THE SOCIAL IDENTITY AND INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES OF WHITE ENGLISH- AND AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING ADOLESCENTS

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Issues of group identity and prejudice have played a large role in the history of South Africa. To examine differences between White English- and Afrikaans-speaking adolescents within the context of the "new" South Africa, data was collected from 553 high school students using a questionnaire which assessed aspects of these groups' perceptions of themselves (their identities), attitudes toward other racial groups (their prejudices), and beliefs about their rapidly changing socio-political environment. A discriminant function analysis conducted with these variables correctly identified group membership at a rate much higher than chance ($p < .00001$). Post hoc univariate analyses indicated that compared with Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers demonstrated significantly less identification with their own culture, less racial prejudice but also less willingness to make retribution to those who were oppressed by Apartheid, and less concern/confusion over the recent changes which have taken place in the country. Descriptive and correlational analyses also provided additional, valuable information regarding the variables assessed in the study. Overall, the results seemed to indicate that the adolescent subjects of this study find themselves in a state of transition.

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INTRODUCTION

Social, racial, and economic equality comprise three of the most pervasive and problematic issues worldwide. These thorny topics are particularly relevant in contemporary South African society, where rapid transformations in these areas have been occurring over the past few years. Such rapid changes in the country's macro-level political and social structures undoubtedly have been associated with changes occurring in the more micro-level structures comprising the psychology of its citizens. That is, the "new" South Africa undoubtedly reflects both political and psychological phenomena.

Focusing on the psychological aspects of change in South Africa, it may be seen quite readily that the issues of social, racial, and economic equality also play a large role. In the past decades, South African citizens of European origin, generally referred to as Whites[1], enjoyed almost exclusive social, political, and economic power. Now, with the extension of political rights to all citizens, the identities of all racial, cultural, and ethnic groups are also being transformed (Adam, 1995).

Given the role that racial identity has played in South African history (Vale, 1992) and given the historical dominance of its White citizens, the necessity of investigating issues of White racial identity in the "new" South Africa becomes apparent. Of particular interest is how the two main White ethnic groups, the English- and the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, perceive themselves and their rapidly changing social environment (Heaven, Stones, Nel, Huysamen & Louw, 1994, inter alia). Furthermore, because historico-cultural

differences exist between these two groups, investigation of their differential perceptions of their respective social identities would also be of importance (Heaven, Stones & Bester, 1986; Stones, Heaven & Bester, 1993).

Past research has demonstrated the social relevance of the racial/ethnic identity construct (Helms, 1990). Social identity theory (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) notes that one's perceptions of group membership (identity) are strongly associated with one's attitudes toward other groups (their prejudices, use of stereotypes, etc.). In addition, this theory emphasizes the effects of social change upon the process of identity formation (de la Rey, 1991). Thus, according to social identity theory, investigation of ethnic/cultural identity in South Africa would offer unique insight into inter-group relations and into the resistance or acceptance of the rapidly changing social environment.

Furthermore, because identity formation has theoretically and empirically been associated with adolescence (Erikson, 1963), and because typically those most quickly affected by social transitions are adolescents (Erikson, 1968), investigation of the identity attitudes of this age group within the context of the new South Africa would appear to be particularly warranted (Stones, 1992). No studies have been located in the literature which have addressed this issue within the context of social change. The present research was designed to bridge that gap in the research literature.

The research presented in this thesis addresses the issues described above by investigating the social identity of adolescent English- and Afrikaans-speaking Whites within the context of change in the new South Africa.

Specifically, the problem which it attempted to confront involved assessing group differences and the degree of association between the groups' perceptions of themselves (their identity), attitudes toward other ethnic groups (their prejudices), and beliefs about their rapidly changing social environment.

In order to more fully present the context of the work conducted in this project, a review of its theoretical and empirical underpinnings will be presented in the following section. Then the methods utilized throughout the project will be described. Following the presentation of the results of the study, related conceptual issues, including the limitations and strengths of the study itself, will be discussed. And finally, the results and implications of the study will be summarized in conclusion.

REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

Over the past 70 years, researchers in the various fields of the social sciences have made important advances in understanding the aetiology and structure of social identity and inter-group relations (Allport, 1954; Duckitt, 1992a; Tajfel, 1981; 1982). Researchers in sociology and social psychology have been particularly active in addressing these important social issues (Duckitt, 1992b; Pettigrew, 1980). Although their investigations have helped to clarify certain aspects of these topics, it is clear that an adequate (comprehensive) theoretical foundation for research has not yet been provided (Duckitt, 1992b). In fact, in one recent review of the history of research dealing with prejudice and inter-racial relations, the author (Duckitt, 1992b) was quick to inform the reader of the immense complexity of the subject.

Due to that complexity, the review conducted here will describe only some of the theories of prejudice and racial/cultural identity which have shaped modern research. More particularly, those areas which served as the principle foundations for this thesis are given primary emphasis. First, however, the general social and historical context of the research will be presented. That is, elements of South African society and history which impact upon the investigation of White social identity and prejudice will be briefly mentioned.

Following this, the literature on prejudice is reviewed, with particular attention paid to theories pertinent to the present research: the contact hypothesis, modern/subtle racism, and social identity theory. Next, work related to cultural/ethnic identity is detailed, with particular emphasis placed on research dealing with White identity. Both of these sections will also contain

sub-sections specifically addressing related research which has been conducted in South Africa. Finally, the literary context of the present thesis is summarized. A brief description of the procedures used in locating relevant literature precedes the actual review.

Procedure for Locating Literature

Computer assisted searches of PSYCLIT: Psychological Abstracts and Social Science Research Index were conducted. The following keywords were used in the identification process: South Africa, racism, prejudice, discrimination, inter-racial relations, race relations, ethnocentrism, racial attitudes, racial identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity.

Social and Historical Context

The research presented in this thesis was conducted in South Africa approximately one year after the first general democratic elections were held in April, 1994. The impact of those elections and the events leading up to them has been described in qualitative terms as being of the utmost significance to the collective South African society (Baxter, 1994; Pedder, 1995a; 1995b). (Unfortunately, quantitative research assessing aspects of psychological or social change over this time period appears to be scarce or as of yet unpublished). Essentially, over a period of approximately five years, the country has undergone a comprehensive political transition from a non-representative, minority rule government to a democratically elected (transitional) government.

These changes are particularly pertinent to issues of social identity and prejudice. White South Africans enjoyed a privileged status in the old political system. Non-Whites were subjugated to various discriminatory practices falling under the political policies generally referred to as Apartheid (Vale, 1992). Prejudice and discrimination have thus played a relatively large part in the social context of 20th century South Africa.

Historically, however, prejudice had always been characteristic of the White South Africans' opinions toward non-White South Africans (Sparks, 1990). In this, they were similar to other European colonizers of the same era. However, racial prejudice and discrimination became an official part of South African society when the various policies of Apartheid were implemented after the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948. These policies were intended to separate White South Africans from their non-White counterparts on the group level, with the aim to preserve White racial and ethnic identity (Vale, 1992). Although total racial separation was not achieved, the effects of this policy upon the White minority did include, among many others, an identity characterized by a continued sense of superiority over non-Whites and an increased sense of cultural exclusivity. In that regard, Apartheid more or less achieved its aims. Economically, Apartheid expanded and exaggerated the economic divide between Whites and non-Whites (Blacks, in particular), to such an extent that even where real economic differences were minimal, perceived economic differences remained quite large (Moller & Schlemmer, 1989). In summary, being White retained its vitally important social status, as originally structured by the colonial system.

Given this context, it becomes clear that White racial identity has been closely associated with White racism in South Africa (Vale, 1992). Thus, coming full circle, the recent political changes in the country, which have drastically reduced White political power, provide a fascinating context from which to examine the identity-prejudice association characteristic of the past. Admittedly, the changes in the county's political structures have not drastically altered White South Africans' educational or economic situation as of this time. However, this clause also points to a likelihood that any changes which have occurred in the identities or prejudices of White South Africans will have occurred primarily due to psychological and social factors, not to material ones.

Another contextual issue which needs addressing is the historical and cultural differences that generally exist between the English- and Afrikaans-speaking White South Africans. In addition to differences in language and countries of ancestral origin, these two groups have traditionally differed in their religious, political, educational, and economic backgrounds as well (Sparks, 1990). Historically, the two groups have clashed in several violent conflicts, ranging over an extended period of time. Although open conflict is not characteristic of contemporary relations between the two groups, conflicts of the past have served to accentuate differences, which have gradually become less noticeable compared to previous decades (through extensive social exchange and intermarriage). Nevertheless, certain differences generally have been retained. For example, English-speaking South Africans have been described as being, on average, less cohesive, less conservative, less political, more individualistic, and more urbanized than Afrikaans-speaking South Africans

(Kinloch, 1985). In addition, although a large number of English-speakers voted for the NP and its policies of Apartheid, the NP has been characterized as an Afrikaner party, which extensively appealed to Afrikaner nationalism to further its aims (Vale, 1992). Thus, directly and indirectly, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have been more heavily associated with Apartheid and its various ethnocentric corollaries than their English-speaking counterparts. Therefore, while retaining the previous statement regarding White racial identity and prejudice in South Africa, a qualifying clause taking into account differences within the two major White South African ethnic groups should be added. Having thus briefly alluded to the social context of the work, the remainder of this review will now focus on the theoretical context.

Theories of Prejudice

Throughout the modern history of social science research, multiple explanations as to why and how people develop and maintain prejudicial attitudes have been put forth. Many of these differ in their level of analysis and explanation. For example, the theory of the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) provides a psychological interpretation at the level of the individual. Also at this level are theories related to various other personal values and beliefs, such as humanitarianism and egalitarianism (Katz & Hass, 1988). At the other extreme are theories which take a macro-social perspective, such as demographic-level interpretation (Maykovich, 1975), or a historical perspective, such as the work of W. E. B. DuBios (Gaines & Reed, 1995). For the purposes of this study, however, those

theories which deal with two intermediate levels, namely, the interpersonal and social levels of analysis, will be highlighted in the subsequent sections.

