (Proctor & Choi, 1994). It is also a period fraught with chaos and confusion and can be quite problematic and stressful. Uncertainty about the self-concept seems to be at its peak during adolescence. Achieving a sense of identity is one of the most important psychological tasks for the adolescent (Rosenthal, 1987).

The need to know and understand one's self and find one's particular place in society, is in strong focus during adolescence. This stems from a number of sources such as gender, class, religion or ethnic group membership.

Burns (1979) contends that adolescence is a time when each person needs to re-examine and re-evaluate himself or herself physically, socially and emotionally in relation to those close to him and to society in general. According to Rosenthal (1987), the impact of ethnic identity tends to precede the importance of gender and class identity in societies that are heterogeneous in nature, that is, where one or more minority groups co-exist with a dominant social group.

Various theories of adolescence have been formulated that explain cognitive, intrapsychic (Freud, 1958; Erikson, 1968) and cultural factors (Bandura, 1964; Douvan & Adelson, 1966) that influence development. Erikson provides a comprehensive explanation of the self-concept in adolescence.

Erikson regarded adolescence as a crucial period for 'identity formation'. He sees this as a developmental process leading to identity achievement. He advocated that the task of adolescence is to secure a firm identity and avoid identity diffusion. He defined identity as a "conscious sense of an individual's uniqueness....An unconscious striving for continuity and solidarity with a group's ideals" (1968, p. 208). Erikson claims that an optimal sense of identity is a sense of knowing where one is going and inner assuredness. In psychosocial terms, identity involves an individual's relationship with his cultural context.

The following quotation aptly demonstrates the link between an adolescent's self-concept and his social environment:

“In psychological terms identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation; a process taking place on levels of mental functioning by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in the comparison of themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him.” (Erikson, 1968, p. 22).

Erikson views adolescence as a period of transition that:

“can be viewed as a psychosocial moratorium during which the individual through free role experimentation may find a niche in some section of his society which is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely made for him. In finding it the young adult gains an assured sense of inner continuity and social sameness which will bridge what he was as a child and what he is about to become and will reconcile his conception of himself and his community's recognition of him”. (p. 111).

While identity development is a complex task for all youth, it seems to be a complicated task for adolescent members of ethnic and racial minorities (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Phinney et al., 1994). Recently a number of studies have focused on an additional domain of identity development and have demonstrated its importance to minority group members (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Studies demonstrated that for ethnic minority youth, ethnicity rated above politics (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990), that ethnicity was the most important focus of self definition (Aries & Moorhead, 1989).

It is generally supposed that adolescents from ethnic minorities are less positive in their attitude towards themselves than others (Verkuyten, 1994). Erikson (1968) speculates that minority and oppressed individuals may be prone to develop a negative identity as a result of accepting negative self images projected onto them, not only by the larger society, but by their own group as well (see section 2.6.6). However, a number of

recent studies from the 1970's onwards, both in America and South Africa (for more detailed review, see section 2.6.6) have found little or no difference in the esteem of black adolescents from white adolescents.. In addition to personal identity issues which are central to adolescence such as gender role identity (Erikson, 1968; Kroger, 1989), occupational choice, religious and political ideology and cognitive competence (Proctor & Choi, 1994), minority groups must also resolve the issue of their dual group identity as ethnic group members and as members of the larger society (Phinney et al., 1994).

2.8 GENDER, IDENTITY AND SELF-ESTEEM

There has been very little research that deals with the relationship between the development of ethnic attitudes and gender. Although a number of studies include samples of both boys and girls, the results do not analyse gender differences (Vaughn, 1964).

Research on the relationship between gender and self-esteem has produced mixed results. A review of 30 comparative studies by Macoby and Jackline, cited in Martinez and Dukes (1991) have shown that gender differences in self-esteem are inconsistent.

While some studies have shown that self-esteem of females is as high as that of males (Verkuyten 1989) others have found that females have lower self-esteem than males (Alpert, Gillis & Connell, 1989).

Rosenberg (1985) gives two reasons why girls have less positive self-concepts and are more volatile than boys. (1) girls are more preoccupied with physical appearance at the adolescence stage, thus making it more difficult to adjust to the physical changes that appear in this period. (2) girls are also more concerned with role-taking. They therefore are more sensitive to attitudes of others to them. They work harder at presenting a good image.

With regard to ethnic-gender issues, Martinez and Duke (1991) argue being male and being white is generally an advantage in self-esteem. Researching secondary school students in Colorado, they found that racism results in lower self-esteem in girls in both

public and private domains.

Verkuyten (1986) found that gender and minority status was linked with lower levels of self-esteem. This view was supported in a later study by Verkuyten (1995). He found that in all the ethnic groups he studied, boys reported more positive self-esteem and less fluctuating self feelings.

In terms of identification and preference patterns, Foster (1986) in a review of South African literature noted that black girls identify more with whites (dominant culture) than do black boys. Brand, Ruiz and Padilla (1974) in a review of studies on ethnic attitudes found that girls more than boys from different ethnic groups prefer whites. Davey (1983) in a comprehensive British study of white, Asian and West Indian seven to ten year olds, found a “weak trend” for girls to be less ethnocentric than boys. Wilson (1987) found white girls tend to be less ethnocentric than white boys. Qualls, Cox and Schehr (1992) in a study of college students found females to be more accepting of racial minorities than males. On the other hand, in another study on urban pre-school children, Fishbein and Imai (1993) found that girls show a relative preference for same race playmates. In South Africa, Edelstein (1974), in a study of black pupils in Soweto found that black males associate more readily with out-groups than black females.

Few studies have focused on gender issues and social distance, especially in children. In an adult population, van den Berghe (1962), in a sample of 383 students (white, Indian and African) from the University of Natal confirmed the hypothesis that women show more social distance than men. Also social distance increases with position of the respondents ‘race’ in the South African hierarchy. This study confirmed Pettigrew’s (1960) findings that women show more distance than men. According to Pettigrew (1960) gender differences have been found in prejudice research, but it varies according to which gender is the more intolerant. Pettigrew (1960) makes references to studies in the Southern states of America that show women to have greater intolerance. She draws parallels to the South African situation because prejudice is culturally sanctioned. She concludes that women who are “the carriers of culture”, p. 252, will also be more prejudiced than men because they better reflect the norms of society.

Mynhardt, cited in Mynhardt and du Toit (1991) in a study examining the contact hypothesis for change in prejudice, found that white girls in the contact group were significantly more prejudiced towards out groups (Africans, Indians and Afrikaners) than girls in a non contact situation.

Contradictory findings have been revealed in international studies. Some studies have found less prejudice in women. Hoxter and Lester (1994) reported that college men were more ethnically prejudiced than college women. Mills, McGrath, Sobkoviak, Stupac (1995) in examining the relationship between prejudice and gender in a sample of undergraduates (whites and non whites) found that women tended to be more accepting of others than were men and whites expressed more prejudice than non whites. Masson and Verkuyten (1993) in a study that focused on prejudice, ethnic identity, contact and ethnic group preferences among Dutch adolescents found significant difference between boys and girls. Girls were less prejudiced towards minorities.

Other studies have found that women were more prejudiced. In a study on an adult sample of ethnic attitudes towards the Romanians, Chelcea (1994) found that female subjects had a less positive attitude towards minority ethnic groups.

Aboud (1988) in a review of studies on prejudice and gender differences reports that results of studies are inconsistent and probably unreliable.

2.9 THE STUDY OF ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Most attitude studies in South Africa have focused on adult populations. The study of attitudes in children has taken a completely different form of investigation from adult studies on attitudes. Studies were generally based on "doll studies" which focused on terms such as preference, identification and awareness. Preference refers to the attitude of liking or favouring something better. An example of a preference question posed to a child would be "which doll would you want to be". Awareness refers to a recognition of racial categories. To assess awareness children are posed with questions such as "show me the doll that looks like a white/African child". Racial identification refers to the process of correctly choosing one's own racial label. To assess identification the

question posed to children is “show me the doll that looks like you”.

The earliest research by Clark and Clark (1947) in the United States was based on “doll studies”. 253 Negro children aged 3-7 years were asked to select from two white and two brown dolls in answering three sets of questions. The first question was aimed at awareness (“Give me the doll that looks like a Negro”). The second was aimed at preference for either the white or the brown doll “Which one would you want to be?”. The final question assessed self-identification (“Give me the doll that looks like you”). The results showed that over 90% of all children answered awareness questions correctly. Sixty percent showed preference for the white doll, with lighter skinned children and younger children (4-5) showing preference for white dolls. Sixty six percent identified with the white doll, with younger and white skinned children showing stronger identification patterns.

Since the study of the Clarks a fairly consistent finding in an abundance of studies (prior to the seventies) showed that black children in the younger age groups (3-7 years) tend to prefer and identify with white stimulus figures. Similar trends were found in South African research that also employed doll studies (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Meij, 1966; De Groot, cited in Foster, 1986). In summarising the reviews of doll studies, Foster noted there were differences between “awareness”, “preference” and “identification”. He concluded that the study of attitudes and racial orientations is not a unitary phenomenon but that it “manifests as different aspects - awareness, identification and preference (or attitude)”, (p. 226).

General research trends in the development of ethnic attitudes and prejudice in children have sought to answer the following questions (Foster, 1986; Aboud, 1988):

- 1) At what age do children become aware of race and acquire ethnic attitudes?
- 2) How do attitudes change during the pre adolescent years?
- 3) Is prejudice towards other groups related to favouritism toward ones own group?
- 4) Do minority group children suffer psychological damage (e.g. impaired self-esteem in disadvantaged racist societies).
- 5) Are there differences in attitude towards one’s own group and other groups in majority and minority children.

Since the earliest research of Clark and Clark (1939) and Horowitz (1939) in the United States it has been generally recognised that children acquire racial awareness at an early age. Research findings generally focus: (1) on preference and misidentification patterns and (2) age related findings.

Preference and misidentification patterns

Racial orientations occur differently for black and white children. Repeated studies have shown that black children show a preference for white stimulus figures to a greater extent than white children for black stimulus figures (Clark & Clark, 1939; 1947; Hraba & Grant, 1970). Work with other minority groups also showed that white preference was stronger among other minority groups such as Chinese, American, Chicanos, and Native American Indians (Aboud & Skerry, 1984). For a long time this “misidentification” hypothesis was the predominant psychological research trend prior to the 70’s (for reviews of studies see Foster, 1986). This “misidentification” hypothesis according to Foster (1986) “has frequently been assumed but seldom demonstrated to be the basis for deleterious psychological states such as impaired self-esteem, or identity conflicts”. (p. 160).

Studies from a number of countries replicated this general pattern. In the USA and Canada (Porter, 1971; Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974; Katz, 1976; Aboud, 1988; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). In England (Davey, 1983; Milner, 1983; Wilson, 1987). In New Zealand (Vaughn, 1964). However, other studies found inconsistent patterns, for e.g. Banks (1976) and Aboud and Skerry (1984) found that the majority of black children’s pro-white choice to be in the region of 50%. In other words there is not enough statistical significance to prove white preference in black children. Some studies have found differences between identification and preference patterns. Williams and Morland (1976) found that children show a stronger pattern for ‘preference’ rather than ‘identification’ in their pro-white tendencies. Foster (1994) concludes that while the evidence for out-group preference or identification among black children is not that strong there is a substantial difference between black and white children in their intergroup orientations.

A comprehensive research by Davey (1983) in Britain on West Indian and Asian minority groups and white children (6-10 year olds) showed that while there is an observed reduction of misidentification in black children and other minority groups, racism has not disappeared completely. He showed that misidentification had declined with all three groups. They showed strong identification patterns when presented with photographic stimuli. With regard to preference, 50% of the West Indian children and 55% of the Asian children indicated they would prefer to be whites. Ninety percent of the white preferred their own group. Asian children did not wish to be West Indian or vice versa.

There are differences in the development of attitudes in black, white and other minority children but that these develop at differing rates (Foster, 1986). This conclusion is relevant to the development of trends in post-apartheid South Africa. For while apartheid structures have disintegrated, prejudice, ethnocentrism and negative attitude might not have. It is useful therefore to have an index of attitudes and relations between groups in the present climate.

South African studies have also revealed that phenomena of out-group preference in black children. Studies have shown a strong degree of white preference and that preference patterns were stronger than identification patterns (Meij, 1966; De Groot, cited in Foster, 1986). A review of South African research notes that findings are remarkably similar to the pre-seventies North American findings. From approximately four years of age, black children show white out-group preference and misidentification. This gradually decreases and "by mid to late childhood, most black children show accurate own-group identification, but not necessarily preference" (Foster, 1986, p. 180). Also relying on forced-choice techniques South African "doll studies" have shown that children acquire an awareness of racial categories at an early age that reaches almost "full accuracy" at ages 6-7 (Meij, 1966). Gregor and McPherson (1966) in a study that comprised of 30 white children and 139 "Bantu" children of the Venda tribe (ages 5 & 7) found that the African children showed a strong degree of white preference. They identified the brown dolls as "bad". This

showed evidence of in-group hostility and rejection. These studies have shown a strong degree of white preference. Other studies on black samples have found white preference persists until 14 years of age (Lambert & Kleinberg, 1968).

White children on the other hand evidence stronger own-group identification (Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Melamed, 1970). In Gregor and McPherson study cited above, the white subjects consistently favoured their own group on all questions of preference. These and other studies tend to support the notion that white children are more ethnocentric than blacks. Lever (1968b) and Moodie (1980) however, state that patterns indicate ethnocentrism of whites decreases while that of black increases between ages 6 & 12 years. Recent research, however has shown evidence of new racial patterns in South Africa. Bradnum et al., (1993) have found that white children in racially-integrated private schools showed minimal levels of prejudice and low levels of ethnocentricity. Black school children on the other hand showed a high degree of racial in-group preference and out-group prejudice. Finchilescu and de la Rey (1991) in a study using 70 black and 70 white South African undergraduates of the role of perceived legitimacy and stability, found that white subjects who perceived the intergroup situations as illegitimate gave significantly fewer discriminatory responses than subjects who perceived it as legitimate.

Age related findings

Ethnic attitudes and a recognition of racial categories are acquired around 3 or 4 years of age (Vaughn, 1964; Asher & Allen, 1969; Porter, 1971; Aboud, 1988).

Age related findings regarding identification showed that among white children prejudice and ethnocentrism is established by age four and increases to a peak by age seven, thereafter it decreases and remains roughly the same (Vaughn, 1964; Asher & Allen, 1969; Aboud & Skerry, 1984). Black children form attitudes around the same age as white children (Kircher & Furby, 1971) but do not show in-group attachment and out-group rejection as white children do. They show strong out-group preference and identification at age four which gradually decreases with age. By age 11 or 12 they

show own-group identification (Vaughn, 1964). With increasing age, black children showed increasing favourability to blacks and less to whites. Foster (1986), Kelly and Duckitt (1995) in a review of South African children's racial attitudes found a similar pattern of development in black South African children. Masson and Verkuyten (1993), however found that there was no significant relationship between age and prejudice. Studies have shown, however, that when black children show a preference for blacks their attitudes towards whites is not necessarily one of rejection. The attitude is one of neutrality rather than rejection (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1979).

2.10 SOCIAL DISTANCE

Social distance as defined in Chapter 1 refers to the degree of closeness in interpersonal relationships and contact. It is a measurement of attitudes and attempts to isolate two main variables: intimacy and equality in contact (van den Berghe, 1962). Social distance is a reflection of prejudice and is a useful measure of the degree of prejudice experienced by an individual. It is used synonymously with the term prejudice in this research paper.