The Contact Hypothesis

One of the first interpersonal-level theories of inter-racial relations to be proposed and subsequently tested extensively was that the various world races have historically been too separated (physically) for negative stereotypes to be disconfirmed and thus eradicated. In 1944, G. Myrdal used this position to argue persuasively that the main social factor contributing to prejudice and discrimination was segregation. At the time of his writing, policies of social exclusion and economic disparities between the White majority in Europe and North America and the several minority ethnic groups residing in those global regions provided ample evidence of face validity. For several decades his position was relatively influential in shaping the social and political policies aimed at increasing racial acceptance and equality through desegregation in North American and European countries. (It again should be noted, however, that during approximately the same time, policies with exactly the opposite purpose were implemented in South Africa).

Myrdal's (1944) proposition was subsequently expanded into what several present-day researchers (Jackman & Crane, 1986, inter alia) have termed *the contact hypothesis*, which holds that racial attitudes become increasingly positive (accepting) with greater degrees of social contact. However, this assumption has been questioned on several counts. Early on, Allport (1954) suggested that the type of contact was more important than the

amount. Other researchers have supported this claim through findings which indicate that inter-racial contact does not always reduce negative (prejudicial) racial attitudes (O'Driscoll, Haque, & Ohsako, 1983), but it may actually increase them (Sampson, 1986)!

The Qualitative Contact Hypothesis

In past decades, a few reviewers (i.e., Amir, 1969; Cook, 1978) have addressed these problematic issues and further refined the contact hypothesis. A common theme that has appeared in these reviews is that the qualitative aspects of contact are the most important elements to consider when examining racial attitude change. This conclusion was tied with the identification of key variables which, when present, were found to help reduce prejudice in an inter-racial contact situation. Some of these qualitative conditions include the following:

Level and intensity of contact. In many studies which have found beneficial effects of inter-racial contact (Damico & Sparks, 1986; Luiz & Krige, 1981, inter alia), the group members were individuated, such that contact occurred on a specifically one-to-one basis. Opposite findings have reported when inter-group contact was assessed (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). These results suggest that individuating contact is more beneficial in reducing reports of prejudice than is the (often superficial) meeting of groups. The inter-group contact situation by its very nature is structured such that "us versus them" attitudes may persist or be reinforced, while one-to-one contact appears to minimize these group stereotypes by focusing on the specific traits of the

member contacted. As a related consideration, the intensity of contact appears to be an important consideration (Carlson & Widaman, 1988), much more so than length of contact. These findings are particularly relevant to the South African context, where although inter-racial contact may occur with great frequency, superficial and impersonal contact occurs much more frequently than intensive one-to-one contact.

Equal status. Another variable identified as being almost essential for beneficial inter-racial contact is status equality (Amir, 1969). For example, Jackman and Crane (1986) have found that inter-racial friendships may be contingent primarily upon socio-economic status, in that Whites in the United States are more likely to associate with a member of a non-White minority group if the socio-economic status of that person is equal to or, even more preferably, higher than their own. Several other studies in which group status differences were minimal (Luiz & Krige, 1981; Spangenberg & Nel, 1983) have also found beneficial effects of inter-racial contact.

Related to socio-economic status are issues of racial/cultural dominance. In several studies (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1992; Finchilescu, 1988; Wagner, Hewstone, & Machleit, 1989) investigating this issue, the dominant racial/ethnic group in the society has been found to benefit from contact when the non-dominant group(s) have not. Although the samples they used were different from those of the above three studies, Islam and Hewstone (1993) found several dominant/non-dominant group differences which may explain the results achieved by the others. In Islam and Hewstone's sample, the non-dominant group (Hindus) reported experiencing contact of greater frequency but of

significantly less equality and pleasantness than did the dominant group (Muslims). Islam and Hewstone also found that the non-dominant group had greater levels of inter-group anxiety and less positive out-group attitudes than the dominant group. Thus, their findings indicated that although a non-dominant group may be in constant contact with the members of the dominant group, the unequal status of the contact may serve to reinforce the notion of between-group differences (both real and perceived) and thus maintain psychological distance. In any case, members of a non-dominant social group (racial or economic) probably have fewer opportunities to choose when, where, and how contact will be initiated compared to members of a dominant group. These qualifications do not bode well for inter-racial relations in South Africa, where extremely large differences in economic, educational, and social status still persist between Whites and other racial groups. But they do point to the possibility that the previously politically dominant group (Whites) may benefit from increased inter-racial contact even when the other groups do not. Indeed, Bornman and Mynhardt (1992) found such results with their sample of so-called "Coloureds" and White Afrikaners.

Normative social support. Another variable that has been found to influence the quality of inter-group contact is the presence of normative social support (Amir, 1969). In studies where subjects were encouraged to engage in contact by social institutions to which they belonged, the racial attitudes of those subjects were predominantly positive (Carlson & Widaman, 1988; Damico & Sparks, 1986; Luiz & Krige, 1981; Stephan & Stephan, 1992). Thus, due to the fact that the recent changes in South Africa have bolstered the normative

support for engaging in inter-racial contact, it is reasonable to conclude that the changes have benefitted the enhancement of positive inter-racial relations.

In summary, although researchers have found a great deal of support for qualitative aspects of contact hypothesis, others argue that the entire model is too simplistic. They point out that even when qualitative issues are taken into consideration, racial attitudes should not be described solely in terms of social contact; racial attitudes are complex and comprise many factors.

Subtle/Modern Racism

Contending that traditional views of racism are no longer representative of modern racial attitudes, several researchers have suggested that the very nature of White prejudice has changed over the past two decades (e.g., Kinder, 1986; McConahay, 1986). This position has aided the interpretation of inconsistencies in previous research. For example, in studies that have reported mean-level decreases in racism on social distance scales across time, there have also been mean increases in reported levels of discomfort on the more intimate social distance scale items, such as willingness to date a Black (Muir, 1989; Muir & McGlamery, 1984). This suggests that although Whites are more outwardly tolerant of members of other races than in previous years, they may be less likely than before to associate with them on a close, personal level. Thus, some researchers (e.g., Frey & Gaertner, 1986) have claimed that racial prejudice continues to be present in society and that it is expressed in complex and rationalizable ways, such that individuals may often perceive themselves as unbiased. They have further developed this claim into a theory of subtle or

"modern" racism, which holds that racial attitudes are no longer based on beliefs of social inferiority but on abstract, moralistic resentment (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Modern racism has therefore been defined as a "resistance to change in the racial status quo based on feelings that [non-dominant groups] violate ... traditional values" (Kinder, 1986, p. 153). A person who exhibits modern racism would think that because outright discrimination is a thing of the past, members of non-dominant groups today push too hard, demand too much, and gain too much attention from the media and the government. Thus, modern racism is a subtle belief held by Whites that other groups are getting more than their fair share and are corrupting society in the process.

Researchers have found support for and against this theory. According to its North American originators (McConahay & Hough, 1976), it is well suited for the more educated, affluent segments of the White population, and it is a more theoretically and statistically sound construct than that of traditional racism (McConahay, 1986) and realistic group conflict theory (Kinder, 1986; Kinder & Sears, 1981). However, some critics have argued that modern racism is only a new name for traditional forms of racism, not an independent construct (Jacobson, 1985; Weigel & Howes, 1985). Others have pointed out logical and methodological flaws in modern racism research (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986a; 1986b).

Several other researchers have taken the theory of modern racism one step further by examining its practical worth at the macro-social level. They have found that racism is not likely to be openly admitted by Whites; nevertheless, racial discrimination at institutions of higher learning may be

evidenced by the lower persistence rates, the lower academic achievement levels, the lower rate of enrolment in graduate programmes, and the lower occupational attainment and earnings of non-White university students (Allen, 1985; 1988). Even at doctorate-level programmes in North America, some minority groups receive proportionately less financial aid and fewer assistantships than do their White counterparts (Nettles, 1990). North American racial/ethnic minorities are also more likely to be excluded from campus social groups, such as fraternities (Morris, 1991); thus, despite the implementation of social and political policies which are aimed at enhancing integration and benefitting non-White minority students, such students are still likely to feel socially alienated and powerless on predominantly White campuses (McGovern & Hawks, 1986; Suen, 1983). Whether this alienation is due to the subtle (and therefore difficult to quantify) effects of "modern racism" or some other issue, such as transitions in the social identities of both dominant and non-dominant groups, however, remains open to investigation.

Social Identity Theory

Following criticisms of the individualistic-level interpretations of much North American research, an important paradigm for understanding the individual within the context of society, called Social Identity Theory, was originated by Tajfel in Europe (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This theory points to the importance of social groups in the shaping of individual identity, as well as in the shaping of attitudes towards other groups (prejudices, the use of stereotypes, etc.). (Social identity itself, however, will be discussed in a later

section specifically devoted to issues of identity). More specifically, this theory states that through the central process of cognitive categorization, the social world is divided into groups in order to reduce its complexity into manageable units. As a part of this reductionistic categorization, individuals will often exaggerate differences between groups and accentuate similarities within groups. As an overlapping principle with social categorization, social comparison occurs when the various groups are evaluated in their relative status (prestige, power, etc.) in a society. Thus, social groups are divided and ranked as a natural part of cognitive functioning. This theory states that, in general, individuals will tend to favourably evaluate the groups to which they belong (unless these groups are perceived as being of low status in society) and unfavourably evaluate other groups (out-groups) of lower status. Thus, prejudice is explained as being part of the group definition process; lower status out-groups are negatively evaluated to enhance positive perceptions of in-group status (Tajfel, 1978; 1981).

Strong support for this theory has emerged in the literature (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991). The explanation of social categorization was not unique to social identity theory, but it has been well validated in many contexts and across many cultures (Hirschfeld, 1988). Several studies have shown how strong in-group identification is associated with high group involvement and perceived social support (Zaleski, 1992, inter alia). Prejudice toward out-groups has been found to be less prominent when the in-group is perceived as being illegitimate (Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991). Perhaps most importantly for the purposes of the present research, however, social identity theory has been

supported as being particularly appropriate for research in South Africa, where it has been extensively used over the past decade (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991).