Social distance as measured specifically by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale emphasises racial behaviour as well as attitudes and it delineates varying levels of social intimacy. It is an invaluable tool in the study of group conflict (Park, 1924). The social distance scale effectively taps attitudes of one or more groups towards other groups of people based on language, nationality, colour or other defining criteria. A wide range of variables can be investigated in relation to social distance. They include gender, language, religion, contact, locus of control, occupational and educational levels. The social distance questionnaire developed by Bogardus (1925) asked respondents whether they would be willing to admit members of some other group to social situations as "to my home as friends", "to close kinship by marriage", "to my street as neighbours". It reflects the degree of sympathetic understanding and intimacy.

2.10.1 South African studies and social distance

In a review of studies on social distance, Kinloch (1974) found that:

- 1) White-black social distance is prevalent at all levels of social intimacy in South Africa.
- 2) White-black social distance varies according to an individual's background characteristics (i.e. gender, father's occupation and religiosity, racial experience (i.e. level of interaction with blacks and personality orientations (i.e. level of authoritarianism and conformity), p. 4.
- 3) In the South African context sociocultural factors such as racial interaction and conformity influence social distance more than personality factors.

He concluded that in racist societies, societal contexts rather than personality factors were important in understanding racial prejudice.

A South African study found that social distance increases with the subject's position in the South African hierarchy, being highest among Europeans and lowest among Africans (van den Berghe, 1962).

Other South African studies on social distance generally have found that, prejudice is related to religion. Pettigrew (1960) and van den Berghe (1962) found that Jews are less prejudiced than other Whites, they show the smallest social distance. Among Indians, Hindus show more distance. Van den Berghe predicted that the more devout Hindus and Muslims will reject out-groups on religious grounds. Social distance is related to religion but in a different way for each racial group.

Attitude studies in South Africa using the Social Distance Scale (the Thurstone - type Attitude Scales and the Semantic Differential Techniques) have found that:

- 1) Blacks exhibited minimal racial prejudice - particularly towards English speaking whites (MacCrone, 1947; Crijns, 1959; Edelstein, 1973; Viljoen, 1974).
- 2) Blacks did not exhibit racial attitude patterns mirrored by whites (MacCrone, 1947; van den Berghe, 1962; Dubb, Melamed & Majodina, 1973).

- 3) White attitudes showed a strong favouring of their own group over black out-groups (Morsbach & Morsbach, 1967).
- 4) Afrikaans speaking whites showed this pattern more strongly, in other words, were more racially prejudice (MacCrone, 1930; 1932; 1937b; Pettigrew, 1960; Lever, 1968b; Groenewald, 1975).
- 5) Blacks rated Coloured and Indian groups as more socially distant than whites (MacCrone, 1949; Pettigrew, 1960). Van den Berghe (1962), however, did not find support for this in his study.
- 6) After the Soweto riots, social distance towards Indians and Coloureds by whites were smaller, in other words, attitudes were more positive (Niewoudt, Plug & Mynhardt, 1977; Groenewald & Heaven, 1977). Niewoudt et al., (1977) offer the explanation that this might be due to lack of involvement by the Indians in the riots.
- 7) Indian and black attitudes were more favourable to English speaking whites than Afrikaners (MacCrone, 1938; 1947; Crijns, 1959; Brett, 1963; Kuper, 1965).

For more detailed reviews of social distance and attitude studies see Foster and Nel (1991), Kinloch (1985).

Van den Berghe (1962) in a detailed study on social distance drew the following conclusions:

- 1) Social distance increases with the subjects position in the South African racial hierarchy being highest among whites and lowest among Africans.
- 2) Women are more distant than men (Pettigrew, 1960). This might be due to hesitancy of females to have social contact with out-groups (Bogardus, 1925).

- 3) Social distance is related to religion but in a different way for each racial group. For Dutch reformed church members, as religious commitments increased, so did prejudice (Buis, 1975). Amongst Africans, social distance decreases with religiosity. Amongst Indians, social distance increases with religiosity. Further, amongst Indians, Hindus show more social distance. Based on this study, van den Berghe (1962) speculated that the more devout Muslims and Hindus will reject out-groups on religious grounds.
- 4) No clear relationship was found between social distance and either parental occupation or education. Other studies have found that higher education levels are linked to a lower degree of prejudice (Groenewald, 1975; Lever, 1978).

2.10.2 Social distance and attitudes in children

Much less work has been done on the attitudes of children and adolescents as measured by social distance. Most studies of attitude research in South Africa comprised samples of university students. Black children have been found to be out-group oriented and show a stronger degree of white preference (Gregor & McPherson, 1966). Press, Burt and Barling (1979) have found that blacks indicate lower self preference than whites and show a higher degree of inter-racial generosity.

Rakoff (1949) using MacCrone's (1937a) social distance scale, tested over 500, 12-14 year olds on a group of mostly Coloured adolescents from the Cape Peninsula. He found that these adolescents were most tolerant towards their own group. A high degree of intolerance was shown towards other minority groups such as Indian, Chinese & African. They were rated as less acceptable than English speaking whites. Their second favourite group was the 'Malay' group followed by English speaking whites.

Lambert and Kleinberg's (1968) research showed that most African children in the age group 6-14 found other South African tribal groups undesirable especially those that were most similar to their own. They preferred to be white. At age 14, Boers were regarded as the most undesirable nation. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) postulate that older

black South African children may continue to show out-group preference and consequent lower self-esteem.

Moving abroad, Muir and Muir (1988) in a study that used the Bogardus social distance scale on white and black middle school children from the deep South, found that by their early teens, most of the white children had adopted an adult pattern of relating to blacks. This consisted of civil acceptance and social rejection, where as black children accepted whites socially as well as publicly. Black students were more tolerant of white students than white students were of black students.

2.11 ETHNIC ATTITUDES AND SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem and self-concept have been implicated in racial attitudes and preferences. (George & Hoppe, 1979). However the idea that ethnic attitudes are related to self-esteem has been a controversial topic (Aboud, 1988). Researchers warn against the comparison of studies of self-esteem and prejudice and the association between these two concepts because of methodological flaws, measuring instruments used and representative sampling.

Howcroft (1990) states that of all the variables in psychological research, self-esteem is clouded by confusion because of the lack of consensus with regard to definition and the wide range of measurement procedures. He elaborates "... weak or non existent correlation among indicators, disregard for social desirability responding and self presentation and distortion; lack of control of contextual variables and intelligence; finally, the use of questionable statistical procedure in the analysis of data" (p. 32) all result in inefficiency in comparing studies.

Clark (1982) cautions against the use of racial preference or attitude measures to make implications about self-concept or self-esteem as he found no apparent relationship between racial group concepts (racial attitudes and preferences) and general or specific self-esteem in a study of 3rd-6th graders.

With regard to the majority group (white children) Bagley, Verma, Mallick and Young (1979) postulate that low self-esteem is associated with positive attitudes (strong preference) for one's own group and a strong dislike of minority groups. The reverse relation between prejudice and self-esteem is assumed for minority group children. Aboud (1988) notes that the assumption is that when blacks prefer another group to their own, they also have low self-esteem." (p. 93) (Adam, 1978; Fannon, cited in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995).

It has been assumed that there is a direct relationship between own-group and out-group preference with self-esteem. Out-group preference (lesser social distance) is thought to be associated with lower self-esteem. However studies have found an inconsistent relationship between self-esteem and prejudice in minority children. (Aboud, 1988; Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). Empirical research on this issue has yielded conflicting results. In a South African study, Long (1993) investigated the influence of a cross cultural leadership training programme on the self-esteem and racial attitudes of secondary school students in a pre and post-test research. The sample consisted of 302 pupils of four racial groups (Indian, Coloured, white, black). The results indicated that while the leadership programme did not have a discernible influence on self-esteem, it did engender decreases in racial prejudice scores.

Ward and Braun (1972) were the first to find a link between self-esteem and group preference. They found that subjects with high self-esteem showed increasing ethnic identity and greater in-group preference. Black children scoring low on self-esteem did not show in-group preference. Stephan and Rosenfield (1978), investigating effects of desegregation in black and white children, also found that positive attitudes towards one's own group were associated with high self-esteem. George and Hoppe (1979) in a study on Canadian-Indian, children, found a positive correlation between racial identification and preference and self-esteem in 8 and 10 year old but not with 12 year olds. In a South African study, Heaven and Rajab (1983) in a population of 101 non-student Indian adults found that there was a tendency for low self-esteem to be associated with anti-white prejudice.

Abrams and Hogg (1988) found a positive correlation between self-esteem and positive racial attitudes. Increases in self-esteem were associated with increasingly positive interracial attitudes. Other studies have, however, found that people low in self-esteem evaluate out-groups more negatively (i.e. are more prejudiced than high self-esteem individuals) (Ehrlich, 1973).

Yet other studies (Williams-Burns, 1980; Branch & Newcombe, 1980) have found no relationship between self-esteem and racial preference or attitudes. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) investigated age trends in racial preference and self-esteem in black South African children. They found that older children (10-12 years) indicated higher levels of self-esteem, own-group racial pride and overall ethnocentrism than young children (6-8 years old) did. Younger children showed a pattern for out-group favouritism while older children showed a pattern of non-preference. A non-significant relationship was found between self-esteem, in group pride, out-group prejudice and overall ethnocentrism. Their findings suggested that own-group and out-group attitude of minority children do not necessarily affect self-attitudes.

Jensen, White and Galliher (1982) in an extensive study of black and white Checano adolescents found that racial consonance or dissonance had no consistent impact on self-esteem of whites or blacks.

Since the early seventies there has been a shift in research findings concerning minority children's racial attitudes and self-esteem. Own group identification has been the dominant finding among black children (Fox & Jordan, 1973; Simmons, 1978; Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Tyson, cited in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). Studies on other minority groups in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 1989; 1994, 1995) and in Great Britain (Louden, 1978; Stone, 1981) also found patterns of own group identification and high self-esteem.

The reason for the shift in findings has been attributed to the social change hypothesis. It has been suggested that the positive portrayal of blacks and other minority groups and the rise of black consciousness movements and of black pride created positive shifts in attitudes. There has been a shift in the attitudes of black children from out-

group preference and identification to increased own-group preference and identification and a parallel shift to higher positive self-esteem because of this process. Debates about “essential” black identity and cultural allegiances and racial self-definitions have all possibly contributed to shifts in attitude and identification patterns (Tizard & Phoenix, 1995).

Another reason for the shift in change of attitudes has been attributed to methodological issues (Banks, 1976). It was felt that earlier studies relied too heavily on the forced-choice technique. The child was presented with a black and a white doll and was asked to choose between the two. This limited the range of responses. More recently, open-ended response and attitude scales have been used. Results have been less extreme and dichotomous than forced-choice technique (Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Lemer & Buehrig, cited in Foster, 1986). This study explores one such option in its use of the social distance scale.

Kelly and Duckitt (1995) commenting on the status and power differential in South African Society postulate “that older black children may continue to show out-group preference and consequent lower self-esteem. (p. 218). They suggest that if out-group preference is associated with lowered self-esteem, then this relation should emerge clearly in black South African children. This study explores the suggestion in relation to a specific minority group.

2.12 CONCLUSION

While such a great deal of controversy surrounds the relationship between self-esteem and prejudice, it remains an important area of research. Understanding the self in relation to the social environment remains an area of priority. In a hierarchical, heterogeneous country as South Africa a greater understanding of inter-group relations and orientations is essential to provide greater clarity of relationships embedded in past political divisions. The literature reviewed above reveals the importance of the self in psychological well being and the increasing recognition of the cognitive and motivational processes of the self. The self in relation to social environment requires

further analyses to expand our knowledge in the area. The focus however should be broadened to include an understanding of the relationships that go beyond black-white orientations. Minority groups form an important part of this equation and should not be ignored. The theories and research reviewed in this chapter are particularly relevant to an understanding of the specific instance of the Zanzibari adolescent. The theories and research direct us to an understanding of how the Zanzibari adolescent as a member of a minority group relates to a dominant culture.

On the basis of this chapter, the research questions are formulated in Chapter 3 and an investigation of the questions carried out in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

3.1. SELECTION OF TOPIC

Although apartheid structures are being legally dismantled in South Africa, prejudice (negative attitudes) and racial discrimination are still very prevalent. Just a perusal of the daily media provides sufficient evidence that prejudice exists in varying degrees of intensity. The writer's own experiences as an educator bears witness that classrooms and children's playgrounds are no exception to the onslaught of prejudicial attitudes. Hurtful name-calling and derogatory labels about one's origin and ethnicity are not uncommon.

Three years after the election of a democratic government and a "fairly smooth" transition, negative attitudes show very little evidence of reduction. While we work towards multiculturalism and integration, there is a trend towards fostering a sense of separateness by preserving ethnic and tribal identities. This serious contradiction exists throughout the world as ethnic minorities assert themselves more and more to establish themselves as recognisable, distinct categories. Pakistanis and Indians in the United Kingdom for example vociferously seek to establish their own schools to preserve a cultural identity (personal communication with friends residing in Birmingham, England).

In this regard, South Africa is no exception. Even in South Africa, Naidoo (1997) notes that the conflict between groups that opposed apartheid show an "apparent re-assertion of ethnic identities and claims to a common group heritage" (p. 6). The South African melting pot, a curious mixture of language, colour, class, religion and culture provides a fascinating backdrop for the scientific study of attitudes and the social distances these create between groups of people. The association/relationship that these social distances and attitudes (or preferences) have on an individual's self-concept provides an interesting focus in this study.

In the area of prejudice, generally studies have focused on racial and ethnic attitudes *per se*, or differences in levels of self-esteem between blacks and whites, both in adult

and children populations (see section 2.6.6 & 2.9). Other studies have investigated level of identification with one's group and linked this to one's level of self-esteem. Discrimination against black minority children was originally viewed as causing them to evaluate their own group negatively and the out-group (whites) positively, thus resulting in impaired self-esteem (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). However, most of this research has been done on black and white groups both internationally and in South Africa. Very little research has focused on other minority groups in terms of language or colour. This research hopes to address some issues of this shortfall.

“The relations between groups in South Africa is a crucial matter that demands the most urgent attention. Delays in addressing the issue could have catastrophic consequences” (Human Sciences Research Council, 1985: 173). There is an urgent need for research that considers this relationship between self-esteem and the social environment.

3.2. AIMS OF THE STUDY

The study focuses on a group of Zanzibari adolescents (13-16 year olds) who reside in Chatsworth, an Indian residential area of Durban.

The Zanzibaris, who have experienced particularly severe racial discrimination, constitute South Africa's smallest minority (for details see sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2.). The first aim of this study is to assess the level of self-esteem as well as gender differences in self-esteem of the Zanzibari adolescent in relation to the Indian and Zulu-speaking black adolescent with whom they come into contact through shared residential areas and schools (Hypotheses 1.1.-1.4. below).

The second aim is to look at the attitudes (social distances) of Zanzibari adolescents to their own group and to other population groups in this country (viz. Indians, Zulu-speaking blacks, coloureds and whites and to examine gender differences in social distance. (Hypotheses 2.1.-2.2. below).

The third aim of this study is to investigate the association between self-esteem and attitudes (social distances) of Zanzibari adolescents to their own group and other population groups. The focus is therefore the relationship between prejudice and self-esteem (Hypothesis 3 below).

3.3. SELECTION OF METHOD

A number of options are available to the social scientist for information gathering. The selection of the method of data collection depends on the orientation of the researcher and the resources available. In studying social phenomena, qualitative methods of data collection yield a rich variety of insight and information.

A direct way of obtaining information is the interview. This process involves direct, personal contact with the participant who is expected to answer questions. In the non-scheduled interview, the respondent comments on widely defined issues (Bless & Achola, 1988). The respondent is free to expand on a topic, relate his own experiences or focus on certain aspects. However, this method does not allow for a direct comparison of answers between respondents. For more specific and detailed information the 'non-scheduled structured' interview is conducted (Bless & Achola, 1988).