South African Research on Prejudice

In looking at the history of prejudice research in South Africa, there appears to be a relative lack of contributions by South African psychologists (Duckitt & Foster, 1991). This contradicts an assessment by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) that inter-group relations constitute the most important area of research in South Africa (as cited in Louw & Foster, 1991). This paradox might be explained by the past identification of many psychologists with the policies of the Apartheid government (Louw, 1987) and by the sensitive nature that racial issues had during that era. The fact that segregation has been a feature of South African mental health (Foster, 1991) apparently points to the difficult association between politics and science which has characterized this country in the past.

In what research was done on racial prejudice in South Africa prior to the late 1970s, however, some recognizable themes emerge. After the early contributions of I. D. MacCrone, much of South African research was conducted using the authoritarian personality paradigm (Louw & Foster, 1991). Less consistently, a large body of research was also collected using the contact hypothesis paradigm (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). In most all such research, regardless of the paradigm used, the trend was for a large amount of prejudice to be present in the White population, with Afrikaans-speaking White South

Africans expressing more prejudice than English-speaking White South Africans (Foster & Nel, 1991).

For example, this trend was confirmed in a review of 150 studies of racial attitudes in South Africa (Kinloch, 1985). It found that most research of previous decades had concluded that Afrikaners demonstrated more prejudice and higher social distance than all other South African groups, but that English-speaking Whites also demonstrated racial discrimination, which was gradually decreasing over time[2]. It was also found that most studies were conducted with English-speaking Whites, with Afrikaners receiving less attention, and most of the research focused on issues of prejudice and social distance (with social-level analyses occurring less often).

Recognizing the inadequacies in individual-level interpretations of inter-racial tension in South Africa, some South African psychologists began to turn their attention to other, more social, levels of analysis (Foster, 1991, inter alia). Thus, in the past two decades, much more and varied work has begun to appear on the topic of inter-racial relations. For example, studies have been published using a wide variety of paradigms: realistic conflict theory (Duckitt, 1992c), relative deprivation theory (Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt, 1988; Bornman & Mynhardt, 1993), colour-meaning theory (Elliot & Tyson, 1983), socio-cultural norm theory (Tyson, Schlachter, & Cooper, 1988), covert or subtle racism theories (Duckitt, 1991; 1993a; Louw-Potgieter, 1989), social identity theory (Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991; Louw-Potgieter, 1988a), and theories related to socialization and social conformity (Duckitt, 1988; 1994a). However, studies following along the lines of the authoritarian personality research continue to

play a part of the work conducted in South Africa (Duckitt, 1983a; 1983b; 1993b; Heaven, 1983; Louw-Potgieter, 1988b), with quite recent debates as to its utility being published in the South African Journal of Psychology (Duckitt, 1994b; Ray, 1994). Similarly, studies investigating aspects of the contact hypothesis also continue to appear in the literature (Bradnum, Nieuwoudt, & Tredoux, 1993; Luiz & Krige, 1985; Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). Much of this research (all conducted prior to the 1994 elections) has served to confirm the findings of past work: racism and racial prejudice continue to play a large part of the experiences and identities of White South Africans.

Group Identity Theories:
Social, Ethnic, Cultural, and Racial

Prejudice has long been known to play a part in enhancing individual self-esteem and collective (in)group identity (Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964). Thus, when social situations change to make open group prejudice no longer appropriate, "the loss of this support mechanism may threaten ... not only the social status and economic security of a prejudiced group but actually the inner sense of identity of its members" (p. 59). The inter-relationships between it and prejudice, coupled with the rapid transformations which have occurred in South Africa, makes group identity the central piece of the present research context. This section will highlight theories of group identity (going under the various labels of social, racial, cultural, and ethnic identity) and describe some research which has been conducted using these various paradigms.

Social Identity Theory

Although it was briefly described earlier in relation to research on racism and prejudice, social identity theory, as the name implies, also makes a large contribution to the conceptualization of identity, both social and personal (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to this theory, one's social identity comprises a set of beliefs regarding one's membership in the (categorized) social world. Personal identity is distinguished from this, in that it concerns the unique traits, actions, likes, and dislikes of the individual. Social identity theory, however, does note the important inter-relationship existing between these two constructs. For example, social identity develops through the process of an individual becoming part of a social group and allowing that social group to become a part of their own sense of self (de la Rey, 1991). Thus, the theory postulates that social and personal identity operate interchangeably, depending on the situation, such that overall, individuals perceive themselves as being unique from other members of their same group (their personal identity) but also unique from members of other groups (their social identity).

Given this interchange between personal and social, the principle of social comparison described earlier has some important implications for personal self-esteem. For example, if the social group to which the individual belongs is perceived as having high status, then a positive identity will result (and the opposite will also occur given low perceived status). There are some important exceptions to this general rule, however. If the high status in-group is also perceived as not rightly deserving that status (through exploitation of other groups, etc.), then members may distance themselves from the in-group, even

to the point of identifying with out-groups. In the case of low status groups, individualistic strategies for social mobility often will be employed in seeking a more positive identity. When social mobility is not possible, low status group members may accept the values of the high status group, a process called psychological mobility. The underlying assumption, then, behind the theory is that all groups seek to enhance their own social identity (de la Rey, 1991).

(Psychodynamic) Theories of Identity Development

Several early psychologists developed theories related to individual identity, which can also be applied to the related issue of group identity (Bloom, 1994). The essential assumption of these psychodynamic theories was that emotional states are strongly related to motivations, and that the combination of these two factors explains behaviour (individual and group). Much of these theories is based on the understanding of the process of development through which libidinal love becomes love of the ego. Thus, others (including the various groups in society) are loved to the extent to which they positively contribute to the self-esteem (and groups which have little or no social status or power generally do not contribute to the self-esteem). From this perspective, social identity is viewed as group-level narcissism, used to bolster self-esteem. This perspective assumes that in order for a positive identity to exist, however, stability and freedom from constraints must also exist.

It was from within this context that Erikson (1963; 1968) developed his psychosocial theory, in which identity formation was seen as a core developmental process associated with adolescence. His approach was

expanded by J. Marcia (1980), who identified four different types of identity statuses: 1) Diffusion (a lack of search or commitment), 2) Foreclosure (commitment without search), 3) Moratorium (current search for identity), and 4) Achievement (commitment following search). This and other work (Waterman, 1982) has demonstrated the salience of adolescence in identity development.

However, the mediating role of group identity in individual identity development has also been recognized (Streitmatter, 1988, inter alia). For example, Marcia's adaptation of Erikson was subsequently modified by Phinney (1989) to consider aspects of group identity, rather than simple individual identity development. Phinney and associates (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1991; Phinney & Chavira, 1992) have been able to show how group (specifically, ethnic) identity development parallels personal identity development across several studies. They follow a similar pattern from Diffusion to Achievement, and once Achievement is reached, group identity appears to become quite stable over time (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). However, it is clear that more work is needed to understand the complex interactions between personal and group identity development (Streitmatter, 1988).

Ethnic/Cultural Identity

In a review of ethnic identity research, the author (Phinney, 1990) pointed to the vast complexity of the field. While larger number of papers in this area have been appearing over the years prior to the review, very little of the work has been empirical. The three predominant paradigms used in examining

ethnic/cultural identity issues were identified as: social identity theory, theories of acculturation, and theories of identity development. Multiple other theories (Myers et al., 1991; Smith, 1991, inter alia) have also been put forth, but with little sense of integration or advancement. The reviewer further noted several key components of ethnic/cultural identity which have conceptually defined: the level of group self-identification, the level of "belonging" and perceived similarity to other group members, the extent of positive and negative attitudes toward one's own group, and the amount of group involvement (including factors of language, customs, etc.). The reviewer concluded with a call for increased empirical studies on these issues.

White Racial Identity Theories

Combining aspects of social identity theory, identity development theories, and ethnic/cultural identity theories, a group of theories addressing White racial identity comprise the most recent approach to the topic which has gained widespread attention in the North American literature (Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993). The development of White racial identity theories preceded their recent popularity by several years (i.e., Helms, 1984), and so the vast majority of research conducted using this paradigm has occurred only within the past five years (e.g., Carter, 1990; Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1992; Rowe, Bennett & Atkinson, 1994). In part due to their recency, then, no studies using this paradigm outside of North America have been published (as of the time of this writing). Nevertheless, because these theories elaborate upon the strong relationship between White identity and racism (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994),

they do appear to hold some merit for explaining inter-group tension and cooperation within the South African context (Smith & Roberts, 1995). Because Helms' model (1990) has been by far the most popular and the most widely researched, her model will be reviewed here. However, a more detailed analysis of the entire field is included in Appendix A.

In 1990, Janet Helms expanded and clarified a model of White racial identity which she had originally postulated in 1984. According to this refined model, the development of White racial identity is closely associated with the prevalence of racism (in North America). Indeed, Helms argued that positive White racial identity must consist of both an acceptance of White culture and a rejection of racism. In this sense, her model of White racial identity paralleled that of Black racial identity which she had described in her 1984 article and which she had spent considerable work on since that time (i.e., Parham & Helms, 1985). She noted, however, that in contrast to Black North Americans, the majority status of White North Americans had virtually allowed them to ignore their own racial identity. She therefore concluded that North American Whites often accepted their (superior) status unquestioningly, never acknowledging that they are a part of "a culture" (and are therefore on equal grounds with "minority" cultures). Based on this widespread ignorance of racial identity, Helms further concluded that "Whites may feel threatened by the actual or presupposed presence of racial consciousness in non-White racial groups" (p. 50).

Similar to other developmental theorists (Waterman, 1982), Helms (1984; 1990) has argued that both racial attitudes and racial identity are developmental

in nature. The six-stages of her model were labelled as follows: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy. The first stage, Contact, is marked by little awareness of "race" or "culture." It begins when the *idea* of race is learned, and individuals in this stage have a naive curiosity for "the other."