People can be interviewed about their attitudes, beliefs, intentions and motivations. Interviewing the adolescent as well as their teachers was an attractive option in this study. This line of enquiry was not pursued because it would have required too much time as respondents would have had to be interviewed over a number of days or perhaps weeks. Such time was simply not available within the constraints of this study.

Observation, particularly participant observation provides the social scientist with the opportunity to observe behaviour in its natural setting in order to grasp the dynamics of interaction. Observation would include extended periods of residence among respondents. "Becoming an insider allows a deeper insight into the research problem since one enjoys the confidence of participants and shares their experience without disturbing their behaviour (Bless & Achola, 1988, p. 87).

However, with observation one runs the risk of losing one's objectivity. Also, phenomena such as attitudes and beliefs are difficult to observe directly. Since the aim of the present study was specifically to investigate attitudes and their relationship to one's self-esteem, this was not a viable option. However, in rejecting this method, a lot of valuable information about the respondents' opinions, feelings and world-view has been sacrificed.

After careful consideration of the difficulties associated with qualitative methods, viz. the factor of time, the inherent subjectivity (both on the researcher's and the respondents' part) and access to respondents over a period of time, a decision was made to pursue a more objective type of data collection.

Data for the study was collected by using a self-report questionnaire (The Piers Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (PH), 1984 [Appendix "A"]) and an attitude scale (The Social-Distance Scale, Bogardus, 1925 [Appendix "B"]), in order to measure the variables under discussion.

3.4. HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses were formulated:-

1.1. Zanzibari adolescents would have lower self-esteem scores than Indian or Zulu-speaking black children. This is predicted as Zanzibaris tend to be discriminated against by the Zulu-speaking blacks as well as the Indians (see section 2.2.2.).

1.2. Gender differences in self-esteem scores for all respondents will be found. It is predicted that girls will have a lower self-esteem score than boys. Previous research shows that adolescent girls tend to be more uncertain of themselves than boys (Rosenberg, 1985). It is widely reported and commonly observed that women in society face far more prejudice than men, at home, at school and in the work situation.

1.3. For each of the groups (Indians, Zanzibari and Zulu-speaking blacks), girls will have lower self-esteem scores than boys.

1.4. There will be statistically significant differences across the three race groups for each of the cluster scores of the self-concept scale.

2.1. Zanzibari adolescents would show greater social distance to blacks than to Indians. This is predicted as the Zanzibaris culturally identify themselves with Indians (Meer, 1970).

2.2. Girls among the Zanzibaris will show greater out-group preference (lesser social distance) than boys. Research has shown that girls tend to identify more with the dominant culture than boys (Foster, 1986).

3. Social distance scores (out-group preference) will be positively correlated with self-concept scores among Zanzibari adolescents. This would imply that individuals with

low self-concept scores would show less social distance towards other races and individuals with higher self-concept scores would show greater social distance towards other races. Previous research has shown that minority group children who prefer out-groups over in-groups tend to have lower self-concept scores (Aboud, 1988).

3.5. SETTING

The KwaZulu Natal Department of Education and Culture was contacted personally by the researcher. The nature, rationale and focus of the study were discussed. A formal letter explaining the purpose of the research was sent to the Department (see Appendix "C"). Permission to proceed with the research was then obtained from the Department of Education and Culture (see Appendix "D"). Appointments were then arranged with the principals of two schools with substantial enrolments of Zanzibari adolescents, to request their permission to conduct the research at their schools. The nature, focus and purpose of the study were discussed with each principal.

It was arranged that each principal would inform the staff about the study at a staff meeting. The researcher agreed to address the staff if more information about the study was required.

3.6. RESPONDENTS

The respondents were drawn from two schools in Bayview, Chatsworth, Durban. A total of 240 pupils in the high school and 60 pupils in the primary school were targeted. Schools in Chatsworth are all day schools as there are no boarding establishments. Explicit data with regard to social class differences in the Chatsworth area are not available (personal communication with Mr. Chetty, at the UDW Documentation Centre, 1997). Subramony (1993), however notes that Chatsworth was created for the dual purpose of providing housing for Durban's impoverished Indians as well as accommodating economically stable people affected by the Group Areas Act. Subramony describes the social class status as "middle class and working class people were forced to live together in a soulless mass housing estate and the barriers of class who were altered" (p. 145).

Although the intended focus of the study was 13 and 14 year olds (Grades 8 & 9), for statistical reasons the researcher made a decision to include 15 and 16 year olds as the Zanzibari population is relatively small. Therefore in terms of age distribution, a much smaller group of adolescents (13 and 14 year olds) would have been available in comparison to the Indian and Zulu-speaking adolescents.

In view of the planned analysis of data, the researcher decided to include at least sixty Zanzibari pupils in the study.

3.7. MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

3.7.1. Criteria for selecting measuring instruments:

Problems associated with self-report measures.

Some of the limitations associated with self-report measures are:-

- 1) Superficial measures - questionnaires tend to give a superficial surface picture, they do not probe deeper levels of functioning or allow for introspective responding.
- 2) Lack of self-knowledge, insight and the ability to call these into consciousness when answering questions about self will influence what is reported or not.
- 3) “Faking good” is another measurement problem. Subjects may disguise their true responses in order to make a favourable impression on the researcher. Social expectancy tends to distort self-reports.
- 4) The co-operation and motivation of the subject influences the accuracy of self-reports. Subjects can openly deceive if they wish to (Burns, 1979).
- 5) Meaning and interpretation of items can cause difficulty for e.g. word such as, “aggressive”, “ambitious”, “I enjoy social situations” have a range of meanings and interpretations. Verkuyten (1994) argues that the use of words is of relevance when dealing with different cultural groups.

Although self-report measures have inherent difficulties, they are according to Burns (1979) possibly the only method available for measuring the self-concept. He further adds, “if they are to be rejected then psychology would be seriously limited” (p. 77).

No measuring instrument is perfect. When demands for acceptable levels of reliability and validity are met, self-report measures have a valuable place in psychology for the understanding of human behaviour.

For the purposes of this study, self-report measures were considered for the following reasons: They are quick to administer. They are also easy to score and compute and are suitable for group administration. More importantly, anonymity can be maintained (Owen & Taljaard, 1989). The selection was also based on (1) suitability for use with an adolescent population, (2) an instrument that was standardised for cross-cultural use, and (3) an instrument that could easily be scored by hand prior to computation.

3.7.2. The Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (PH)

After surveying other self-concept tests such as the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (Source: Coopersmith, 1967); Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Source: Rosenberg, 1965) and Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Source: Fitts, 1955), it was decided that the PH would be most appropriate for the following reasons:

- 1) It is an efficient, cost effective research instrument
- 2) It is easy to administer and score. The entire scale can be administered scored and interpreted in less than 30 minutes and, therefore
- 3) It is suitable for group administration as well as for individualised use.
- 4) It is intended for use with children from age 8-18 years.
- 5) It has been used in a wide variety of settings.
- 6) There is strong and consistent evidence for its validity.

According to the manual (Piers, 1984), the term “self-concept” is interchangeable with the terms “self-esteem” and “self-regard”. In this study, the terms are used interchangeably.

Wylie (1989) reports that the PH scale has been used with a large number of samples that differ in age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic level, intellectual ability, nationality, health and psychiatric status and the test has been found appropriate for a wide range of subjects, (p. 11)”.

The PH scale has been widely used in a number of countries as well as with minority groups (Jeske, 1985). It has also been used in South Africa with black and white children (Lefley, 1974; Kelly & Duckitt, 1995, De Saxe; Swatzberg, cited in Kelly and Duckitt, 1995).

The instrument consists of 80 simple descriptive items and assesses how children and adolescents feel about themselves. The responses are simple 'yes' or 'no'. The overall score gives a measure of self-esteem. The items address the child's evaluation in six areas that are labelled Behaviour, Intellectual and School Status, Physical Appearance and Attributes, Anxiety, Popularity and Happiness and Satisfaction.

3.7.2.1. Reliability and validity of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (PH)

Reliability

Reliability measures include internal consistency and stability estimates.

Test-Retest reliability for the PH scale has been investigated in both normal, special populations and ethnically diverse populations.

Piers (1984) reports 19 test-retest reliabilities, each on a different sample. Retest intervals range from 14 days to 1 year and values of r range from .42 to .96 (median $r=.75$). (Wylie, 1989). $N=1,577$ subjects ages 6-16 years, grades 3-8. Reliability coefficients on three ethnic populations ranged from .51 to .73 (Lefley, 1974; Henggeler & Tavormina, Metcalfe, cited in Piers, 1984).

Internal consistency estimates for the total score range from .88 to .93. These values are derived from 10 internal consistency coefficients, each based on a different sample. ($N=1,047$ subjects, ages 6-14 years, grades 3-10). Investigating an ethnic population Lefley (1974) reported a split half reliability coefficient of .91.

Reliability coefficient values for the six cluster scales range from .73 to .81. These are Behaviour .81, Intellectual and School Status .78, Physical Appearance and Attributes .76, Anxiety .77, Popularity .74, Happiness and Satisfaction .73.

In summary, the PH Scale appears to be a highly reliable instrument. The reliability figures compare favourably with other measures used to measure personality traits in children and adolescents. According to Piers (1984) the PH Scales is reported to have good internal consistency and adequate temporal stability.

Validity

Validity estimates of the PH Scale include content, criterion related and construct validity obtained from a number of empirical studies. The PH Scale has also been compared to other scales designed to measure similar constructs. The highest correlations were reported for the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory, which resembles the PH in format and age range. Convergent validity coefficient ranged from .32 to .45.

Factor analytic studies have been used to investigate the nature of the underlying construct of the Piers-Harris. Ten factors were identified but six were interpreted. Piers (1984) reports that a few studies have replicated many or all of the factor identified in the original analysis Piers (1963), cited in Piers (1984). These findings have also been replicated across different racial and ethnic minorities (Wolf; Sklov; Hunter; Webber; Berenson, 1982).

Other studies have identified additional factors or failed to replicate original factors. Platten and Williams (1979; 1981, cited in Piers, 1984) identified factor instability in the same sample.

Franklin, Duley, Rousseau and Sabers (1981) found a .78 correlation coefficient, providing evidence of co-validity. The multiple correlation with distinct variables such as academic achievement, socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender and age did not exceed .25.

In summary, studies of reliability and validity are reasonably extensive and establish fairly well the psychometric properties of the total score of the Pier-Harris.

3.7.3. Social distance scale

An attitude scale that would be relevant, easily available and that required a minimum amount of time to administer was selected. There are 3 major types of attitude scales: summated rating scales, equal appearing interval scales and cumulative (or Guttman) scales. Guttman scaling devised by Guttman (1944) allows researchers to determine whether attitudinal traits are unidimensional, i.e. whether each item measures the same dimension of the same phenomenon. The social distance measure seems to have the qualities of a Guttman scale (Foster, 1991b). However, as Foster indicates it may not always be unidimensional. A well constructed Cumulative scale can yield reliable measures of a number of psychological variables, such as tolerance, conformity, ambiguity, permissiveness, group identification and acceptance of authority, to name a few (Kerlinger, 1973). Edwards (1957) notes that the method can be improved and altered in a number of ways.

The test was originally developed by Bogardus (1925) and strictly speaking it is not considered a scale (Foster, 1991). The test was first used in South Africa by MacCrone (1937a) and has been widely used thereafter. Some examples include: Pettigrew (1960); Viljoen (1974); Edelstein (1972; 1974); Groenewald (1975); Spannenberg and Nel (1983). The social distance questionnaire used in this study was based on Durheim's (1995) adaptation of the one used by Groenewald (1975).

The social distance scale is relatively quick and easy to administer. Lever (cited in Heaven & Groenewald, 1977) notes that although the social distance scale originated sometime back, it is not an obsolete instrument. He also points out that Bogardus considered it important that the first feeling reactions be expressed because these feelings are a better indicator of attitudes.

The social distance measure has the advantage of providing an assessment of views towards one's own in-group as well as views towards a range of other groups (Foster & Nel, 1991). The strength of this sort of measure is that "each ethnic group can be evaluated independently, acceptance of one is not confounded with rejection of another" (Aboud, 1988, p. 10). It also allows one to determine whether attitudes generalise to all groups.

Further the measurement of social distance provides an interpretation of varying degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that exist in social situation. Social distance in very simple terms refers to the attitude of members of one group towards members of another group or groups. Looking at the term more specifically Bogardus (1925) states that social distance “refers to the degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other” (p. 299). Lever, cited in Heaven and Groenewald (1977, p. 247) states that the social distance scale provides useful information about the degree of closeness or intimacy of association into which an individual, group or groups are willing to enter or to which they are willing to admit the members of another group or groups.

According to MacCrone (1937a) certain factors contribute in determining the nature and extent of the social distance between individuals who belong to different groups: Firstly, since social distance is based upon the distinction between the in-group and the out-group, the differences between groups increases social distance between them. Secondly, differences between groups are usually interpreted in terms of the relative superiority or inferiority of the one group over the other. Thus superiority or inferiority determines the extent of social distance between groups. MacCrone (1937a) states therefore that the greater the social distance between groups the greater is group intolerance and prejudice of the superior for the inferior group. Thirdly, the kinds of social contact experienced also determines the social distance between “in-groups and out-groups”.

Primary social contacts tend to create greater social distance than secondary social contacts e.g. one may be prepared to admit a person to an occupation but choose not to have him/her live in one’s neighbourhood. Further, individuals might choose whom to have social contacts with from the out-group.

3.7.3.1 Reliability and validity of the social distance questionnaire

Reliability

Lever (1972) notes the social distance scale has a number of advantages over other conventional attitude tests that are used. According to him “the social distance is easy to administer, easy to score, meaningful to the respondent, makes little demand on his time, is “intrinsically scaleable”, yields high co-efficients of reproducibility and its

reliability, although difficult to compute by split half methods, is satisfactory" (p. 204).

Validity

Guion (1977) defines validity as "the extent to which the variance in a set of scores is relevant to the purpose of testing" (p. 3). He adds "it must be remembered that validity is an evaluation, not a fact" (p. 3). There are a number of criteria that have been accepted by social scientists to validate a measuring instrument. These include construct, predictive and content ("face") validity (Black & Champion, 1976). Of these "face validity" is probably the crudest form as it involves the subjective judgement on the part of the researcher.

Lever (1972) notes that another common technique is to correlate the results of the measuring instruments in question with the results of another instrument that measure the same attribute. In this regard MacCrone, validated the social distance test by correlating scores on the test with "Scale of attitude towards the Native" (MacCrone, 1965)

Lever (1972) provides the following evidence of validity for the social distance test:

- 1) Thurstone's paired-comparison (MacCrone, 1938) method yields a similar set of ethnic preferences as measured by the social distance test (Lever, 1968b).
- 2) "Another test of validity is whether the instrument reflects known differences in attitudes" (p. 204). A large number of South African studies using the social distance scale support the claim to the validity of the test, Mann, cited in Lever (1972), states "there is ample evidence of ethnocentrism in the various studies of social distance".
- 3) Factor analysis of the social distance by MacCrone (1965) provide substantial evidence that the test is measuring what it should be measuring.
- 4) Finally the validity of the social distance scale is proven in its predictive value in the experimental situation as well as the meaningfulness of the results which it yields.

3.7.3.2 The social distance questionnaire used in this study.

The choice of groups for inclusion in the questionnaire was based on the two groups that the Zanzibaris have contact with (i.e. Indian and Zulu-speaking blacks) and are associated with in terms of shared residential areas, schooling and religion. The two other groups, coloured and whites were included as they are a significant part of South African society. The scale was modified to include racial groups present in society. The groups selected in this study were arranged in a haphazard order.