Once an individual experiences greater social contact with members of different cultures and they have observed the workings of racism, they may enter the Disintegration stage. This stage is usually prompted by a recognition of the moral dilemmas inherent in racism, such as the belief that all people are created equal versus the social pressure to treat some people as unequal. Thus, the Disintegration stage is marked by a form of "cognitive dissonance," a recognition of two incompatible standards in society coupled with an insecurity as to one's own identity.

Giving in to pressures to conform, an individual may next enter the Reintegration stage. If this occurs, an individual comes to acknowledge consciously their White identity and accepts that this identity is superior to that of other races. Thus, this stage is marked by devaluation of minority races, acceptance of stereotypes, and avoidance of physical contact with individuals from minority groups. The anxiety aroused in the Disintegration stage is transformed into anger and fear. Self-examination may lead a person to question the superiority of Whites.

In the Pseudo-Independent stage, an individual comes to realize that Whites are responsible for racism. Racist ideology is abandoned in favour of an intellectual acceptance of other races. However, at this stage a person still

lacks a positive White racial identity. Active exploration leads to the fifth stage of identity development.

The Immersion/Emersion stage describes the existential transformation that occurs when individuals come to accept themselves and their Whiteness more completely. Identification with White activities and role models brings about an immersion marked by emotional maturation. They change the focus of their attitudes from a desire to change and "improve" minority cultures to an understanding of the necessity to change the White culture.

Autonomy, the final stage, describes the freedom with which a person interacts with members of different races. Individuals at this stage feel comfortable with themselves and with others. They actively seek opportunities to learn from other individuals. To them, the idea of race is flexible and friendly, and all forms of prejudice (e.g., homophobia) are soundly rejected.

In sum, Helms' model is very similar to the several others which have also appeared in the literature (Hardiman, 1982; Ponterotto, 1988; Rowe et al., 1994; Smith, 1991). Like the others, it takes a distinctly (North American) developmental perspective. However, because it employs an individualistic-level of analysis, it does not provide for the breadth characteristic of social identity theory. In that sense, although it provides for a specification of identity theory with White issues, it does not account for the several social factors, including social change and political policy, which might also influence White identity.

Group Identity and Political Policy

Because group identity is often changed by events at the macro-social level (Bloom, 1994), the effects of certain political positions on group integration will be briefly mentioned. Specifically, most contemporary governments (including post-Apartheid South Africa) often implement policies of either cultural assimilation or multi-culturalism (Vasta, 1993), which have very divergent effects on the ethnic/cultural identities of their citizens (Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). Assimilation, for example, takes the position that the overall national identity should take precedence in society. Assimilation policies thus assume that similarities should be emphasized within the national context (nation as in-group). Some social scientists, however, have suggested that the type of group integration presented in the assimilation model has too often been sought through cultural dilution, meaning that low status groups are pressured to abandon their uniqueness and become like the high status culture. This process has been referred to as the "White syndrome" in the United States (Schmitt, Fox, & Lindberg, 1982) due to the notable tendency in that country to accept those of different backgrounds based on their capacity to think and act "White." Another, related flaw with this perspective is that within-group differences and distinctiveness are actually quite important to maintaining positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979); thus, members of high status groups may be threatened when members of all other groups begin acting like them. In such settings, even trivial differences can be and usually are used to maintain in-group/out-group distinctions (Mogghadam & Stringer, 1988).

Policies of multi-culturalism, on the other hand, positively emphasize the distinctiveness and positive value of the various ethnic/cultural groups within a society. This approach assumes, therefore, that people are positively motivated to hold on to their own cultures and that the high status group(s) within that society will be sufficiently secure in their own identities to allow the other groups to function independently. However, a problem with the first assumption is that those groups which cannot blend in undetected with the high status group do not demonstrate a strong desire to retain their ethnic/cultural identities (Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). A problem with the second assumption is that most often government policies of multi-culturalism are aimed at increasing low status groups' self-esteem, which neglects that of the high status groups, which then engage in discriminatory behaviour to compensate for the increased attention to the lower status groups (Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). A further weakness of this approach is that it assumes that cultural identity is static, when, in fact, cultures themselves are fluid and constantly adapting to change (Vasta, 1993).

Group Identity and Social Change

Social change is an integral part of social identity; it affects change but it is also effected by change. Indeed, one researcher has stated, "Most socio-cultural analyses of ethnicity go back to fears of change, of socio-cultural absorbtion, and above all, of the perceived loss of power." (Bloom, 1994, p. 22). Social identity theory provides a particularly useful framework from which to understand these dynamics (de la Rey, 1991). For example, it delineates

between a secure and insecure social identity. When change is perceived as imminent or on-going, there will be an abundance of cognitive alternatives (perceptions that existing social statuses may be reversed). Faced with such, members of an unstable in-group may seek to further assert their dominance over other groups or redefine their own social identity. The implications of this for understanding South Africa's Apartheid history are in and of themselves multiple, but it is the context of identity and change of the 1990s which concerns this present study.

South African Research on Racial, Cultural, and Ethnic Identity

In the rapid social changes which occurred in Eastern Europe during the early 1990s, two types of trends were observed: 1) A uniting of the various peoples and nations of the region as part of the over-all European community (through a removal of the psychological and physical barriers which had previously separated them), and 2) A renewed search for ethnic identity and national consciousness (Zaleski, 1992). Although the political and social situations of Eastern Europe do differ substantially from those of South Africa, one is tempted to generalize this finding to the South African context. Certainly, similar themes may be noted during the period of change which this country is undergoing: Barriers are coming down and increased unity is being sought for, while at the same time there is a quest to define where individuals and their respective groups stand in the "new" South Africa. The fact that these trends, one for amalgamation and unity and the other toward retention of diversity, head in opposite directions is notable. It speaks to the tension

involved in the process of change (and it also lends support to the position taken by social identity theory which was presented earlier).

One recent analysis of the South African situation concludes that ethnicity and group identity is one of the primary topics of importance for the country (Adam, 1995). It indicates, for example, that Whites in this country are undergoing a profound change in the way they see themselves: Race and ethnicity are losing their importance of the Apartheid past.

This position was also supported by a recent study (Braungart & Braungart, 1995), in which both Black and White university students were found to equally reject the Apartheid past, hold optimistic attitudes toward the future, and share deep emotional commitments toward the country. A union and amalgamation of a new national identity appears to be forming.

However, no research was located in which this issue was assessed following the actual changes in the over all South African political system. Thus, the actual effects of the changes, while surely multiple, are as of yet unidentified. In the remaining paragraphs of this section, some of the papers which have addressed issues of group identity in South Africa in the recent past (but all prior to 1994) will be reviewed.

Several studies in the past have noted group differences between the identities of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Whites in South Africa. For example, White English-speakers have been described as being more catastrophic and paranoid in their attitudes toward social change, while Afrikaners have been more conservative, more recently shifting toward liberal and catastrophic (Foster & Nel, 1991). Another study has found Afrikaners to

be more tough-minded and extraverted than English-speaking South Africans, who tended to be more anxious on the whole (Stones et al., 1993). At least two studies (Edwards, 1984; 1987) have found instances where English-speaking Whites in South Africa actually rate other groups (even lower status out-groups) as being more positive than their own group on several dimensions; but this finding might be explained by the lack of legitimacy with which the White in-group was perceived by this population at that time (Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991). Several other studies (e.g., Stones et al., 1993) have repeatedly demonstrated that English-speakers lack the strong unifying identity of Afrikaners.

However, recent studies have also questioned the validity of the traditional perspective on Afrikaner identity as a monolithic cohesion, embodied in the term volk. In an extensive study, Louw-Potgieter (1988a) demonstrated that the identity of Afrikaans-speaking peoples was actually quite diverse. There appear to be many sub-groups which have quite different perspectives of "Afrikaner identity". Other work has also supported this finding, leading to the hypothesis that the apparent unity of Afrikaners was in fact primarily due their differentiation and diversification earlier this century (Mason, 1982). Again, given the tenets of social identity theory, this finding was to be expected, but it does fly in the face of traditional myths.

One relatively clear finding of past research, however, is the strong effect which the Apartheid system had on group identities (Adam, 1995; Bloom, 1994; Heaven et al., 1994). It has been noted that: "[there is an] absence of commonly shared social identity in South Africa. Rather, it would seem that

there are many different racial, cultural, language and political identities, each of which has been enforced by racial separation and domination" (Heaven et al., 1994, p. 230). One of the products of Apartheid, then, is that group identity has come to play such a large role in South African society. It fostered and enforced the perception that South Africans are mainly, or exclusively White, Black, etc. Thus, as one writer notes, these former categorizations and group identities "persist almost unopposed as we limp into the newish South Africa" (Bloom, 1994, p. 25).

Summary of the Review

This review has provided a broad but limited sketch of the context of the work conducted in this thesis while, at the same time, demonstrating the pertinence and relevance of the topic itself. Specifically, it was shown how (White) ethnic identity has been associated with prejudice and discrimination in the past, but that with the changes in the social structure of the country, changes may (or may not) occur in the degree of this association. The role of adolescence in identity development was also highlighted. Furthermore, group identity itself was described as consisting of such key components as: the level of perceived similarity with one's group, the perceived importance of group beliefs/practices, personal identity, issues of stability/instability and perceptions of social change, negative and positive evaluations of one's own group, and again, attitudes toward out-groups (prejudices, etc.). In order to present a more clear picture of the issue at hand, each of these aspects of identity will be addressed in the sections that follow.

OBJECTIVES

The overarching goal of this thesis was to describe how a sample of English- and Afrikaans-speaking White adolescents differentially report on key aspects their group identity, given the recent social/political changes in South Africa. The following specific outcomes of the study were expected: 1) Descriptive information regarding the composition of the overall sample's identity beliefs/attitudes; 2) Identification of differences on several key aspects of identity reported by the English- and Afrikaans-speaking subjects; and 3) Estimations of the degree of association between the various key aspects of identity which were assessed. For these expected outcomes to be empirically tested, they were re-written in the form of hypotheses, which were based on the literature presented in the review section.

Hypothesis 1. Data from the overall sample will be normally distributed, with subjects predominantly displaying: moderately positive levels of personal identity, uncertain to moderately negative attitudes toward social change in South Africa, moderately positive attitudes toward aspects of in-group culture, moderately negative attitudes toward non-White out-groups, negative attitudes toward anti-White beliefs, unstable attitudes toward racial issues, and a moderate to positive sense of similarity with other White South Africans.

Hypothesis 2. Afrikaans- and English-speaking subjects will significantly differ on all of the aspects of identity listed in the first hypothesis, with Afrikaans-speaking subjects demonstrating greater: positive levels of personal identity, negative attitudes toward social change in South Africa, positive attitudes toward aspects of in-group culture, negative attitudes toward non-

White out-groups, negative attitudes toward anti-White beliefs, unstable attitudes toward racial issues, and positive sense of similarity with other Whites.

Hypothesis 3. The correlations between the various aspects of identity measured will reach a statistically significant level, although the magnitude of these will vary substantially.

METHOD

Over a two month period, the author collected data from 553 subjects using a questionnaire which was designed for the present study. This section of the thesis will describe in detail the sample of subjects which participated in the research, the overall design and procedures of the project, the data collection instrument which was administered, and the steps utilized in the analysis of the resulting data.

Sample

The target population for this study was South African adolescent White high school students enrolled in standards 6 through to 10. The accessible population consisted of individuals with these characteristics who were attending one of the following schools located in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape Province: PJ Olivier Hoërskool (PJ), Victoria Girls High School (VG), Kingswood College (KG), St. Andrews College (SAC), and Diocesan School for Girls (DSG).

A total of 553 subjects participated in the present study. Of these, 103 were attending an Afrikaans-speaking high school (PJ) and 450 were attending English-speaking high schools (VG, KC, SAC, and DSG). Pertinent demographic data for the subjects, listed by the language medium of the school, may be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Self-Reported Demographic Variables of Student Participants Broken Down into Percentages by Language Medium of School

Variable	Afrikaans (N = 103)	English (N = 450)
Age		
13	8%	9%
14	17%	17%
15	23%	23%
16	22%	17%
17	19%	25%
18	10%	8%
Home Language		
Afrikaans	92%	3%
English	0%	91%
Both	8%	6%
Socio-economic Level		
Lower Middle Class	5%	3%
Middle Class	66%	43%
Upper Middle Class	23%	46%
Upper Class	5%	8%
Region in which Raised		
Eastern Cape Province	65%	64%
Gauteng	10%	16%
Western Cape Province	8%	4%
Kwa-Zulu/Natal	3%	3%
Other	13%	12%

Design and Procedures

The study completed for this thesis employed a cross-sectional design in which analyses of the data were made both within and across the two groups of subjects at English- versus Afrikaans-medium schools[3]. Subjects completed a questionnaire requesting information about aspects of their personal identity, cultural identity, attitudes toward social/political change in South Africa, and attitudes toward inter-racial relations. (A detailed description of the questionnaire is found in the next sub-section, "Data and Instrumentation".)

The actual procedures of the project were as follows: First, the relevant professional and scientific literature was examined (see above Review of Literature section). This was done in order to ground the project in a suitable theoretical and empirical context. Second, the design and procedures of the research were planned and critiqued. Third, the questionnaire was developed, critiqued, and refined (see below). Fourth, the questionnaire was translated from English to Afrikaans, and this translation was subsequently verified for accuracy by a professional translator. Fifth, with the assistance of the project supervisor, administrators of all the state and private secondary schools in Grahamstown which are attended by White students were approached. Permission to collect data was obtained from the administrators and staff of all but one school, Graeam College, where the administration did not consider the project as being necessary or beneficial for their student body. Sixth, on days allocated by the schools, the questionnaires were administered to the students in controlled classroom settings. In order not to arouse inter-group tension, all students, regardless of race, completed the questionnaire. For the purposes of

the present study, however, data collected from non-White students will be reported at a future time in another report. (The few questionnaires returned without home language and ethnicity information were considered invalid for the purposes of analysis.) Seventh, the collected data was coded into an ASCII text file and subsequently verified for accuracy. Eighth, the data analysis procedures were performed. Ninth, the results of the project were formally reported to the administrators of the participating schools, who either presented them to the students themselves or had the author of this thesis present them to the student body. The production of this written report comprised the tenth and final step of the project.

Ethical Considerations

In accordance with professionally recognised ethical guidelines, all subjects participated in the study on a voluntary basis, with no penalties for withdrawal. Owing to the nature of the study, it was not expected that subjects would be under psychological or physical risk at any time. They were given verbal and written instructions prior to their participation, and they were provided with the name and phone number of the researcher, should they have any questions or problems with the research after its completion. No negative feedback was received. In order to maintain confidentiality, subjects were instructed to not place any identifying information on the materials which they returned to the researcher. Completed questionnaires were numbered in the order of their receipt. Following collection of the questionnaires, students were debriefed as to the nature of the study and student questions were answered.

Data and Instrumentation

Dependent variables

Data were collected on several measures. Specifically, aspects of personal identity, attitudes toward social/political change in South Africa, cultural identity, racial membership identification, attitudes toward inter-racial relations, and attitude stability were assessed.

Attitudes toward inter-racial relations were measured by three scales which had been previously used and validated for this purpose in other studies. The first, consisting of three subscales from the Oklahoma Racial Attitude Survey (ORAS; Bennett, Behrens & Rowe, 1994), focused on aspects of avoidance, dependence, and stability of racial attitudes. The second, the Anti-White Scale (AWS; Duckitt & Farre, 1994), focused on negative evaluations of White participation in the social, economic, and political contexts of South Africa. And the third, the Subtle Racism Scale (SRS; Duckitt, 1991a; 1993a), focused on acceptance of inter-racial contact and the aspiration for equal status among all races. Both the SRS and the AWS were developed in South Africa specifically for use with South African populations. These scales have demonstrated acceptable reliability coefficients (ranging from .91 to .76) in previous published studies, and they had been evaluated as having sufficiently acceptable content and construct validity (Duckitt, 1991a; 1993a; Duckitt & Farre, 1994). The ORAS also has demonstrated acceptable reliability (with alpha coefficients ranging from .85 to .77) and validity in previous investigations (Bennett, Behrens & Rowe, 1994). Because this scale was originally developed

for use in the United States, only the three subscales which were appropriate for use in the South African context were administered in this project.

Attitudes toward one's own personal identity, one's own cultural identity, one's perceptions of social/political change in South Africa, and one's level of racial membership identification were assessed by sets of questions specifically designed for this purpose by the author of the thesis. Standard questionnaire development procedures were followed (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1987). That is, the constructs which were meant to be assessed were first operationally defined. Second, the author generated a list of approximately sixty statements which he felt accurately reflected the content of those constructs. Third, this list, together with the operational definitions, was presented to a team of four psychologists, each of whom was familiar with the questionnaire development literature. These four judges independently, then in discussion with one another, evaluated the content validity and the clarity of the statements presented to them. Questions which were not deemed to reflect accurately the constructs they were designed to assess were discarded, and those statements which were rated as too complex or unclear were re-worded to the satisfaction of all judges concerned. Fourth, a draft of the questionnaire was pilot tested on a sample of 10 adolescents. Questions which were rated by them as being confusing or unclear were subsequently re-worded, and minor changes in the format of the questionnaire were made. Fifth, the questionnaire was distributed for review to the administrators of the schools participating in the study. No further changes were suggested by the administrators, and the questionnaire was deemed appropriate for administration.

A copy of the questionnaire itself may be found in Appendix B. Statements 1 through 6, then 7 through 9 were designed by the author to evaluate different aspects of personal identity. Statements 10 through 24 were developed by the author to assess attitudes toward social/political change in South Africa. Statements 25 through 34 were designed by the author to assess perceptions of cultural identity and identification (hereafter referred to as the CII measure). Statements 35 through 44 comprise the three subscales of the ORAS: Avoidance, Dependence, and Instability. Statements 45 through 64 comprise the AWS and the SRS. And finally, statements 65 through 67 were designed by the author to assess the level of racial membership identification (hereafter referred to as the RMI measure).

As a sixth step, questions which were developed by the author were subjected to factor analysis as a verification of their construct validity following the actual data collection. All four constructs for which questionnaire statements were developed by the author demonstrated adequate factor structures (see Table 2). Two of these, personal identity and racial membership identification, demonstrated strong factor structures, with a large amount of the variance in the scores explained and with all statements loading exceptionally high (above .70). The fact that these two constructs were assessed by only three items each helps to explain this high degree of consistency. Conversely, the fact that the other two constructs were assessed by larger numbers of items helps to explain the lower degree of consistency achieved in those analyses. Nevertheless, all four factors did emerge as predicted, and the construct validity of the questionnaire as designed was generally supported by these data.

Table 2

Factor Loadings from Four Factor Analyses of the Questionnaire Items Designed to Assess Four Constructs

	Construct/Factor Loadings			
Item Number	Personal Identity	Attitudes Toward Change	Cultural Identity	Racial Membership Identification
7	.77			
8	.83			
9	.76			
10		.69		
11		.65		
12		.73		
13		.54		
14		.30		
15		.47		
16		.09		
17		.09		
18		.61		
19		.46		
20		.11		
21		.66		
22		.56		
23		.41		
24		.68		
25			.09	
26			.61	
27			.38	
28			.37	
29			.71	
30			.10	
31			.74	
32			.79	
33			.77	
34			.10	
66				.70
67				.84
68				.83
Variance Explained:	62%	27%	30%	63%

There were, however, seven items which did not load sufficiently highly on their respective factors (constructs) to be considered as contributing to them. As can be seen in Table 2, four items (numbers 14, 16, 17, and 20) which were designed to assess attitudes toward change in South Africa and three items (numbers 25, 30, and 34) which were designed to assess cultural identity did not load higher than .30 on the main factors extracted. Thus, for the purposes of this study, these items were not used in the inferential statistical analyses which were conducted. Rather, responses to the content of these items were investigated through descriptive statistics (so as not to lose the information they provided).