A high social distance indicates an unfavourable attitude of “social remoteness”. A low social distance represents a favourable attitude of “social closeness”. In terms of scores the higher the score the greater the tolerance level.

3.7.3.3 Rationale for the scoring of the completed questionnaire.

Strictly speaking the nature of the ordinal data are such that they cannot be manipulated. It was nevertheless done in the study. MacCrone (1937a) provides a procedure to transform the ordinal data in such a way as to produce a value for each degree of social distance. MacCrone’s method of scoring is reproduced below to provide clarity on the scoring procedure. The following is reproduced from MacCrone (1937a, p. 184-185 & p. 198).

“The scoring of the completed questionnaires was carried out in the following way : for the five proportions of the group Any : Most : Some: Few : No- the five values +2, +1, 0, -1,-2 were substituted for every degree of social distance. To each of the five social distances, a rank value was assigned according to its position in the series. On the left or positive side of the group proportions these values ran from 1 to 5, while on the right or negative side of the group proportions these values ran from 5 to 1. The positive values from left to right on each line were then multiplied by the corresponding values, 1 to 5, running from top to bottom; and in the same way the negative values from right to left on each line were multiplied by the corresponding values, 5 to 1, running from top to bottom. If we substitute the values in the text of any

questionnaire group, we obtain the following key:

Any	Most	Some	Few	No
1 x +2	+1	0	-1	-2 x 5
2 x +2	+1	0	-1	-2 x 4
3 x +2	+1	0	-1	-2 x 3
4 x +2	+1	0	-1	-2 x 2
5 x +2	+1	0	-1	-2 x 1

From the key the score for any one of the five possible selections on each line can easily be read of. At one end we find that willingness to admit ‘Any’ or ‘Most’ of a group to live and work in one’s country received the small positive scores of +2 or +1, while willingness to admit ‘Few’ or ‘No’ members of a group receives the large negative scores of -5 or -10. At the other end willingness to admit ‘Any ‘ or ‘Most’ members of a group to close kinship by marriage receives the high positive scores of +10 or + 5, while willingness to admit ‘Few’ or ‘No’ members receives the low negative scores of -1 or -2. A subject who selects ‘Any’ at every choice would get a score of +2 +4 +6 +8 + 10 or +30, the maximum positive score: a subject who selects ‘Some’ at every choice would get a zero score; while a subject who selects ‘No’ at every choice would get a score of -2 -4 -6 -8 -10 or -30 - the maximum negative score. The principle upon which the scoring was based is that every selection of ‘Any’ or ‘Most’ for any social distance must receive a positive score and that every selection of ‘Few’ or ‘No’ must receive a negative score. The selection of ‘Some’ indicating a neutral, indifferent, or ambivalent attitude would then receive no credit or a zero score”. (p. 184-185).

“In the case of the questionnaire on the other hand, where the statements have simply been assigned a value according to their rank order or position in a series, no means exists after determining the differences between scores in terms of a rational unit. The difference between a score of 10 and 5 represents, no doubt, a real difference in amounts of a quantitative or measurable variable, but how much we cannot say, and certainly we are not entitled to say that the one amount is twice as much as the other. Nor are we entitled to assume that the difference between a score of 10 and a score of

5 is equal to the difference between a score of 20 and a score of 15. The differences between scores, however, if they are statistically reliable, may be assumed to represent real differences of a quantitative kind in whatever is being measured" (p. 198).

Wiendieck (1975) criticises the "uncritical application" of the social distance scale in South Africa. He is of the opinion that it was constructed for a different cultural milieu and is therefore inadequate. For example, he points out that an answer to the question "would you marry a black?", would not indicate social distance as much as legal obedience.

3.8. PROCEDURE

3.8.1. Preliminary visits to the schools

The head of each school was contacted to request permission to conduct the testing at the schools concerned. The principals were informed about the purpose of the study. A suitable time and date were arranged on the basis that testing would not disrupt lesson time and that the researcher would arrange her own assistants to help with the testing. Parents were informed by way of letter and were given the option whether or not to allow their children to participate (See Appendix "E").

To avoid too much disruption during lesson time and for the sake of convenience, the principals together with the researcher decided to inform the students concerned (grades 8 & 9) about the study at the morning assembly. This ensured standardisation of explanation of the nature of the study. The students were informed that permission was sought from them and their parents to allow them to be respondents in a study being undertaken. They were informed that if they wished to participate, they would be required to answer two questionnaires. One questionnaire would ask them questions about themselves and the other about their attitudes to other people. No more than this information about the nature of the questionnaires was given as the researcher was wary about the possibility of influencing responses in any way. They were told that they would answer the questionnaires during school time and their parents would be informed by way of letter. Confidentiality of their participation and responses was stressed.

3.8.2. Administration of tests.

Data were collected at both schools in September 1996. The instruments were administered by the researcher, her supervisor and two assistants. Groups of 35-40 pupils were taken for each session. The researcher and an assistant supervised one group while the supervisor and another assistant worked with the other group. Standardisation of procedure was maintained by giving standard written instructions for administration, briefing and debriefing. These considerations form an important part of ethical procedures in research activities (Farman, 1996).

In the briefing session the researcher introduced herself and her assistants (see Appendix "F"). The terms "self-concept" and "self-esteem" were discussed with students. Some of their ideas were discussed briefly. The concept of inter-group relations was introduced to them. Again responses from the group were elicited with regard to group harmony and prejudice.

The students were requested to complete two questionnaires. They were told the first questionnaire would deal with questions regarding how they feel about themselves. The second questionnaire would assess their attitudes towards other groups.

It was emphasised that their responses would remain anonymous and that they were not to write their names on the answer sheets. They were told that the results were confidential and would be used for research purposes only. Their answer sheets would not be shown to teachers.

It was necessary to use some sort of coding system to identify each group. After a brief discussion with the students, the researcher and the student agreed upon the following codes: 'Z' for Zulu; 'Sw' for Swazi; 'Za' for Zanzibari and 'I' for Indians.

The researcher stressed that the students answer each question and answer it honestly. The Piers Harris Self-Concept Scale was administered first. Instructions on the cover sheet were read out to the group. Any questions asked during the completion of the questionnaire were answered by the researcher. After completion of the first questionnaire, the Social Distance Scale was administered. Certain terms were explained before the students proceeded with answering the test.

Although an hour was set aside for each session, almost all students completed the questionnaires within 40 minutes.

After all the students had completed the questionnaires, a debriefing session was conducted. Questions in the debriefing session included:-

- 1) How do you feel about these questions?
- 2) What did it mean to you?
- 3) Was there anything you did not understand?
- 4) Did it make you come face to face with things about yourself?
- 5) Do you feel differently about other groups of people now that you have discussed things that you might not have thought about before?

All things did not run exactly as planned. Getting pupils to the multi-purpose room that was set aside for testing did not occur without a problem. The researcher was aware at all times to minimise disruptions as far as possible. Students had to be drawn from various part of the school. As a result they did not all report at the same time. Some time was spent in making up groups of 35-40. Slight disruptions occurred when students who could not be accommodated were asked to return to class and come back at a later time in the day.

The physical setting was not ideal, as one large room (that accommodates 80) had to be divided so that two groups could be accommodated at one time. The “large” numbers made it difficult for the researcher to check on participant's questionnaires to see that all details (biographical and responses to individual questions) were filled in correctly and completely. Also it might have encroached on the participant's privacy to check on details. As a result, a fairly large number of spoilt copies were accumulated. These were rendered “spoilt” because important biographical details such as race, gender and age were missing, or a question was not answered. Although no individual declined to participate in the study, it was obvious from a few of the respondent's written comments, their lack of commitment and interest in the study.

3.9. CONCLUSION.

The measurement of self-esteem and racial attitudes is a problematic area. There are many methodological problems associated with the measurement of the constructs. Considerable variation exists in measurement procedures, thus preventing opportunities for replication and comparison. However, the self-report questionnaires are perhaps the best alternatives to projective probing of the self. Provided that acceptable levels of reliability and validity are met, it lends credibility to the self-report research instrument. The Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale and the Bogardus Social Distance Scale were selected as they have been favourably used in South African research (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995; Lever, 1972).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The results of the study were analysed in order to address the hypotheses stated in Chapter 3 under 3.4.

The following statistical procedures were used to analyse the data in order to address the hypotheses stated in Chapter 3 under 3.4.

- 1) A one way analysis of variance by multiple comparison (Bonferronni) was used to compare self-concept scores of Zanzibaris with the Indian and Zulu-speaking black adolescents (H 1.1).
- 2) T-tests for independent samples for gender were done to analyse gender differences in self-concept scores for all respondents (H 1.2).
- 3) T-tests for independent samples for gender were done to analyse gender differences in self-concept scores for each group of respondents (H 1.3).
- 4) A one-way analysis of variance by multiple comparison (Bonferronni) was used to analyse differences for each of the cluster scores among the groups of respondents (H 1.4).
- 5) Means of social distance were used to rank the social distance of Zanzibaris to other racial groups viz. Indian, Zulu-speaking black children, coloureds and whites (H 2.1.).
- 6) Means of social distance scores were used to rank the social distance of Zanzibaris of each gender towards other racial groups (H 2.2.).
- 7) Correlation coefficients were used to analyse the association between self-concept and social distance (in-group/out-group preference) among Zanzibari respondents (H 3.).

4.2 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Demographic Information

Tables 4.2.1.-Tables 4.2.7 present descriptive information on the respondents in the study. These include race, gender, age and self-concept scores. These are given first for the total sample of respondents (n=263) and separately for the Zanzibari respondents (n=60).

Table 4.2.1.*Race of respondents: (n = 263)*

n	Racial group	%
60	Zanzibaris	22.8
154	Indians	58.2
49	Zulus	18.6

Table 4.2.2.*Ages of respondents: (n = 263)*

n	AGE	%
9	13	36.9
110	14	41.8
44	15	16.7
11	16	4.2

Table 4.2.3*Age distribution of Zanzibari respondents: (n = 60)*

n	AGE	%
30	13	50.0
20	14	33.3
9	15	15.0
1	16	1.7

Table 4.2.4.*Gender of respondents: (n=263)*

Gender	n	%
Boys	103	39.2
Girls	159	60.5

Table 4.2.5.*Gender distribution of Zanzibari respondents (n=60)*

Gender	n	%
Boys	21	35
Girls	39	65

Table 4.2.6.*Gender distribution of Indian respondents (n=60)*

Gender	n	%
Boys	65	42.2
Girls	89	57.8

Table 4.2.7.*Gender distribution of Zulu-speaking black respondents (n=60)*

Gender	n	%
Boys	18	36.7
Girls	31	63.3

4.3 INFERENTIAL STATISTICS

Hypothesis 1.1.

Zanzibari adolescents would have lower self-concept scores than Indian or Zulu-speaking black children. This is predicted as Zanzibaris tend to be discriminated against by the Zulu-speaking blacks as well as the Indians (see section 2.2.2.).

Statistical Procedure

A one way analysis of variance by multiple comparison (Bonferroni) was used to compare self-concept scores of Zanzibaris with the Indian and Zulu-speaking black adolescents.

Table 4.3.1.
Self-concept scores of Zanzibari, Indian and Zulu-speaking blacks

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	60.45
Indians	154	57.61
Zulus	49	53.24

1.1.1. The Zanzibaris obtained the highest mean scores. Multiple range tests, the modified LSD (Bonferonni) test showed that there were significant differences between the Indians and the Zulu-speaking blacks and the Zanzibaris and the Zulu-speaking blacks ($p < 0.05$). Thus, hypothesis 1.1. is not supported by these data.

Hypothesis 1.2.

Gender differences in self-concept scores for all respondents will be found. It is predicted that girls will have a lower self-concept score than boys. Previous research shows that adolescent girls tend to be more uncertain of themselves than boys (Rosenberg, 1985). It is widely reported and commonly observed that women in society face far more prejudice than men, at home, at school and in the work situation.

Statistical Procedure

T-test for independent samples was done to analyse gender differences in self-concept scores for all respondents.

Table 4.3.2.
Gender differences in self-concept scores for all respondents.

Gender	n	Mean	SD
Boys	104	58.26	10.98
Girls	159	56.91	11.12

1.2.1. At df 260 for a 1 - tailed t-test the critical value in 1.64. The t observed value is 0.96 at the 5% level of confidence. Since the t observed value is less than t critical value, the gender difference in self-concept scores is not significant and hypothesis 1.2 is not supported.

Hypothesis 1.3.

For each of the groups (Indians, Zanzibari and Zulu-speaking blacks), girls will have lower self-concept scores than boys.

Statistical Procedure

T-tests for independent samples were done to analyse gender differences in self-concept scores for each group of respondents.

Table 4.3.3.
Gender differences in self-concept scores for the Zanzibaris.

Gender	n	Mean	SD
Boys	21	61.05	12.13
Girls	39	60.13	10.82

1.3.1. No significant gender difference was found for Zanzibari respondents ($p > 0.05$).

Table 4.3.4.
Gender differences in self-concept scores for the Indians.

Gender	n	Mean	SD
Boys	64	59.00	10.64
Girls	89	56.61	11.57

1.3.2. No significant gender difference was found for Indian respondents ($p > 0.05$).

Table 4.3.5.
Gender differences in self-concept scores for Zulu-speaking blacks.

Gender	n	Mean	SD
Boys	18	52.3889	9.140
Girls	31	53.7419	9.299

1.3.3. No significant gender difference was found for Zulu-speaking black respondents ($p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 1.3 was not supported by these data.

Hypothesis 1.4.

There will be statistically significant differences across the three race groups for each of the cluster scores of the self-concept scale.

Table 4.3.6.
Distribution of means of self-concept scores by cluster (n= 263)

Cluster	All respondents	Zanzibaris	Indians	Zulu-speaking blacks
SC1- Behaviour	12.38	12.90	12.50	11.37
SC2- Intellectual and school status	12.79	13.70	12.78	11.71
SC3- Physical appearance and attributes	9.30	9.57	9.52	8.29
SC4- Anxiety	8.77	9.28	8.66	8.47
SC5- Popularity	8.17	8.63	8.31	7.18
SC6- Happiness and satisfaction	7.85	8.00	8.04	7.08
n	263	60	154	49

Statistical Procedure

Data for each of the cluster scores (1-6) on the self-concept scale will be examined for differences for each group of respondents.

A one-way analysis of variance by multiple comparisons (Bonferronni) for each of the self-concept cluster scores was used to analyse differences across the three group of respondents.

The following represents the name of the self-concept clusters:

- Behaviour (SC1)
- Intellectual and school status (SC2)
- Physical appearance and attributes (SC3)
- Anxiety (SC4)
- Popularity (SC5)
- Happiness and satisfaction (SC6)

Table 4.3.7.
Racial differences in scores for self-concept Cluster 1: Behaviour

n: 263
Mean: 12.38

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	12.90
Indians	154	12.50
Zulus	49	11.37

1.4.1. The Zanzibaris obtained the highest mean score for Cluster 1: Behaviour. A significant difference was noted at the 5% level of significance between the Zanzibaris and Zulu-speaking group.

Table 4.3.8.
Racial differences in scores for self-concept Cluster 2: Intellectual and school status

n: 263
Mean: 12.79

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	13.70
Indians	154	12.78
Zulus	49	11.71

1.4.2. The Zanzibaris obtained the highest mean score for intellectual and school status. A significant difference was noted at the 5% level of significance between the Zanzibaris and Zulu-speaking groups.

Table 4.3.9.
Racial differences in scores for self-concept Cluster 3: Physical appearance and attributes.

n: 263
Mean: 9.30

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	9.57
Indians	154	9.52
Zulus	49	8.29

1.4.3. The Zanzibaris obtained the highest mean score for physical appearance and attributes with the Zulu-speaking group obtaining the lowest score. There were significant differences at the 5% level between the Zanzibari and Zulu-speaking groups, and between the Indians and the Zulu-speaking groups.