As a seventh and final step in the development of the questionnaire, the responses associated with each construct were summed to form composite measures for the purpose of inferential statistical analysis. That is, the scores on questionnaire statements 7 through 9 were added together (negatively worded items were reverse-scored) to form a measure of personal identity (the PI scale). Similarly, the scores on questionnaire statements 65 through 67 were added together to form a measure of racial membership identification (the RMI scale). Scores on the 11 items which loaded highly on the attitudes toward change in South Africa construct were added to form the ACSA scale, and those on the 7 items which loaded highly on the cultural identity and identification construct were added to form the CII scale. The amount of variance in scores explained by the resulting factor structures of these two latter scales was much improved from their original ones (see Table 3).

Table 3

Factor Loadings from Two Factor Analyses of the ACSA and CII Scale Items

	Measure/Factor Loadings	
Item Number	ACSA	CII
10	.70	
11	.66	
12	.73	
13	.53	
15	.45	
18	.60	
19	.47	
21	.67	
22	.57	
23	.41	
24	.68	
26		.61
27		.39
28		.35
29		.71
31		.75
32		.79
33		.77
Variance Explained:	36%	42%

At the same time that these factor analyses were conducted with the measures the author developed, similar analyses were also conducted with those developed by other authors. All of the five scales used (SRS, AWS, and the three ORAS subscales) were verified to have reasonably good factor structures, and all of the items comprising these scales loaded higher than .30 on the principle factors extracted for each case.

Independent Variables

Data on the following variables were collected from all subjects: (a) age, (b) standard level (education), (c) gender, (d) racial group (White, Black, Indian, so-called Coloured, or other), (e) primary home-language(s), (f) primary language(s) of usage outside the home, (g) estimated socio-economic status of their family of origin, (h) region of the country in which they were primarily raised (or, nation in which they were primarily raised if they were not raised in South Africa), and (i) the name of the school they attend.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data analyses for this project were performed using several statistical techniques. The first consisted of simple descriptive statistics computed for the demographic variables and the dependent measures, which were checked for normality of distribution. Subsequently, between group comparisons were then conducted using the several dependent measures. And finally, the degree of association between the dependent measures used in this study was assessed

Thus, the statistical analyses were designed to follow the specific hypotheses proposed in the Objectives section of the paper. These were as follows:

Hypothesis 1. Descriptive statistics (means, percentiles, standard deviations, and ranges) were computed to provide a quantitative picture of the data collected from the groups.

Hypothesis 2. Differences between the two groups were assessed using discriminant function analysis and subsequent (post hoc) analyses of variance (ANOVAs).

Hypothesis 3. Pearson product moment correlations were computed between all dependent measures.

RESULTS

Descriptive Analyses

Score Distributions

As a preliminary check, the distributions of the data collected on the several dependent measures were examined. The ranges, means, and standard deviations for all subjects on the several outcome measures used in this study are reported in Table 4. All these dependent measures had an adequate spread of scores and relatively normal distributions with the exception of the ORAS Dependency subscale, which was negatively skewed, and the CII scale, which was positively skewed. Although normality of distribution is an assumption of inferential statistics, analysis of variance procedures are considered robust to assumption violations (Glass, Peckham, & Sanders, 1972). Thus, it was not likely that the distribution of these two scales unduly affected the inferential analyses that are reported later.

Data Description (Objective 1)

The first objective of this research project, as stated previously, was to describe the racial attitudes, personal identity, attitudes toward change in South Africa, cultural identification, and racial membership identification of a sample of South African adolescents. This section will provide these broad descriptions, based on the overall data collected. More detailed analyses, including verification of group differences between subjects attending Afrikaans- versus English-speaking schools, will be reported in a later section.

Table 4

Ranges, Standard Deviations, and Means of the Dependent Measures for the Total Sample

Measure	Range of Scores	Standard Deviation	Mean
SRS	14 - 64	8.7	37.7
AWS	29 - 70	7.7	59.2
ORAS subscales			
Avoidance	3 - 21	4.5	13.0
Dependence	3 - 21	4.5	15.5
Instability	4 - 28	5.1	17.1
PI	3 - 21	4.4	12.2
ACSA	12 - 74	12.6	44.3
CII	7 - 49	7.9	22.0
RMI	3 - 21	4.2	10.3

Subtle racism attitudes. Subjects in this sample generally scored as having neutral or undecided attitudes toward other race groups, as measured by the SRS (M = 37.7, SD = 8.7). There was a tendency, however, for slightly positive attitudes to be more prevalent than negative attitudes in the sample. About 30% of the subjects had from neutral to moderately negative attitudes, with approximately three percent having blatantly racist attitudes. Conversely, about 60% of the subjects had neutral to only slightly positive racial attitudes. Very few (less than five percent) scored as having very positive, openly accepting racial attitudes.

Anti-White attitudes. Regarding attitudes toward White socio-political dominance in the new South Africa, subjects clearly scored as being non-rejecting. That is, scores on the AWS were indicative of a general belief that Whites should continue to play a large part in South African society (M = 59.2, SD = 7.7). Just over 50% of the subjects were extremely strong in this belief. Less than two percent of subjects scored as feeling neutral about this issue, and no subjects scored as having a more than a slight belief that Whites should have to make more retribution for the wrongs of apartheid and be made equal with other race groups in the country.

Racial attitude characteristics. Subject avoidance of racial issues, their dependence on others for their racial beliefs, and their racial attitude stability were assessed by the three subscales of the ORAS. Regarding their avoidance of racial issues, subjects in the total sample generally scored as neither avoiding them nor purposefully not avoiding them. Scores on the Avoidance subscale were more weighted toward the not-avoiding side, with a slightly greater

percentage of subjects scoring on that half of the neutral line (M = 13.0, SD = 4.5). About 15% of subjects clearly rejected the idea that they avoid racial issues, while about five percent scored as actively avoiding racial issues.

Regarding the subjects' dependence on others for their racial beliefs, scores on the Dependence subscale of the ORAS indicated subjects actually felt fairly independent about their beliefs (M = 15.5, SD = 4.5). That is, most subjects felt that their attitudes toward other race groups were based upon their own experience rather than on the opinions of others, with about 30% of subjects feeling very independent in this regard. Approximately 10% of subjects scored as feeling more than slightly dependent on others for their own racial attitudes.

Regarding the stability of the subjects' racial attitudes, scores on the Instability subscale of the ORAS indicated that subjects in the total sample generally did not see their attitudes as being particularly stable or unstable (M = 17.1, SD = 5.1). Scores on this subscale were slightly more weighted toward the stable side, with a somewhat greater percentage of subjects scoring on that half of the neutral line. About 12% of subjects clearly saw their racial attitudes as being stable, while approximately four percent scored as having rapidly changing attitudes toward racial issues.

Personal identity. On the first part of the questionnaire, subjects were asked to rank the importance of six aspects of their identity: home language, racial membership, influence of parents, social friendships, personal interests, and religious beliefs. Thus, the most important aspect would have received a ranking of "1" and the least important aspect would have received a ranking of

"6". The means, medians, and modes of these six rankings are presented in Table 5. As may be seen in the table, the rankings indicated that, on average, the social friendships category was rated as being the most important aspect of these adolescents' personal identities. However, it should be noted that the top three categories were all very closely ranked, making the differentiation of these three rankings negligible. For the purposes of sample description, therefore, it is appropriate to state that the categories of social friendships, parents' influence, and personal interests were all rated as being important parts of personal identity. Given the characteristics attributed to adolescent development, this finding is not surprising (Erikson, 1963; 1968). Notable, however, is the very low importance given to racial group membership. Personal identity, therefore, in the present sample appeared to have more of an individualistic, rather than a group-based, nature, as would be expected (de la Rey, 1991).

Table 5

Means, Medians, and Modes of Rankings Given for Six Aspects of Personal Identity for the Total Sample

Aspect	Mean	Median	Mode
Social Friendships	2.6	2	2
Parents' Influence	2.7	2	2
Personal Interests	2.8	3	1
Religious Beliefs	3.3	3	1
Home Language	4.4	5	5
Racial Membership	5.1	6	6

Having described in part the relative contribution of several aspects of identity, the question of strength of personal identity remains. The measure of personal identity (the PI), which assessed the strength of one's sense of self, yielded scores which were indicative of indecision or ambivalence (M = 12.2, SD = 4.4). That is, subjects generally did not score as feeling particularly strong about their sense of self. While only 10 percent of subjects scored as feeling quite unaware or confused about their own identity, only about 10 percent scored as feeling quite secure with their sense of self.

Attitudes toward change in South Africa. Scores on the ACSA indicated that as a group, the subjects held neutral or undecided attitudes toward change in their country (M = 44.2, SD = 12.6). About 20% of subjects regarded the changes in a negative way, while a nearly equal percentage endorsed the changes as being positive. Five percent of subjects clearly regarded the changes as undesirable, but about the same percentage of subjects clearly regarded the changes as being very desirable.

Additional information regarding the subjects' attitudes toward change in South Africa came from the four items on the questionnaire which were not included in the ACSA scale. Based on the responses to these items, it appeared that subjects were quite aware that changes had taken place in their country over the past few years (item 20). Their responses also indicated that: (a) the subjects were not generally questioning their own beliefs because of the changes in the country (item 14), (b) they generally did not see the pace of change in the country as being too slow (item 16), and (c) they have been affected somewhat by the changes (item 17).

Cultural identity and identification. Subjects generally scored as identifying with aspects of their own culture. Scores on the CII indicated that the subjects generally viewed their cultural beliefs and practices as being of some importance to them (M = 22.0, SD = 7.9). Only about 25% of the subjects scored as feeling neutral to somewhat rejecting of aspects of their own culture. Only a few (less than one percent) of subjects scored as rejecting their culture, while approximately 20% of the subjects scored as feeling quite strongly about aspects of their own culture.

Additional information regarding aspects of cultural identity came from the three items on the questionnaire which were not included in the CII scale. Based on the responses to these items, it appeared that subjects generally act in accordance with their families' customs (item 25) and that they generally believe that their cultural membership has only a marginal impact upon who they are (items 30 and 34).