Table 4.3.10.
Racial differences in scores for self-concept Cluster 4: Anxiety.

n: 260
Mean: 8.77

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	9.28
Indians	154	8.66
Zulus	49	8.47

1.4.4. The mean scores of the Zanzibaris were the highest, with the Zulu group obtaining the lowest score. There were no significant differences at the 5% level.

Table 4.3.11.
Racial differences in scores for self-concept Cluster 5: Popularity.

n: 263
Mean: 8.17

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	8.63
Indians	154	8.31
Zulus	49	7.18

1.4.5. The Zanzibaris obtained the highest mean score and the Zulus the lowest mean score. There were significant differences at the 5% level between the Zanzibari and Zulu-speaking groups and the Indians and the Zanzibari groups.

Table 4.3.12.
Racial differences in scores for self-concept Cluster 6: Happiness and satisfaction.

n: 263
Mean: 7.85

Racial group	n	mean
Zanzibaris	60	8.00
Indians	154	8.04
Zulus	49	7.08

1.4.6. The mean scores for the Indian group were the highest and the Zulu-speaking group obtained the lowest mean score. There were significant differences at the 5% level between the Zanzibari and Zulu-speaking groups and the Indians and the Zulu-speaking groups.

Hypothesis 2.1.

Zanzibari adolescents would show greater social distance towards blacks than towards Indians. This is predicted, as the Zanzibaris culturally identify themselves with Indians (Meer, 1970).

Table: 4.3.13. *Means of Zanzibari respondents: Social distance questionnaire*

Racial Groups	Mean
Towards Indians	6.75
Towards Zulu-speaking blacks	14.28
Towards Zanzibaris	23.67
Towards Whites	10.38
Towards Coloureds	18.62

Note: A higher score indicates a greater tolerance level (less social distance).

The data for social distance towards whites and coloureds were included as the information was available and this would provide the basis for drawing further comparisons.

Procedure

2.1.1. The Zanzibari respondents’ social distance towards racial groups may be ranked thus:

Table: 4.3.14. *Ranked preferences of Zanzibaris towards other groups*

Preference	Racial Group
1st	Towards Zanzibari
2nd	Towards Coloured
3rd	Towards Zulu-speaking blacks
4th	Towards Whites
5th	Towards Indians

These data do not support the hypothesis 2.1. These Zanzibari adolescents showed greater social distance towards Indians than towards blacks. In fact, These Zanzibari adolescents showed greater social distance towards Indians than towards any of the other races considered in this study.

Hypothesis 2.2.

Girls among the Zanzibaris will show lesser social distance (greater out-group preference) than boys. Research has shown that girls tend to identify more with the dominant culture than boys (Foster, 1986).

Table: 4.3.15. *Means of Zanzibari respondents by gender: Social distance questionnaire*

Racial group	Girls	Boys
Towards Indians	9.77	1.14
Towards Zulu-speaking blacks	14.08	14.67
Towards Zanzibaris	24.05	22.95
Towards Whites	11.90	7.57
Towards Coloureds	19.18	17.57

Procedure

2.2.2. The social distance of the Zanzibari girls and boys towards racial groups may be ranked thus:

Table 4.3.16. *Ranked preferences of Zanzibaris towards other groups according to gender*

Preference	Zanzibari boys	Zanzibari girls
1st	Towards Zanzibari	Towards Zanzibari
2nd	Towards Coloured	Towards Coloured
3rd	Towards Zulu-speaking blacks	Towards Zulu-speaking blacks
4th	Towards Whites	Towards Whites
5th	Towards Indians	Towards Indians

Hypothesis 2.2 is not supported by these data.

Zanzibari girls do not differ from Zanzibari boys in the order in which their social distance towards racial groups is ranked. However, there is a marked difference in the actual distances between boys and girls in respect of their social distance towards whites and Indians. Zanzibari boys display greater distance in both cases.

Hypothesis 3.

Social distance scores (out-group preference) will be positively correlated with self-concept scores among Zanzibari adolescents. This would imply that individuals with low self-concept scores would show less social distance towards other races and individuals with higher self-concept scores would show greater social distance towards other races. Previous research has shown that minority group children who prefer out-groups over in-groups tend to have lower self-concept scores (Aboud, 1988).

Statistical Procedure

Correlation coefficients were utilised to analyse the association between self-concept scores and social distance towards each racial group.

Table 4.3.17. *Correlation coefficients for self-concept scores and social distance scores of Zanzibaris (n = 60).*

Correlation	r	p
Self-Concept / Social Distance towards Zanzibari	0.15	0.24
Self-Concept / Social Distance towards Indian	0.21	0.10
Self-Concept / Social Distance towards Zulu-speaking black	0.14	0.29
Self-Concept / Social Distance towards Coloured	0.08	0.56
Self-Concept / Social Distance towards White	0.21	0.10

3.1.1.1. There was no significant correlation between self-concept scores and social distance, so Hypothesis 3 is not supported.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The results of the self-concept scale and social distance questionnaire administered have been analysed and presented in this chapter. The results are discussed in the following chapter in relation to the theoretical constructs and results of other studies.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Studies on the possible consequences of prejudice and related phenomena such as out-group favouritism, tolerance and ethnic identities for psychological well being predominantly focus on self-esteem. This is so because self-esteem is considered an important aspect of psychological well being. Generally, research has found very little relationship between ethnicity and self-esteem (Verkuyten, 1995) and contrary to popular belief, high levels of self-esteem are found in minority youth compared to advantaged youth. The present research found high levels of self-esteem in a disadvantaged minority and no association between prejudice and self-esteem.

This chapter discusses the results presented in Chapter 4 in the light of previous research. The hypotheses will be discussed under the general headings of: self-esteem, social distance and the association between social distance and self-esteem. These are complex issues embedded in socio-economic complexity. The results of the study need to be interpreted in the light of the complex socio-economic and political issues. In terms of the questions posed in this research much contradictory evidence was found. Based on the data presented in Chapter 4 and the statistical analysis thereof a number of conclusions can be drawn.

5.2. FINDINGS IN RESPECT OF SELF-CONCEPT (HYPOTHESIS 1.1-1.4)

5.2.1 The hypothesis that the Zanzibaris, a disadvantaged minority, would have significantly lower self-esteem than the other groups was not upheld.

5.2.2 Although expected gender differences in the 3 groups of respondents were found, the difference was not significant.

5.2.3 Although Zanzibari and Indian boys obtained a higher self-esteem score than Zanzibari girls and Zulu-speaking black girls obtained higher self-esteem scores than Zulu-speaking boys, these were non significant differences.

5.2.4 The Zanzibaris group obtained a statistically significant higher mean score on all the component parts on the self-concept scales, except on the happiness and satisfaction component.

It has been argued that “existing social arrears and subordination must have negative consequences for self-esteem”, Verkuyten (1993). The findings of this study add to the growing list of findings in the area of self-esteem in disadvantaged groups that reveal a discrepancy between widely held assumptions (based on theory) and research data on the matter of the effects of self-esteem upon disadvantaged, underprivileged minorities. There are several social psychological explanations that focus on the formation of self-concept, e.g. reflected appraisal and social comparison (see chapter 2) that give rise to the assumption of low self-esteem in minority group members in comparison to the dominant group or groups. Rosenberg (1981) and Rovner (1981), however show that a re-application of the principles of self-esteem formation could be used to explain the lack of difference in self-esteem between minority and dominant groups. Rosenberg (1981) for example points out that social comparison need not imply comparison with a dominant cultural group but that comparison could restrict itself to “one's own supportive community”.

The results of these studies are discussed in light of the theory in chapter 2 below. The findings for high self-esteem in a disadvantaged group are consistent with recent international (Verkuyten, 1994, 1995) and South African (Howcroft, 199; Kelly & Duckitt, 1995) findings.

A series of studies prior to the 1970's indicated lowered self-esteem in American black children compared to whites (Adams, 1978; Clark & Clark, 1947; Williams & Morland, 1976). Far lower levels of self-esteem were anticipated in South African black children in relation to white children because of the complex nature of South African society (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). It has been theorised that people who are targets of discrimination experience feelings of worthlessness, inferiority and self-hatred (Gergen & Gergen, 1981).

Counter-arguments have been proposed to the above theorizing and observations that tend to send a message of doom and resignation, and portray individuals as passive victims of circumstances. Foster (1986) notes that “one should therefore be wary of simplifying the case by claiming that oppressive social structures invariably produce ‘damaged’ psychological forms” (p. 181). Milner (1984) cited in Abrams and Hogg (1988) notes that low self-esteem is not an automatic consequence of being black in a

racist environment (p. 103). He further adds that an interpretation of self-esteem is simply not a comparison of disadvantaged with dominant groups, but that it depends on the wider socio-cultural milieu, the more local racial context, the specific context of testing and the age of the respondent.

There is a large and growing body of research in personality and social psychology that advocate that membership in disadvantaged low status or stigmatised groups does not necessarily result in lower levels of self-esteem. Recent perspectives emphasise and describe maintenance and protection factors of self-esteem. They focus on the buffering or coping processes of people as a strategy in the face of adversity. As Manganyi (1981) remarked, that after the 1970's "... (black) people have a greater self respect they are more self-reliant and have an inner sort of energy." (p. 43) These recent views stress that people are not merely passive victims of their groups' social status but rather active agents who protect their self-esteem from the damaging implications of being trapped in low status, disadvantaged groups.

A number of explanations based on research findings have been put forward to explain high self-esteem trends in black children. Pettigrew (1964) has observed that a stable and happy family life can act as an insulation against a hostile environment. Hughes and Demo (1989) offer the explanation that favourable self-esteem stem from the micro social relations within the family and the community. These agents protect the self-concept and provide emotional and practical support from negative evaluations of outsiders. Minority youth focus on the perceived appraisal of family members and not the dominant group's perceptions of them (Verkuyten, 1988). Adolescents might be mainly concerned with the judgements of significant others in the immediate social environment. Parents and the community environment are more important factors in the formation of self. Parents and significant others might have a positive view of their youngsters. Blash and Unger (1995) in a study of adolescents (16-18 years) found that parental support was associated with positive self-esteem.

MacCrone (1975) concluded that black groups have highly developed group traditions and consciousness of their own. This awareness of group belongingness provides a framework upon which one he can confront the reality of one's adversities.

Higher levels of self-concept might also be associated with a proactive style of coping with stereotypes and discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Research has shown that the peer group may be involved in compensatory socialisation in ethnic minorities most vulnerable to social degradation. (de Vos, 1980). Adolescent reference groups might be more important in drawing evaluations, than those of authority figures. Perhaps in this case the Zanzibari adolescent draws his influence from parents and peers and develops a strong sense of self in relationship to parents and friends. Simmons (1978) notes that an individual's self attitude is influenced less by the larger society and more by opinions of significant others in the immediate environment.

Perceptions of minority youth might be different from society's perceptions. For example, Verkuyten (1994) argues that minorities might have a favourable view about how contemporaries in their social environment see the minority group they belong to. Society's negative views do not automatically lead to self-derogation. Minority youth do not necessarily believe society's negative stereotype and views about them. Also, feelings of self-worth stem from one's own values, (rather than those of the dominant culture), that allow for favourable interpretations of the self (McCarthy & Yancey, 1971). This position also highlights Erikson's view on identity formation in adolescents. With reference to his quotation in section 2.7, p. 40, it demonstrates the link between personal identity formation and self-concept and highlights the interconnectedness of self-concept with the social context. The social context dictates a sense of worthiness.

South African studies have revealed that South African blacks blame the South African social system for lack of personal success rather than themselves (Brett & Morse, 1975; Lobban, 1975; Heaven, Stones & Rajab, 1984). This might also explain the high levels of self-esteem found in black South Africans.

It has been noted above that factors such as parental support, peer group appraisal, group tradition and the perceived appraisal of significant others may explain the high self-esteem found in Zanzibari adolescents. Other factors have probably also contributed to the findings of high self-esteem. It may be possible that the high level of self-concept obtained may reflect a 'defensive' positive self-esteem and may not be a result of a really positive evaluation of self. Franks and Marolla (1976) note that this

type of self-esteem results from a lack of confidence, a strong need for social approval and a sense of insecurity. Verkuyten (1994) argues however that when comparing groups the "problem of defensive positive self-esteem among specific individual is less urgent. Unless one of the groups being compared contains relatively many of these individuals". (p. 29). This might be the case with the Zanzibaris in the study. Bagley et al., (1979) note that a dominant need in human beings is to acquire an adequate level of self-esteem, so individuals with low self-esteem will "attempt to engineer their environment so as to give social returns which enhance self-concept". (p. 102)

Response patterns might also explain the high self-concept scores obtained. Response patterns can be seen as expressions of underlying characteristics e.g. insecurity and need for social approval of the self. Long (1969) makes reference to the tendency among disadvantaged subjects to give extreme answers. Bachman and O'Malley (1984) have shown that blacks are more inclined than whites to use extreme response categories, especially the positive end of agree-disagree scales. Verkuyten (1988; 1993) using a truncated scoring method in a study in the Netherlands did not find the tendency for the response style of "yea saying", or the tendency to agree with items regardless of content. A truncated scoring method, which controls for the use of extreme response categories was not used in this study. It would be difficult to ascertain whether response patterns might have influenced the score obtained by the Zanzibaris, given the research methodology of the study.

Other variables that might have influenced the results might have been the researcher's ethnicity. It is, however, the opinion of the researcher that the Zanzibaris probably identified with the researcher's religious background (Islamic) rather than her race and cultural orientation (Indian). The Zanzibari respondents may have wanted to create a positive impression upon the researcher. Phinney and Alipuria (1990) have found, however, that for ethnic minority youth, ethnicity rated equal to religion but above politics.

The Indians have in the South African racial hierarchy, enjoyed higher status than the Zanzibaris. However, in terms of status hierarchies they were also oppressed. As a consideration of issues of identity, higher levels of self-concept obtained by the

Zanzibaris might be an indication that they see themselves as equal to “higher status” others (in this case the Indians). Perhaps the comparison groups were irrelevant; the scores should therefore be interpreted in the context within which they were tested.

Finally, the high self-esteem obtained by the supposedly most discriminated against minority group (the Zanzibaris) could be attributed to the social change hypothesis. Changes in the country’s politics, a greater acceptance of oppressed members of society, and greater recognition given to different religions, could all influence one’s self-appraisal. To this equation might be added the “pariah” status given to the Zanzibaris by the government, due to its difficulties in classifying this unusual minority. Attention from the media and the concerted efforts by the community might have contributed to feelings of worth.

The theoretical positions on self-esteem of minority adolescents could support contrasting hypotheses about inter-group differences. In the case of this study the data do not support the hypotheses based on the widely held assumptions that discrimination and negative attitudes on the part of the dominant group towards a discriminated against minority would result in impaired self-esteem for members of the minority group (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995; Phinney et al, 1993; Verkuyten 1994). Kelly & Duckitt (1995) proposed further that this situation would emerge even more clearly in black South African children because as a social group they have experienced particularly severe discrimination. On the basis of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) it might have been hypothesised that minority group members strive to preserve a positive self-concept when faced with experiences that threaten their identity. These data would support that reasoning.

5.2.1. Components of self-esteem

In the present study Zanzibaris obtained a higher score on each of the component parts of the self-concept scale, except on the happiness and satisfaction component.

It is significant that their evaluation on the Happiness and Satisfaction components on the self-concept scale were not higher than those of the Indian group (the dominant group). This concurs with other research. This is an interesting finding in the light of other research. Several studies have found that minority status has an effect on

happiness, (Veenhoven, Verkuyten, cited in Verkuyten, 1994). Verkuyten (1989) also found that minority youth living in Netherlands compared to Dutch youth had lower levels of life-satisfaction but at the same time did not show lower global self-esteem. According to Verkuyten (1995) this suggests that minority status “has a differentiated effect on different aspects of psychological well being” (p. 171). Therefore, not all aspects of self-esteem are affected in a uniform way.

5.3. FINDINGS IN RESPECT OF SOCIAL DISTANCE (HYPOTHESIS 2.1-2.2)

5.3.1 The hypothesis that Zanzibaris would show a greater social distance to Zulu-speaking blacks than to Indians was not upheld. In fact, the greatest social distance was shown towards the Indians by the Zanzibaris.

5.3.2 The hypothesis that girls will show lesser social distance (greater out-group preference) than boys to each of the 5 racial groups was not upheld.

The data in the present study showed that Zanzibaris showed the greatest distance towards the Indian group. This was an unexpected finding for many reasons. Previous research in the same context indicated that Zanzibari adults culturally identify themselves with Indians (Meer, 1970). The present study reflects the attitude of an adolescent group. The young Zanzibaris might feel differently as their associations and relationships are different from those of the adult. Also it is more than 20 years that the Zanzibaris have lived with the Indian neighbours (an experience and situation different from the days on the Bluff) and associated with them as neighbours, student, commuters and the like. This is long enough to have established attitudes and feelings in a contact situation on a fairly intimate basis and therefore lead to the discovery of similarities as well as dissimilarities.

It is possible that Zanzibaris feel discriminated against by the Indians who form the dominant group in the area. Great distances possibly exist towards the Indians due to misinformation about religious belief (this in particular towards Indians who practice the Hindu religion) and cultural practices. While the two groups have been living so close to each other, ignorance about each other's practices could create distances. Giles (1990) in assessing subjects' level of identification with the in-group (integration) and distance from the out-group (differentiation) shows that increases in perceived threat from the out-group resulted in increases in distance expressed toward

the out-group. The extreme judgment of Zanzibaris towards Indians in this study is disturbing.

Chatsworth is a recently created township, specifically for Indians. It was shown in section 2.2.2 how the Indians felt about having the Zanzibaris live in “their” area. It is possible that Zanzibaris are seen as intruders in an Indian “owned” territory. A parallel can be drawn to the theme in “West Side Story” where Puerto Rican immigrants were treated as “outsiders” in a predominantly Irish community. In this case, the Zanzibaris are the outsiders.

Of significance was their social distance rating to the blacks that occupied third position in the rankings. Perhaps the Zanzibari adolescent does not feel threatened by the blacks and feels a closeness in their African heritage. It is also possible that their interaction with blacks is at a different level compared to that of Indians. With blacks the contact is limited to school, whereas the contact with Indians extends to residential and religious levels.

Of interest was tolerance shown to the coloured group who ranked second in the hierarchy. This might be so for a number of reasons. Firstly, the older generation Zanzibari in the 1960’s (refer to section 2.2.1) strove to identify with the coloured group as they saw them as a notch higher in the South African race hierarchy. Perhaps the Zanzibari adolescent in this study also sees identification with the coloured group as a release from his or her present status, which is still relatively disadvantaged. In fact a few Zanzibari males referred to themselves as “Zanzi coloured” or simply “coloured”. It is possible that the Zanzibari adolescent feels more comfortable among the coloureds whom he probably feels he could blend in easily with. A further reason may be that coloureds are a remarkably diverse group in terms of cultural, religious and ethnic orientation, although officially they were a creation of the political history and circumstances of this country as a single racial group. Like the coloureds, Zanzibaris are a product of a marginal situation in society, at the edge of two cultures. Another explanation for the tolerance shown towards the coloured group might be that Zanzibaris closely identify with them as they also experienced problems of not being here nor there in South Africa’s darkest time of racial classifications. Chaisson, Charbonneau and Proulx (1996) have shown that French-Canadian students were more

attracted to out-group members whose characteristics are similar to the participants' own group.

The Zanzibaris clearly showed in-group favouritism (the greatest tolerance level towards their own group). The findings of in-group favouritism obtained in this study are consistent with other studies. Bornman (1994) points out that ethnicity is a reality among both blacks and whites, and that strong emotional bonds exist between some individuals and their ethnic groups. He argues that ethnic loyalties can influence attitudes and behaviour. Le Vine and Campbell (1972) in a study of different ethnic groups found that each group preferred their in-group to others. He pointed out that such preference is part of an almost universal ethnocentrism. The findings obtained also confirm Rakoff's study (1949) that Coloured adolescents in Cape Town were most tolerant to their own group. Kruger and Cleaver (1992) in a study of ethnic preferences of Zulus also found that Zulus preferred their own group to others in the following order: Zulus, white (English speakers) Sotho, Indians, coloureds and Afrikaners. Here the preference order was based on language rather than race. The ranking of groups in the above study corresponds to the ranking of groups in the present study, though possibly for different reasons. A possible interpretation is that the preference order was based on racial preference.

The finding in this study is consistent with other South African studies (van den Berghe, 1962; Brett & Morse, 1975; Niewoudt & Plug, 1983) that blacks in South Africa have more positive attitudes towards their own group and towards blacks in general than toward any other population group in South Africa. MacCrone (1975) found that blacks had a strong sense of group consciousness, in spite of the position they occupy in South African society.

Verkuyten (1991) in a study of adolescents (age 13-17 years) of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands found that adolescents who considered their ethnic identity as very important, showed more in-group preference. It is possible that the group of Zanzibari adolescents in this study also value and place strong emphasis on their identity as Zanzibaris. Lee (1993) in a study of in-group preference and homogeneity among African-American and Chinese-American students found that both groups perceived their own group more favourably than the out-group.

The literature has shown that ethnocentrism and self-esteem increases with age. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) in a sample of children (middle to late childhood) also found developmental increases in ethnocentrism and self-esteem. If ethnocentrism seems to increase with age then the finding of in-group favourability might persist in adolescence. If social distance scores can be used to indicate favourability towards groups and in a very conservative manner indicate ethnocentrism, then the findings obtained in this study concur with other findings that show with increasing age (by age 11 or 12) black children show own-group identification (Vaughn, 1964; Aboud, 1988).

The findings of social distance to whites, historically the 'major' dominant group (ranked above Indians, but below other races) did not confirm the findings of a host of South African studies (see sections 2.9 & 2.10.1); that disadvantaged minority groups show out-group preference or tolerance towards whites. This social distance to whites is a bit puzzling. It is pointed out however that the white racial group was not distinguished in the questionnaire into Afrikaans and English-speakers. This is a significant distinction in terms of historical patterns of racial attitudes. Maybe the low tolerance level for whites in comparison to the other groups can be explained by the fact that they have had little contact with them and therefore they are indifferent to them. Or it may be a historical anger expressed towards whites against the oppression and discrimination experienced by the Zanzibaris. The humiliation experienced by this group at the time of racial classification and the Group Areas Act and their subsequent forced removals have probably heightened the anger and resentment, carried forward from the previous generations towards whites.

The present study also calls into question the theory of the generalised motive of prejudice (Allport, 1954). This study supports van den Berghe's (1962) findings that prejudice against one group will not generalise to other out-groups. The Zanzibaris showed a marked range of favourability and rejection.

The findings support the theoretical position of social identity theory that children of disadvantaged, disparaged and discriminated against minorities fail to show an out-group bias and show an expressed favouritism to their own group. The results suggest some agreement with the aspect of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel &

Turner, 1986) which predicts that minority groups will stress their ethnic identity when group boundaries are seen as “relatively stable and impermeable”, thereby counteracting negative social identity.

5.4. GENDER, SELF-ESTEEM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Although boys in this study obtained slightly higher mean scores than girls, these differences were non significant. Zulu-speaking girls however obtained a higher, but non significant, score than Zulu-speaking boys. This adds to the growing list of contradictory findings obtained in this area (see section 2.8). The closing gap between girls and boys might be attributed to a number of factors. Among these might be the present political climate in South Africa where women are increasingly by law gaining recognition and status never before accorded in this country.

With regard to social distance, the findings in this study contradict the findings of another South African study that showed that women are more socially distant towards other races than men (Pettigrew, 1960; van den Berghe, 1962).

However, cautious comparisons are made, as age is an important variable in an individual's development of political thinking and the formation of attitudes. Zanzibari boys showed greater distance towards whites and Indians than Zanzibari girls, indicating that boys are more prejudiced than girls are. This contradicts the hypothesis of van den Berghe (1962) and Pettigrew (1960) that women show more social distance than men. A possible explanation for the findings in this study is, conventionally boys tend to be expressive and assertive in showing the way they feel about things. Perhaps the Zanzibari adolescent boys in this study have a need to show who is powerful. If Bayview is all a question about whose territory it is, then the Zanzibari boys might feel the need to assert themselves.

5.5. CORRELATION BETWEEN SELF-ESTEEM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE (HYPOTHESIS 3)

5.5.1. The hypothesis that Zanzibari children who preferred out-groups (less social distance) would show lower self-esteem was not upheld. No correlation was found between self- concept and social distance.

The association between social distance (attitudes) and self-esteem is not clearly

established and remains a matter of continuing controversy. The failure to find any association between self-evaluation and social distance and own-group favourability was contrary to the expectation of this study. Contradictory findings have been reported concerning the relationship between prejudice and self-esteem.

Corenblum & Annis (1993) in a study of 203 white children and 91 Canadian Indian children found that self-esteem was positively related to own-group choices for whites but inversely related for Indians. Williams-Burns (1980) did not find any correlation between in-group/out-group favourability and self-esteem in minority children. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) in a South African study found no association between in-group/out-group evaluation and self-esteem in black and white children. (For a review of studies see section. 2.11.).

The findings of this study do not concur with Lemyre and Smiths (1985) conclusion that in-group favouritism (also shown by the Zanzibaris in this study) results in an increase in self-esteem. Kelly (1988) found an inconsistent link between inter-group differentiation and self-esteem when these variables were tested in the context of political affiliations. Brown and Williams (1984) suggest that individuals may use other means and not inter-group differentiation to achieve positive self-esteem. Kelly (1988) notes that although self-esteem is a central construct in social identity theory, the theory does not consider the influence of the various aspects of self-esteem in how these may influence inter-group differentiation.

These findings also call into question whether disadvantaged minority's own-group preference is linked to self-esteem and whether own-group preference is really ideal. Penn, Gaines and Phillips (1993) argue that with age and maturity, individuals accept or reject ethnically salient stimuli that reflect personal interests, inner experiences, values and intra-psychological need. One's association with one's group is not just an automatic unquestioning attraction.

Verkuyten and Masson (1995) also found that among majority youth, prejudice correlated positively with self-esteem whereas among minority youth a negative association was found. It is evident then that association patterns are contradictory. While some studies find no association between prejudice scores and self-esteem,

other studies find different trends for majority groups (generally a positive relationship) and a negative relationship for minority youth.

Perhaps these findings suggest that social identity theory is weakened as self-esteem is given an elevated, almost universal, status (Kelly, 1988) in its role in intergroup differentiation.

Finally links between self-esteem and attitudes cannot be viewed as a linear relationship. There are many variables that contribute to that link. A great deal is dependent on that particular group and the context in which that group functions and the way in which that group deals with ethnicity within a specific social context.

5.6. CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

According to the contact hypothesis literature, contact between different ethnic groups can lessen intergroup discrimination and hostility, by discovering important similarities between group members.

In a sense, the Indians and Zanzibaris have been exposed to "desegregated" schools and a neighbourhood well before apartheid was dismantled. The experience with Zulu-speaking blacks in a desegregated schooling set up has been a more recent phenomenon. On the basis of this contact it was expected that Zanzibaris would show greater tolerance to Indians and Zulu-speaking blacks. This was not the case when we consider the low tolerance level shown towards the Indians. The contact hypothesis states that contact will lead to reduction of prejudice as contact allows for the discovery of similarities of beliefs and values thus reducing ignorance and stereotypes about one another. However, negatively experienced contact can reinforce prejudice and hostility. Stephan and Rosenfield (1978) in a pre-post desegregation study in which attitude to both in-group and out-group were investigated found that students were more hostile after desegregation, but this however did not affect self-esteem.

In explaining the great social distance shown towards the Indians, it is possible that negative experiences have bred more prejudice, hostility, and heightened differences between the groups. With regard to the Zulu-speaking blacks, the contact with the Zanzibaris is restricted only to schooling. It is possible therefore that distance towards

the Zulu-speaking blacks might be more tolerable because intimacy is reduced (e.g. common neighbourhood). Contact may be fine, as long as it happens in school only. School is a less intimate contact situation than living in the same neighbourhood.

This study contradicts the findings of another South African study of an interracial neighbourhood in Durban, prior to the enforcement of the Group Areas Act. The study showed that geographical proximity fostered friendliness and tolerance towards out-groups (Russell, 1961).

The South African situation is indeed a unique one, when one considers that policies of apartheid were based on separating people to reduce conflict (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). International research documents evidence where social contact situations in real life situations do improve tolerance (Sutter & McCaul, 1993) and reduce social distances (Kulikov, Sushkov & Tsipsuk, 1991). Mynhardt and du Toit (1991) note that South African studies have shown that it is not contact *per se* but the experience of the contact situation that it contributes to the development of attitudes.

5.7. CONCLUSION

Statistical analysis of the results shows that racial prejudice and self-esteem are not correlated and an unhealthy level of intolerance exists between the Zanzibaris and Indians. Cross-cultural contact in this case has resulted in negative perceptions and experiences. The findings provide evidence for the importance of intervening to reduce racial prejudice. For example, pro-active intervention programmes could be developed. The present study contributes to the debate on the theories and issues of the relationship between self-esteem, racial attitudes and social status.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter explores the implications of the study undertaken, considers some of its strengths and limitations and gives direction for future study.

6.1. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.1.1. General implications

For many years it was assumed that unfavourable social and political conditions have repercussions for the way minority youth feel about themselves. The assumption underlying this argument was that people who belong to a minority group would come to internalise society's negative views about themselves. However, the research reveals a different story. In agreement with previous studies, the present investigation reveals no indication for lower global self-esteem among marginalised minority youth (the Zanzibaris in the study). This study demonstrated that adolescents of this severely disadvantaged minority did not reveal low levels of self-esteem in comparison with peers of other racial group. The study further showed that prejudicial attitudes (social distance) were variously related to different groups in cross-cultural interactions. These findings have important implications for cross-cultural intervention and the development of programmes for attitude modification.

In particular reference to the findings of this study, attention must be focused on the problems of status, class and religion in a deeply divided and splintered society, the ecology and climate of the school and the quality of human relations. This study has emphasised the need to understand this unusual minority (the Zanzibaris) in the historical and political context of this country.

This study has implications for important role-players: educationalists, town planners, religious and community leaders. It challenges established theories that have been widely employed to predict intergroup differences in self-esteem and social distance. Although the study provides answers to the specific questions raised, these answers must be regarded as tentative. Available theories of social identity and prejudice do not adequately inform the study of a particular minority in very particular historical circumstances.

Social identity theory considers positive self-esteem as the key factor in

determining the favourability of one's own-group over an out-group. This theory overlooks the possibility that other factors might take priority over self-esteem in contributing to in-group distinctiveness (Browns & Williams, 1984). In complex minorities, in racially hierarchical societies such as South Africa, political, structural and ideological factors need to be understood within a constantly changing social context in understanding social identities and intergroup orientations.