Racial membership identification. The results on the RMI scale generally indicated that subjects felt they were somewhat similar to other members of their own racial group (M = 10.3, SD = 4.2). Twenty percent of the subjects scored as being very similar to other members of their racial group, while less than five percent scored as being very dissimilar. The fact that more subjects did not see themselves as being very similar to other members of their racial group seems to indicate that a moderate degree of autonomy was present in the sample.

Summary of descriptive information. The data collected from this sample of South African high school students yielded key descriptive information

associated with the topic of this thesis. As a whole, the sample may be described as having pro-White attitudes and generally neutral or ambivalent attitudes toward other racial groups. These attitudes are apparently largely based on the subjects' own experiences, and they do not appear to be particularly unstable. The students in this sample reported no particular tendency to either avoid or seek out racial topics, nor did they typically feel strongly about the changes which have occurred in their country. While they did tend to identify with other members of their own racial group and to believe that their culture is important to them, they did not seem to believe that their race or their home language is particularly important to their own identity. Furthermore, although they generally recognized the importance of their social friendships, their parents' influence, and their personal interests in contributing to their sense of self, on average they did not score as having particularly strongly defined individual identities.

Primary Inferential and Correlational Statistical Analyses

Group Differences (Objective 2)

In accordance with the second objective of this thesis, this section will address group differences between the subjects attending Afrikaans- and English-medium schools. This will be done by using statistical procedures to (1) predict group membership, based on all dependent measure scores (in a multivariate analysis) and then to (2) verify group differences on the dependent measures separately (in subsequent univariate analyses).

Predicting group membership based on dependent measure scores. In order to examine differences in the questionnaire data between the subjects attending Afrikaans- versus English-medium schools, a discriminant function analysis was conducted. All dependent variables examined in this study (SRS, AWS, ORAS Avoidance, ORAS Dependence, ORAS Instability, PI, ACSA, CII, and RMI) were entered into the equation. The analysis yielded one function with an eigenvalue of .30 and a canonical correlation of .48. Wilk's lambda was .77 and the chi-square value was 122.8, making the equation statistically significant at the $p < .00001$ level. Thus, the analysis did correctly discriminate group members at a rate much higher than chance, indicating that significant differences exist between groups on at least one of the variables entered into the equation. The results of the classification analysis itself are presented in Table 6. As may be seen in this table, the correct group classification was predicted correctly 77.7% of the time for subjects in the English-medium schools and 83.1% of the time for subjects in the Afrikaans-medium school. As the indicator of the relative contribution of each variable in the equation, the standardized discriminant function coefficients are presented in Table 7. Of the nine variables entered, the CII and the AWS were the most predictive of group classification. However, post hoc univariate analyses were required to determine on which of these variables statistically significant differences occurred between the two groups.

Table 6

Classification Results (in Percentages) for Language Medium of School Data

	Predicted Group		
	English	Afrikaans	Total
Actual Group			
English	77.7%	22.3%	100%
Afrikaans	16.9%	83.1%	100%

Table 7

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients from the Discriminant Function Analysis of Language Medium of School Data

Variable	Coefficient
SRS	.06
AWS	.52
ORAS Avoidance	.09
ORAS Dependence	.22
ORAS Instability	-.17
PI	.23
ACSA	-.41
CII	.62
RMI	-.37

Group differences on dependent measures. Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) across the two school groups (English and Afrikaans) were conducted separately with each of the nine dependent variables listed in the preceding paragraph. (Because there were only two groups, the ANOVA statistic used here yielded essentially the same results as a conventional t-test). The results of all nine of these ANOVAs are presented in Table 8. As may be seen, scores on seven of the nine measures differed across the two groups at a statistically significant level.

To interpret the results yielded in these ANOVAs, the mean scores of the two groups were examined and effect sizes were calculated as an estimate of the magnitude of group differences (Springthall, 1994). The effect sizes reported in Table 8 were computed by dividing the difference between the two group's mean scores by the pooled standard deviation. This was done such that a positive effect size would signify that the scores for subjects attending the Afrikaans-medium school were greater than those of subjects attending the English-medium schools. Given the sample size employed in this study, the effect sizes calculated for these analyses actually serve as a more appropriate indicator of the magnitude of group difference than the significance level achieved (Shaver, 1993).

Table 8

Results of ANOVAs Performed Across Language Medium of School with all Dependent Variables

Variable	F	p	ES
SRS	13.3	.0003	.41
AWS	57.8	< .0001	-.82
ORAS			
Avoidance	7.1	.008	-.29
Dependence	20.3	< .0001	-.48
Instability	.9	.36	-.10
PI	1.4	.24	-.13
ACSA	40.3	< .0001	.69
CII	49.2	< .0001	-.75
RMI	9.1	.003	.34

An examination of these effect sizes indicates that compared to those subjects attending Afrikaans-speaking schools, those attending English-speaking schools scored as having: (a) moderately more accepting inter-racial attitudes (less subtle racism [SRS]), (b) much more higher acceptance of White socio-political power (AWS), (c) slightly less avoidance of racial issues (ORAS Avoidance), (d) moderately less dependence on others for their racial attitudes (ORAS Dependence), (e) very similar levels of racial attitude stability (ORAS Instability) and personal identity (PI), (f) much more positive attitudes toward change in South Africa (ACSA), (g) much less strong cultural identity attitudes (CII), and (h) a somewhat greater perception that they are similar to other members of their racial group (RMI).

Relationships Between Variables (Objective 3)

That the relationships between the several dependent measures could be examined, bivariate Pearson product moment correlations were computed (see Table 9). As may be seen in the table, the highest correlation yielded by these analyses occurred between the SRS and the ACSA, signifying that subtle racism attitudes are very strongly related to negative attitudes toward change in South Africa (and vice versa). Subtle racism (low SRS scores) was also moderately correlated with avoidant racial attitudes and with stronger cultural identity (and vice versa). Attitudes toward Whites retaining socio-political power (low AWS scores) were moderately associated with avoidant and dependent racial attitudes, negative evaluations of social change in South Africa, and a feeling of being somewhat different from other Whites (and vice versa).

Table 9

Bivariate Correlations Between the Dependent Measures

	SRS	AWS	ORAS A	ORAS D	ORAS I	PI	ACSA	CII	RMI
SRS	1.00								
AWS	-.10*	1.00							
ORAS A	-.22**	.16**	1.00						
ORAS D	-.14*	.20**	.34**	1.00					
ORAS I	.02	.09	.31**	.37**	1.00				
PI	-.06	-.01	.04	-.07	-.10*	1.00			
ACSA	.46**	-.17**	-.29**	-.16**	-.24**	.06	1.00		
CII	-.20**	-.02	.04	.09	-.04	.02	-.18**	1.00	
RMI	-.09	-.16**	.09	.10*	.11*	.04	-.04	.13*	1.00

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .001$

Of all measures, the ACSA scale correlated the most highly with the other scales. High scores on the ACSA (signifying attitudes accepting of change) were moderately related with anti-White attitudes, non-avoidant attitudes, independent attitudes, stable attitudes, and lower cultural identity attitudes (and vice versa). Of all other scales, the PI correlated the lowest with all other measures, indicating that one's strength of sense of self does not necessarily relate with issues of race and culture. Similarly, the measures of cultural identity attitudes and racial membership identity also did not correlate very highly with most of the other scales. The correlations that were statistically significant with these measures were of moderately low magnitude, but those between the CII and the SRS and ACSA scales were notable and have already been mentioned. The three ORAS scales were all moderately related with one another, indicating that they each assessed related aspects of racial attitudes (which is positive evidence for their convergent validity).

Additional Verification and Exploratory Analyses

The following analyses of the data, although not specified earlier as objectives of the present research, were conducted to gain more understanding of the results reported above. They were not intended to supplant the original hypotheses; rather, they serve to add depth and to clarify meaning.

Differences across Demographic Variables

To determine if differences occurred on the several dependent variables across subject demographic characteristics, a series of ANOVAs was

conducted. Specifically, the three demographic variables of self-reported year in school (standard level), socio-economic status, and region of primary residence (during lifetime) were examined.

The results of the ANOVAs conducted with standard level as the independent variable appear in Table 10. As may be seen, significant differences between groups were found on the SRS and AWS. Post hoc analyses revealed that those subjects who were enrolled in standard six had less racist beliefs (SRS) than those subjects in standards seven or eight. No other differences reached a statistically significant level. For the AWS, post hoc analyses indicated that standard six subjects felt less positive about White socio-political power and superiority than did subjects in all other standards. Furthermore, subjects in standard seven also scored significantly less accepting of White dominance than did those subjects in standard eight. Thus, the general trend in these data indicates that younger students demonstrated more liberal attitudes regarding inter-racial issues than did the older students.

Analyses were next conducted using socio-economic level as the independent variable. As may be seen in Table 11, statistically significant differences were found between groups on the SRS, AWS, and RMI. Post hoc analyses revealed that those subjects who indicated coming from upper class homes scored as having more subtle racism beliefs on the SRS than all other groups of subjects. The post hoc analyses further indicated that subjects who reported coming from middle class homes were less positive about White socio-political power (AWS) and less likely to identify strongly with other Whites (RMI) than were those who reported coming from upper-middle class homes.

Table 10

Results of ANOVAs Performed Across Standard Level with all Dependent Variables

Variable	F	p
SRS	4.0	.003
AWS	3.3	.01
ORAS		
Avoidance	1.5	.21
Dependence	1.9	.11
Instability	.4	.80
PI	.7	.53
ACSA	.7	.60
CII	.5	.70
RMI	.9	.44

Table 11

Results of ANOVAs Performed Across Socio-economic Status with all Dependent Variables

Variable	F	p
SRS	2.7	.047
AWS	3.2	.02
ORAS		
Avoidance	1.8	.15
Dependence	1.4	.26
Instability	1.6	.19
PI	.1	.93
ACSA	2.1	.09
CII	.3	.83
RMI	3.3	.02

When region of primary residence (throughout lifetime) was used as the independent variable in the analyses, statistically significant differences were found on the ACSA and CII scales (see Table 12). The post hoc analyses conducted with the ACSA data showed that those subjects who reported being raised outside South Africa were more accepting of change than all other groups of subjects, and that those who were raised in Gauteng were more accepting than those raised in the Eastern Cape Province. For the analyses conducted with the CII data, subjects who reported being raised primarily in the Free State demonstrated significantly stronger cultural identity attitudes than all others groups and those raised primarily in the Northern and Eastern Cape Provinces demonstrated stronger cultural identity attitudes than those raised in Kwa-Zulu/Natal. Although the differences did not reach a statistically significant level, subjects raised in Kwa-Zulu/Natal and Gauteng generally scored as having less strong cultural identity attitudes than those raised in other regions.