Traditional contact hypothesis theories have not paid much attention to the very lowest of minority groups in deeply divided societies. Interracial contact in the case of the Zanzibaris has increased group identities and boundaries between themselves and other groups. Power imbalance and a history of tension in the area is unlikely to change, by creating favourable conditions as traditional contact theories suggest. The contact hypothesis theories need to be extended to understand contact within historical, socio-political and socio-economic contexts. A more dynamic theory rather than a static approach is needed to address these issues. A multilevel conceptualisation of interaction that looks at the process and considers proximal and distal influences is required.

At a macro level, serious consideration needs to be given to the planning in the area as all the Zanzibaris are allocated to a particular, very confined area. Thus, segregation in a "desegregated" area occurs and eventually creates distances between "them" and "us".

Some of what is being said here is in line with current thinking in education, for e.g. the South African School Act (1996) calls for closer liaison with the community.

Educational authorities are directly implicated and need to take note as a matter of priority. Curricula planning to include issues of multicultural sensitivity, designing of schools and staff development to show sensitivity in multicultural set-ups, focusing on unique talents and motivating lack of talent in disadvantaged minorities, life orientation courses and classroom composition are but some of the issues to be considered.

There is an absence of reference to the Zanzibari people in history textbooks, almost as if they were not part of this country's history. Efforts should be directed

at mending the history of the group in text books. Zanzibari history is not only for the benefit of the Zanzibari community but also for all people who need to know a part of collective history.

Community and religious leaders could establish direct, meaningful contact with the schools in the area that accommodate Zanzibaris and other racial groups to have a voice in the policy making decisions that affect the children that attend these schools.

6.1.2. Practical implications

Practical implications are two-fold. They should be aimed at:

- 1) Implications of contact research in cross cultural interchange and desegregated schooling.
- 2) Curriculum programmes aimed at reducing prejudice.

In reference to point (1), desegregated schooling, Katz (1976) specified the conditions that result in poor cross-cultural exchange. These include: status differentials where one group is lower in status, frustration, unpleasant tension laden contact and the groups in contact find moral and ethical standards of each other objectionable. Integrated schooling programmes should foster favourable conditions for meaningful interactions.

Referring to point (2), programmes aimed at reducing prejudice, Aboud (1988) suggests that programmes to combat prejudice should be based on a developmental theory of prejudice. Such a programme will focus on factors that will reduce intergroup prejudice at different ages. Based on an understanding of factors that maintain prejudice at different developmental ages, specific programmes can be designed to reduce prejudice. In essence, primary and high schools will focus on different aspects of prejudice. The school's role is important in assessing the attitudes and areas of conflict.

6.1.3. Specific implications for the schools in the study

Guided by the propositions above, it is suggested that the schools used in the study assess the general school climate towards ethnic tolerance, class by class to facilitate attitude change. Based on contact literature findings, Bradnum et al. (1993) note that it is important to take into account group orientated factors when

looking for conditions, which facilitate attitude change. Aboud (1988) makes the specific suggestion that emphasis should be placed on the development of interactional skills to promote acceptance of group and individual differences.

Peer relationships extending across cultures could be encouraged. The schools could be actively involved in discussions with their students and teachers on the topic of developing positive attitudes and tolerance towards each other by setting aside special time for this issue. Opportunities for participation by members of the community of minority groups underrepresented in the school could be made possible by making them a visible force in policy matters as well as other issues concerning the school.

The school could foster a policy of positive interracial contact. A culture of tolerance might be promoted through school curricula through open discussions.

Religious and community leaders, particularly in the Bayview area of Chatsworth, need to redirect their efforts at establishing more conducive climates for interaction and towards reducing levels of tension and social distance shown particularly between the Indians and the Zanzibaris in this study. It was apparent from informal comments made by the respondents in the study, (to the researcher) about each other's ethnicity and religion that a great deal of misinformation and ignorance about culture and religion exist.

Merely living side by side over the years has not improved respect and understanding. A more strategic, formal and planned intervention to increase tolerance levels to cement better relationships in this regard is urgent. Religious leaders of the different faiths need to meet to extend the hand of friendship. Particularly among the Indian Muslims and Zanzibaris a need for greater interaction is indicated. Generally they remain divided even at the level of worship, where Indian Muslims and Zanzibari Muslims have their own mosques. Inter-ethnic communication is important in extending an understanding of the roles and identities people assume in different situations or contexts. For example, a greater understanding can be developed between Indian Muslims and Zanzibari Muslims in understanding each other's cultural practices. Teachers and community leaders could provide ongoing support for attitudinal and behavioural change.

6.1.4. Policy implications

Policy Implications are indicated for both national and provincial levels. In a country whose population is racially and culturally diverse it is important that policy makers draw up programmes and objectives that address the problem at hand and that these programmes are used as preventative and formative measures. The aim of these suggestions is not to provide a “cure-all” for all racial ills but to demonstrate that possibilities exist in improving interpersonal and interracial relations skills (Long, 1993).

Students’ attitudes are more positive when multicultural sensitivity lessons are introduced. Mantle and Miller (1991) found that when multicultural sensitivity lessons that use attitude change theory are incorporated into the curriculum, attitudes become more positive.

Recognition should be given to the development of programmes for victims of racial prejudice and discrimination as outlined by Louw-Potgieter (1982). These are necessary to reduce levels of prejudice and improve psychological well-being. The programme content as outlined by Louw-Potgieter includes:

- 1) A group discussion of the wider social setting of racial prejudice and discrimination in South Africa.
- 2) Exercises in recognising and describing emotions.
- 3) Lessons on the concept of self image and the ideal self.
- 4) Lessons on positive personality development despite frequent exposure to racial prejudice.

Although this programme was outlined for an adult population (aged 21-57 years), the concepts could easily be adapted for use with primary and high school students.

Counselling and guidance sessions in both high and primary schools could be an important vehicle to deal with racial prejudice within a developmental counselling framework. Classroom discussion conducted by a counsellor should focus first on strengthening self-esteem by conveying the idea that it is important to value one’s unique identity before helping children to understand and accept differences in others (Allan & Nairne, 1981). Uniqueness is expressed in attitudes such as “being different,” “being racially and culturally different is fine”.

In considering the issue of desegregation, valuable lessons can be learnt from the American experience. It is beyond the scope of this research to go into details. However, research has shown (Aronson & Osherow, 1980; Rosenfield, Sheehan, Marcus & Stephan, 1981) that focus on issues such as change in classrooms structure and learning process, composition of minorities in school, social class and intellectual variables, and extent and type of desegregation, all contribute to positive inter-ethnic relations. Designs and physical layout of desegregated schools are important in facilitating inter-ethnic harmony.

A review of contact literature and desegregation has shown that mere ethnic contact does not necessarily improve attitude and relations. True integration necessitates deeper, more involved interaction. (Amir, 1976). Amir adds that social planning will make the difference in achieving these ends.

Where schools are racially and culturally diverse, it is necessary to consider the needs of the population, rather than imposing dominant culture values. This is facilitated where staff are representative of all racial groups.

Curriculum packages could include:

- 1) Activities that establish a climate of safety, respect and support and the development of empathy for persons who are discriminated against.
- 2) Social science sessions to explore concepts of racism, both at individual and institutional level.
- 3) Promotion of positive intergroup contact experiences can contribute to improved inter group relations (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991)
- 4) There is more scope at present to include the local features of a community or an area into the curriculum. This is possible with changes and flexibility of curricula at school and with the introduction of Curriculum 2005. Schools are now at an advantage to provide a local interpretation, sensitive to the needs of their learners.

6.2. STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Strengths

The writer identifies the following as strengths of the research:

- 1) The research was contextualised in geographical and historical perspectives. Access to a variety of sources such as historical records, government notices,

media (print and visual records), previous studies and personal experiences alerted the writer to important issues. This has helped to focus on particular issues that impact on the finer aspects of discrimination in this particular minority. The multiple sources of information expose the fact that it is not only the formal institutionalised discrimination that so unjustly set the Zanzibari apart but non-institutionalised discrimination as well. For example, they have been discriminated against by members of their own religious faith. This is evidenced by the fact that Indian Muslims and Zanzibari Muslims each have their own mosque, contrary to the teachings of Islam.

- 2) The writer established contact with community leaders to clarify the research agenda. This would facilitate the dissemination of findings and enable the relevant role players to take note of recommendations.
- 3) The extent to which the researcher had familiarised herself with the historical and present context and gained entry into the specific community enabled the quantitative results of the study to be interpreted in terms of qualitative, subjective dimensions.
- 4) The writer paid particular attention to contextual, procedural and ethical considerations. Farman (1996) notes that “it is important that researchers clarify their own agendas and proceed with sensitivity in such matters as briefing and debriefing of participants who are among the marginalised of a society”(p. 17). The writer was able to anticipate some of the heightened sensitivity and was vigilant of issues such as religion, ethnicity and race. Stanfield and Dennis (1993) urge researchers that issues such as race and ethnicity should not be disregarded. Had the writer not handled this issue with sensitivity, the study could have been potentially exaggerated and misunderstood.
- 5) Most cross-cultural studies on self-esteem are concerned mainly with global self-esteem; specific components of self-esteem are not investigated. These scores are then used to draw conclusions about self-esteem. This study investigated both global and component parts of self-esteem, therefore giving a more comprehensive picture of the self concept and allowing for more refined comparisons.

Limitations

The focus has been on the effects of social disadvantage on global self-esteem. The study has shown that social disadvantage does not adversely affect self-concept,

which is a central aspect of psychological functioning and well-being. This does not mean “prejudice and discrimination do not have any substantial socio-psychological consequences for minority groups” (Verkuyten, 1994, p 43). Although self-esteem is an important consequence of membership in a minority group, it is not the only one. There are many other possible consequences. These might include locus of control, self-efficacy, ethnic and racial identity. Various factors need to be considered when interpreting the results of this study.

Inter-ethnic contact was assumed in this study on the basis that Indians and Zanzibaris live in the same area and attend the same school. (The study was confined to Zanzibaris who reside in Bayview, Chatsworth.) An instrument to measure the extent and effect of inter-ethnic contact could have been used to quantify this assumption. Information could have been gleaned in terms of frequency of contact and amount of cross-ethnic contact and its influence on prejudicial attitudes. These data could have been correlated with the social-distance and self-esteem scores to identify the relationship that exist among these variables and to account for the greater social distance shown to Indians than to blacks.

The study did not control for socio-economic differences and social class factors that confound the divisions between the racial groups. The Indians in the sample not only constituted the “higher status” group (in terms of race relations in the South African hierarchy) but were predominantly from more affluent homes than the Zanzibari and Zulu-speaking children. Explicit current details on social class differences within the Chatsworth area are not available (personal communication with Mr. Chetty at the UDW Documentation Centre, 1997).

It was important to identify groups by religion in this study because the Indian population is made up of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The Zanzibaris are of the Muslim faith and their attitude towards Indian Muslims might be different from that towards Hindus and Christians. It was therefore desirable to separate groups by religion. However, the researcher decided not to do this, as religion tends to be a more sensitive issue than race. Although religion was a crucial consideration in this study it was not isolated as such. A reference to religion might have raised the ire of many parents and children. A cross-cultural study of adolescents attending a student leaders’ training school found the topic of religious affiliation to be sensitive one (Long, 1993).

Generalisability of the findings of focused studies remains an issue of debate. Generalisability is really an issue for replication. The value of replication can only be substantiated by attending to details in design. This was a focused study of a specific group and it was not intended to be a representative sample. The issues investigated in this study cannot be generalised even to other pockets of Zanzibaris in other areas, as issues affecting them might be different. The Indians that reside in Bayview, Chatsworth are not representative of South African Indians in general. The same can be said of the Zulu-speaking adolescents. As Long (1993) notes, “although widespread generalisation cannot be made from a limited sample, the findings are probably valid for the particular sample and sufficient for further research”. Bradnum et al. (1993) note “that the experience of the contact situation is an important variable that differs from situation to situation, leading to an inherent restriction in the generalisability of the results” (p. 207).

For the purposes of this study, the Indian group were considered in a very narrow sense the “highest status” dominant group in comparison to the Zanzibaris and the Zulu-speaking black groups. Generalisation from the study must be regarded very cautiously as Indians are also subject to the consequences of minority group membership in relation to other groups.

As noted above in Chapter 3, descriptive research using self report questionnaires does not probe deeper levels of psychological functioning. Valuable and insightful information on prejudice and personality cannot be expressed in terms of statistical means and standard deviations. There is much that these do not tell one about the complexity of human attitudes and relationships.

Abrams and Hogg (1988) cautioned that the interpretation of self-esteem findings could be difficult due to the inherent problems associated with the accurate and appropriate measurement of self-esteem.

In order to get a more complete reflection of comparative measures between dominant and minority cultures; a sample of white respondents could have been included in the study. However, this is a possibility for future research.

6.3. DIRECTION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

An important outcome of any study undertaken is to provide an impetus for future research.

In considering the process and findings of the study, the writer has identified issues that warrant further research. Some of the issues do not lend themselves to further investigation by research of this type; hence suggestions of alternative methodology are also made.

There are potentially many areas that open themselves to further exploration in this minority group. This study has looked at the variable of self-esteem that has consequences for prejudicial behaviour. There are many other factors that could possibly affect one's ethnic attitudes such as parental influences, developmental age trends, rate of politicisation, parental educational levels, intelligence levels, cognitive flexibility, locus of control, self efficacy and racial and ethnic identity. These are possibilities for future research.

Issues that proceed from this research

- 1) The social-distance between Zanzibaris and Indian Muslims would provide a more comprehensive picture of attitudes.
- 2) This study focused only on attitudes of Zanzibaris to other racial groups. It is of vital importance to look at the attitudes of Indians and blacks towards Zanzibaris.
- 3) The present study used only 3 groups in its sample (viz. Zanzibari, Indian and Zulu-speaking black), although an important reference was made to other groups. Future research in this area could include samples of white and coloured groups.
- 4) The present study found differences in components of self-esteem. The question this raises is why certain aspects of self-esteem are affected by minority status and others not. It would be important to investigate this in future research.

Other issues

- 1) Bi-cultural/racial issues are gaining more importance as a host of recent studies indicate (Overmier, 1990; Rotheram, 1990; Winn & Priest, 1993; Bowles, 1993). A focus in this area would provide illuminating evidence on those Zanzibari adolescents whose parents have inter-married among local blacks and Indians. Conflicts involved in bi-cultural/racial issues include religious choices, racial identity, social marginality, autonomy, cultural practices, family rituals and celebrations. The culture in which the child is socialised and what part of ethnic heritage is claimed are crucial questions. There has been little research on people who are multi-ethnic. Phinney (1990) notes that one's bi-culturality is particularly important during middle and late adolescence, when identity issues, including ethnic identity are highly salient.
- 2) It is suggested that future research take into account developmental and personality influences. The literature makes reference to age related trends in the development of prejudice. Studying different age groups and employing cross-sectional designs or longitudinal perspective designs would expand our understanding of this minority group.
- 3) Exploring the role of the family in the formation of ethnic consciousness, and the specifics of parent-child relationships in the formation of ethnic attitudes in adolescents is an area of significance. Parenting issues are crucial in gaining a better understanding of this unique minority group. American literature is replete with studies on parenting and its influence on prejudice and self-esteem. These are many possibilities that can be explored within the context of this group.

Methodological issues

- 1) While quantitative methods were used in this study, it is important to reconcile qualitative, complementary approaches to enable researchers to address other issues. It is necessary to adopt multiple perspectives research which is informed by current theory and methodology from other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, history and politics. Possible qualitative methods include: in depth interviews, oral history, discourse analysis, ethnography, and ethnology.

- 2) There is an urgent need for more qualitative inter-actional research that looks at life experiences and describes how children, youth and adults of disadvantaged minorities think and feel about the contexts of their interactions in a wider society. What do they think and feel about gender, social class, religion, culture, the new politics of this country, racial interactions and still feeling disadvantaged in a new political democratic order. Community leaders of the Zanzibaris have indicated that they are still ignored and overlooked by the new democratic government.

- 3) Areas that can be researched through qualitative methods:
 - 3.1) There is a need to understand the multiple contexts in which children function such as schools, families, media, politics, youth organisations, churches and other places of worship (Foster, 1994).

 - 3.2) A qualitative study that explores the ecology of contemporary neighbourhoods (Rivlin, 1987) is suggested. The Zanzibaris' relationship to settings and the extent of their affiliation with others in their broader environment will yield a rich variety of data and would illustrate the social and cultural diversity of an unknown people and might generate meaningful information to policy makers.

 - 3.3) A focus on life will yield a wealth of information. For example, the writing of a simple essay might yield more information about self and attitudes than administering an objective test. What does it feel like growing up as a Zanzibari adolescent . A focus on feelings is important. How do you feel about being Muslim , do you see yourself as being different from other Muslims?

 - 3.4) We will have to understand in more qualitative, interactional ways how Zanzibari children, adolescents and adults feel in the context of their affiliations. These might include their neighbourhoods, their place in the local shopping centres e.g., Chatsworth Centre, at school, as commuters and their religious affiliation. Religious conceptualisations play a crucial role in the manifestation of one's attitude to life and living. If the Zanzibaris' only bond with their Indian neighbour is religion (Padyachee, 1995), then what does religion mean to the Zanzibari community?

3.5) Is religion mixed with cultural expression? If so what distance does this create between the Zanzibaris and their Muslim Indian neighbours? What do identity issues mean in terms of religion and culture, as some traditional African customs are still practised by the Zanzibaris (Ahmed, 1996).

3.6) The ecology of the school in the lives of the Zanzibari is an almost imperative investigation. There are many familiar issues that raise important questions for how the school system engages with all teenagers, particularly small groups like the Zanzibaris. Where does the Zanzibari find his niche? Is it in the sports field, in leadership roles, youth gangs, academic achievement or physical prowess?

3.7) Relationships between teachers and Zanzibari pupils have not been optimal. (This is an observation made by the writer from personal experiences). Exploring this area might yield useful information in terms of improving cross-cultural interchange in the formal relationships at school.

3.8) An exploration of the issues of role models and leadership roles are necessary. We need to understand who the Zanzibaris see as their leaders and what opportunities exist for leadership roles.

3.9) A qualitative analysis of the varying identities of the Zanzibaris is necessary. Foster (1994) notes that it is important to grasp how certain contexts “switch on” particular types of social identities such as gender, ethnicity and political identities. The present writer includes religious identity in the case of this very complex, unusual minority. What does the Zanzibari feel about his Islamic identity as opposed to his cultural identity? Identity issues can only be revealed in understanding these in the contexts within which they occur.

3.10) An in depth exploration of insider and outsider perspectives would provide an understanding of the culture of the Zanzibaris. How does the Zanzibari view his situation as an “insider” of his group and how do the other groups, “outsiders” view the Zanzibaris? It is important to study the perspectives of minority groups themselves to understand their perception of

prejudice. In this regard Lee, Sap & Ray (1996) suggest, for example that the Bogardus Social Distance scale was designed from the perspective of the majority group. The scale is limited in that it cannot explain a minority group's reaction to its "perceived rejection or acceptance by the majority group". They elaborate that research should assess the "minority group's perception of distances established by the majority group between itself and the minority group (rather than the distance a minority group has established between itself and the majority group)". (p. 17) To this end a modification of an item on the Bogardus Social Distance scale should read "Do they mind your living in the same neighbourhood?" instead of "According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit whites to my street as neighbours," (Some, Few, None, Most, All).

3.11) It is desirable to explore the unique situation of impact of desegregation in the particular area of Chatsworth. Although Zanzibaris and Indians have been in a desegregated set-up for almost three decades it has done little to improve intergroup relations. Segregation effects can be examined at levels outlined by Longshore and Prager (1985): macro/micro, objective/subjective, proximal/distal situational analyses. These effects can be further explored in relation to self-esteem and intergroup relations.

6.4. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Clearly a number of factors affect attitudes and attitude change. Changes in racial attitude will depend on cognitive complexity, self-esteem and attitudes towards people in general and degree of politicisation.

The questions raised in this research in no way exhaust the possibilities that exist. Future research needs to look at other foci. The minority group in this study is high risk, vulnerable and numerically small and was so easily overlooked. As Friedman (1996) states, "the story of the Zanzibari is in many senses a microcosm of the history of all enslaved and exiled communities" (p. 34). There might be many more pockets of minorities like this one sprinkled all over South Africa. If we are to make sense of the grand schemes of things in a liberated, democratic country, the vibrancy of this forgotten, overlooked people should not be ignored. As Foster (1994) states "if democracy, non-sexism and non-racialism constitute a broad framework of practical ideas, then the business of thinking through the stuff of

attitudes, identities and intergroup orientations should be of utmost importance” (p. 238). Foster goes on to say that a fully contextual and social approach is needed that considers the moral, political and practical ethics of research.

Masson and Verkuyten (1993) state that improving ethnic group relations implies more than combating prejudicial attitudes. Orientation towards the own-group and amount of cross ethnic contact is important. Most studies concentrate on prejudice, a broader view including different perspectives to extend an understanding of ethnic group relations should be considered.

The Zanzibaris in this study serve as an instance to alert us to issues that have been surpassed or overlooked in many other social contexts of this country. The issues discussed in this chapter resonate for other groups too. The recommendations made in this chapter should also be seen as informing the discourse around other instances of marginalised minorities.

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No. 186 of 1875

No. 99 of 1876

Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957 amended

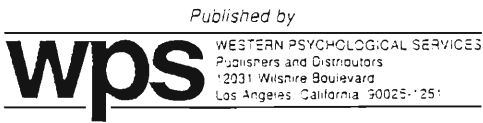
Population Registration Act of 1950.

South African Schools Act of 1996.

“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 _____

My classmates make fun of meyes no

I am a happy personyes no

It is hard for me to make friendsyes no

I am often sadyes no

I am smartyes no

I am shyyes no

I get nervous when the teacher calls on meyes no

My looks bother meyes no

When I grow up, I will be an important personyes no

I get worried when we have tests in schoolyes no

I am unpopularyes no

I am well behaved in schoolyes no

It is usually my fault when something goes wrongyes no

I cause trouble to my familyyes no

I am strongyes no

I have good ideasyes no

I am an important member of my familyyes no

I usually want my own wayyes no

I am good at making things with my handsyes no

I give up easilyyes no

I am good in my school workyes no

I do many bad thingsyes no

I can draw wellyes no

I am good in musicyes no

I behave badly at homeyes no

I am slow in finishing my school workyes no

I am an important member of my classyes no

I am nervousyes no

I have pretty eyesyes no

I can give a good report in front of the classyes no

In school I am a dreameryes no

I pick on my brother(s) and sister(s)yes no

My friends like my ideasyes no

I often get into troubleyes no

I am obedient at homeyes no

I am luckyyes no

I worry a lotyes no

My parents expect too much of meyes no

I like being the way I amyes no

I feel left out of thingsyes no

- have nice hairyes no
- often volunteer in schoolyes no
- wish I were differentyes no
- sleep well at nightyes no
- hate schoolyes no
- am among the last to be chosen for gamesyes no
- I am sick a lotyes no
- I am often mean to other peopleyes no
- My classmates in school think I have good ideasyes no
- I am unhappyyes no
- I have many friendsyes no
- I am cheerfulyes no
- I am dumb about most thingsyes no
- I am good-lookingyes no
- I have lots of pepyes no
- I get into a lot of fightsyes no
- I am popular with boysyes no
- People pick on meyes no
- My family is disappointed in meyes no
- 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

For examiner use only

	1-20	+ 21-40	+ 41-60	+ 61-80	= 1-80 Total
I	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
II	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
III	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
IV	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
V	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
VI	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Total Score	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

1) According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit

- a. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to enter my country.
- b. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to live and work in my country.
- c. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- d. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to my school or university, to my profession or occupation.
- e. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to my street as neighbours.
- f. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to my home as my personal friends.
- g. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Whites to close kinship by marriage.

2) According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit

- a. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to enter my country.
- b. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to live and work in my country.
- c. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- d. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to my school or university, to my profession or occupation.
- e. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to my street as neighbours.
- f. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to my home as my personal friends.
- g. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zulu-Speaking Blacks to close kinship by marriage.

3) According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit

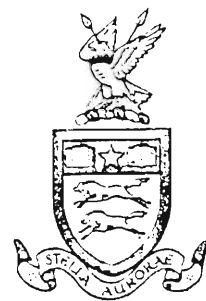
- a. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to enter my country.
- b. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to live and work in my country.
- c. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- d. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to my school or university, to my profession or occupation.
- e. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to my street as neighbours.
- f. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to my home as my personal friends.
- g. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Indians to close kinship by marriage.

4) According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit

- a. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to enter my country.
- b. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to live and work in my country.
- c. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- d. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to my school or university, to my profession or occupation.
- e. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to my street as neighbours.
- f. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to my home as my personal friends.
- g. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Coloureds to close kinship by marriage.

5) According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit

- a. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to enter my country.
- b. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to live and work in my country.
- c. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- d. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to my school or university, to my profession or occupation.
- e. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to my street as neighbours.
- f. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to my home as my personal friends.
- g. Any : Most : Some : Few : No... Zanzibaris to close kinship by marriage.



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3 July 1996

The Executive Director
Department of Education & Culture
Private Bag X54323
Durban
4000

Dear Sir

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

I wish to conduct research in the High Schools in Bayview, Chatsworth, utilising groups of Indian, Zanzibari and Black students. The research is part requirement of an M.Ed (Ed. Psychology) degree. My thesis focuses on Identity Development, a common theme in Psychology and very relevant to the changing South African context.

The apartheid government had broadly categorised people into "convenient" groups that were very simplistic and overlooked the enormous diversity in so-called constancy. Researchers are interested in minorities to increase our understanding of the dynamics and processes of widely divergent groups.

This study will focus on the self-concept of 13 to 14 year old boys and girls (a very crucial stage in the development of the youngster). The study will investigate how these young people feel about themselves in relation to themselves and others, how they evaluate themselves and what ideas and beliefs they have about themselves.

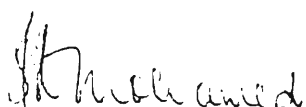
Questionnaires (which will take approximately 1 hour) will be given to the students at a time suitable to the Schools concerned. The questionnaire will be administered by myself. The students concerned will put through a briefing and de-briefing process. In the briefing session students will be told what the researcher intends doing, what the self-concept is about and that their participation will remain anonymous. The value of such research will also be indicated to them. The de-briefing session will focus on their feelings and reaction to the questionnaire.

Letters will be sent to parents for their permission to conduct this research with their child. Prior arrangements will be made with the principal of the school concerned to avoid any disruption. The results of the study, once completed, will be given to the principal and participants as feedback.

The University will be happy to let the Department have a copy of the research. Further, depending on the results obtained, recommendation and a follow up session on self-esteem will be given. This research should add to the growing body of knowledge and give a deeper understanding of groups in a multicultural society.

I look forward to a favourable response.

Yours faithfully



Shireen A. Mohamed (Mrs)



H.B. Adams
Acting Head of Department

PROVINCE OF
KWAZULU - NATAL

ISIFUNDAZWE
SAKWAZULU - NATAL

PROVINSIE
KWAZULU - NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION & CULTURE
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO NAMASIKO
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS & KULTUUR

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<i>Usuku</i> :		<i>Inkomba</i> :	
<i>Date</i> :		<i>Reference</i> :	
<i>Datum</i> :	19 November 1996	<i>Verwysing</i> :	Research

Mrs S.A. Mohamed
University of Natal
Faculty of Education
Department of Educational Psychology
Private Bag X 01
Scottsville
PIETERMARITZBURG
3209

Dear Mrs Mohamed

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH ON SELF-CONCEPT OF 13 TO 14 YEAR
OLD BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS IN BAYVIEW, CHATSWORTH

1. Your correspondence of 3 July 1996 and 11 September 1996 has reference. The delay in responding is regretted.
2. Permission is hereby granted to you to conduct research in the KwaZulu Natal schools that have been selected for your study, on condition that:
 - 2.1 you work through the regional chief director of South Durban Region;
 - 2.2 prior arrangements are made with the district superintendent, circuit superintendent(s) and principals concerned;
 - 2.3 permission is obtained from the parents of the learners who will be involved in your study;
 - 2.4 participation in the research by learners is on a voluntary basis;
 - 2.5 the questionnaire is administered during non-teaching time; and

2.6 all information gleaned is treated confidentially and used for academic purposes only.

3. Kindly produce a copy of this letter when visiting the schools that have been selected for your study.
4. The department wishes you every success in your research and looks forward to receiving a copy of the findings.

Yours faithfully


ACTING SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURE



School of Education
Department of Educational Psychology

Private Bag X01, Scottsville,
 Pietermaritzburg 3209, South Africa
 Telephone (0331) 2605360
 Fax (0331) 2605599

3 July 1996

Dear Parent,

**PERMISSION FOR YOUR CHILD'S PARTICIPATION IN COMPLETING
 QUESTIONNAIRES REGARDING ATTITUDES TO THEMSELVES AND
 OTHER CHILDREN**

I am a research student in this department in my final year of study in order to qualify as an educational psychologist.

I am conducting an investigation into how teenagers feel about themselves and others. This study is being carried out under the supervision of Mr. R.H.Farmin, senior lecturer in this department, and with the approval of the school authorities and the school principal.

I shall visit the school in order to supervise the completion of two questionnaires. The school will be asked to ensure that this does not cut into lesson time. I undertake that any information provided by your child will remain confidential and anonymous.

Upon completion of my studies, I shall provide the school with a copy of my report which will summarise my findings. This information may be useful to the teachers in gaining a fuller understanding of the pupils they teach.

It would be greatly appreciated if you would agree to your child's participation in the study. If you are not agreeable to this, please return the form at the end of this letter. Your child will not be inconvenienced or put under any pressure to participate.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours sincerely,

Shireen Mohamed. B.A.Honours, B.Ed, UHDE



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I have read the accompanying letter and decided that I am not prepared to
give my permission for my child's participation in the investigation into
children's attitudes towards themselves and others.

Signed _____

Parent's Name : _____

Child's Name : _____

Date: _____

To : Mrs. S.A. Mohamed
at the above address

BRIEFING SESSION

Introduction of researcher and assistants: Shireen Mohamed; Robin Farman; Ayesha Khan & Ayesha Sabat.

Greet students

I am training to become a psychologist and I am very interested in young people and how they feel about themselves and how they feel about other people.

Each one of you has certain ideas, beliefs and feelings about yourself. In psychology, we call this self-esteem. Sometimes we feel good about ourselves and sometimes we don't. It is these good and not so good feelings that make us feel worthwhile, important, wanted and respected.

We live in an exciting country where there are so many people who speak different languages, have different customs, traditions and religions. They even eat and dress differently. Can you name some of these groups? (Yes.....etc.) Do we have any of these groups in this school? (Really, how interesting.....) You are quite a cosmopolitan school. Do you know what cosmopolitan means?

Well, how do you feel about each other?

Do you see other groups as differently from your own?

Do you find it hard or easy to live near each other and get on with each other?

Do you think its important to know and understand each other? (Stimulate a few responses)

Yes, in our country that's made up of so many people, it's important we understand each other, so that we can live and work together. It is important to people like myself to understand the way groups of people feel and think about themselves and others. Therefore, I am going to ask you for some information to help me write a book. You will answer two sets of questions for me. Your name will remain anonymous, but it will help us for you to indicate which cultural group you belong to. I will explain what you need to do.