Differences across Home Language

Because a few of the students attending English-medium schools reported that Afrikaans was their home language and because several subjects at both schools reported using both English and Afrikaans as their home language, additional analyses were conducted in order to verify the results of those reported above which used school language as the categorizing variable. The discriminant function analysis performed with home language as the predicted variable yielded nearly identical results as that performed above.

Table 12

Results of ANOVAs Performed Across Primary Region of Residence with all Dependent Variables

Variable	F	p
SRS	.8	.63
AWS	1.2	.31
ORAS		
Avoidance	1.0	.41
Dependence	6.2	.78
Instability	1.0	.43
PI	1.5	.15
ACSA	2.6	.006
CII	1.9	.05
RMI	1.4	.19

The eigenvalue of the first discriminant function was .25, and the canonical correlation achieved was .45. For this function, Wilk's lambda was .79 and the chi-square value was 112.3, making it statistically significant at the $p < .00001$ level. Thus, this function also correctly discriminated group members at a rate much higher than chance. To verify group differences on the several dependent variables, a series of post hoc univariate analyses were conducted.

The results of the ANOVAs conducted with home language as the independent variable yielded interesting results (see Table 13). First, on the measure of subtle racism (SRS), it was found that those subjects who reported English only as their home language scored as having much less subtle racism beliefs than those who reported Afrikaans or both English and Afrikaans as their home language. Second, those who only speak Afrikaans at home demonstrated much less favourable attitudes toward White power dominance in South Africa than those subjects in the other two groups, which did not differ significantly from one another. Third, the three groups did not significantly differ in their levels of personal identity, in their avoidance of racial issues, or in their racial attitude stability. Fourth, those subjects with Afrikaans as their home language did demonstrate moderately more dependence on others for their racial attitudes than did those in the English group, but neither of these two groups differed significantly from the mixed language group. Fifth, subjects in the English group had much less negative attitudes toward change in South Africa than did the other two groups, which did not significantly differ one from another. Sixth, those in the Afrikaans group scored as having much stronger cultural identity beliefs than those in the other two groups, which were not

significantly different from each other. And seventh, the English group scored as feeling moderately more similar to other members of their race than did the other two groups, which did score as being significantly different from one another.

Table 13

Results of ANOVAs Performed Across Home Language with all Dependent Variables

Variable	F	p
SRS	7.9	.0004
AWS	18.5	< .0001
ORAS		
Avoidance	2.7	.07
Dependence	5.8	< .003
Instability	.1	.88
PI	.3	.74
ACSA	21.0	< .0001
CII	21.3	< .0001
RMI	5.6	.004

Differences within Duckitt's SRS and AWS Scales

As reported in the Method section, factor analyses were conducted on the data collected on the measures which were developed by other authors (ORAS, SRS, and AWS). These factor analyses supported previously reported evidence of validity for those scales. However, it should also be noted that in the analyses conducted with the two scales developed by John Duckitt (Duckitt, 1991; 1993a; Duckitt & Farre, 1994), the SRS and the AWS, it was found that two factors with eigenvalues above 1.25 could be extracted. For the SRS, the first factor explained 26% of the variance in the scores and the second factor explained 13% of the variance in the scores. For the AWS, the first factor accounted for 23%, while the second accounted for 16%.

Given these findings, it was felt that additional, exploratory analyses should be conducted using the four factors derived from these two scales. That is, it appeared that although the SRS and AWS were measuring the constructs which they were designed to measure, they were also each assessing at least two different aspects of those constructs. It was hoped that by breaking down these two scales into four separate measures (subscales) and then by performing additional analyses, new information regarding the data collected could be gleaned.

In order to perform these additional analyses, it was first necessary to rotate the factors extracted from both the SRS and AWS using a iterative (Varimax) procedure. Following this, the items which loaded on each factor could be more clearly identified. For the SRS, it was found that items 45, 48, 52 and 62 loaded above .50 on the first factor and less than .26 on the second

factor. Based on the content of these items, the first factor of the SRS appeared to assess aspects of racism related to perceptions of Black versus White integration and equality on social and educational issues. Items 47, 50, 55, 57, and 58 all loaded above .43 on the second factor and below .30 on the second factor. The content of these items suggested that the second factor assessed aspects of racism associated with Black versus White political and economic power. For the AWS, items 49, 51, 54, 56, and 63 were found to load above .50 on the first factor and less than .16 on the second factor. Thus, this factor seemed to assess attitudes toward compensation by Whites to non-Whites (for the wrongs of apartheid). Items 46, 53, and 60 were found to load above .60 on the second factor and below .22 on the first factor, making this factor an assessment of beliefs in White equality with other races. Items 59 and 61 loaded moderately low on both factors; thus they were excluded from further analysis.

Once these factors were identified, the items comprising each were summed to form four subscales (two from the SRS items and two from the AWS items). Then ANOVAs were conducted using these new subscales to verify if the same differences across subject language groups which were found on their parent scales (SRS and AWS) were to be found on the subscales. The results of these analyses are found in Table 14. Although the results with the two subscales derived from the AWS did not provide additional information than that achieved above, the results from the analyses with the two SRS subscales proved to be valuable. As may be seen in the table, the two groups of subjects did not differ in their beliefs of political/economic power differences between

Whites and non-Whites. Thus, the differences between the two language groups reported need to be qualified: subjects attending the Afrikaans-medium school demonstrated significantly more subtle racism beliefs than their counterparts at English-medium schools concerning issues of social and educational integration and equality. This issue, as well as several other topics which may have impacted upon the findings of the overall study, are discussed in the section that follows.

Table 14

Results of ANOVAs Performed Across Subjects Attending English- versus Afrikaans-Medium Schools with Subscales Derived from the SRS and AWS

Variable	F	p	ES
SRS			
Social/Educational Equality	38.4	< .0001	.67
Political/Economic Equality	.5	.51	.06
AWS			
White Compensation	24.8	< .0001	-.54
White Racial Equality	35.7	< .0001	-.64

DISCUSSION

Summary and Interpretation of Findings

Overall Data Description (Hypothesis 1)

A few aspects of the overall descriptive results fit neatly with the predicted outcomes. Specifically, the hypotheses that the subjects would demonstrate generally positive attitudes toward aspects of their own culture, negative attitudes toward anti-White beliefs, and a moderate to positive sense of similarity to other Whites were completely supported by the present data. These results also provide support for the relevant aspects of social identity theory which state that in-groups will generally be perceived as being favourable and that in-group members will perceive themselves as being similar (but not identical) to other in-group members (Tajfel, 1978; 1981).

The remaining aspects of the descriptive data did not completely conform with the predicted outcomes. The racial attitudes of the sample were predicted to have been unstable due to the rapid social changes occurring in the country; however, the results indicated that the subjects' attitudes as a whole were neither unstable nor stable. The fact that they were not particularly stable would seem to lend some support to the predicted hypothesis that social change would disrupt attitude stability. However, the fact that they were not particularly unstable would seem to indicate that either the changes have been well anticipated, have not occurred with excessive rapidity, or have had mixed effects upon the subjects as a whole. Any of these interpretations would be

supported by the results on the ACSA scale, which were also squarely in the uncertain/ambivalent range.

The findings on the ACSA scale were also not quite in support of the predicted hypothesis that attitudes toward the changes in South Africa would generally be from undecided to moderately negative. This result would seem to indicate that attitudes toward change do not have the same negative (catastrophic, etc.) quality they had in the past with adult populations (Foster & Nel, 1991), but several limitations with this interpretation need to be mentioned: The present sample consisted of adolescents, not adults; the previous studies mentioned were conducted many years ago and in a different socio-historical context; and, related to the point just mentioned, previous studies assessed attitudes toward an unknown future, while this study assessed attitudes toward the changes which have taken place already. In any event, the optimism characteristic of the university student sample of Braungart and Braungart (1995) was not present in the results of this study. Although there are several issues which make the generalization of findings from adolescent high school students to young adult university students highly questionable, in comparing the two studies one is tempted to postulate that either the actual changes have not been as positive as had been imagined in 1992 (when Braungart and Braungart conducted their study) or that Braungart and Braungart's results were characteristic of a much more liberal segment of the population. But again, such interpretations are speculative, given the incompatibility of the samples used in the two studies.

Another finding which was not in accordance with the predicted hypothesis was that subtle racism attitudes were less prevalent than were somewhat accepting racial attitudes. This finding may indicate that prejudice and racism are decreasing in the new social/political context of the country, but due to the cross-sectional design of this study, issues of causality and longitudinal change cannot be addressed adequately. The fact that the majority of subjects fell in the undecided/neutral range, however, still seems to indicate that much has yet to be done to increase positive/accepting attitudes necessary for a nation seeking successful cultural assimilation or multi-culturalism (Moghaddam & Solliday, 1991). As an additional point, the finding that attitudes toward aspects of in-group preference (discussed above) were more positive than attitudes toward out-groups does lend support to the tenets of social identity theory (de la Rey, 1991).

In another deviation from the predicted hypothesis, levels of personal identity were more ambivalent/uncertain than positive. According to the literature reviewed previously, at least one explanation for this might be that because open expressions of prejudice are no longer considered socially appropriate, the identities of those who formally depended on this tactic to bolster their own sense of worth might be weakened (Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1964). However, the much more likely explanation concerns the developmental stage of the subjects. A personal sense of identity is apparently weak prior to adolescence, and personal identity does generally increase in strength over time (Waterman, 1982). Thus, the finding of general identity uncertainty in the

present sample would seem to reinforce the theory that identity development is a crucial and on-going part of adolescence (Erikson, 1963; 1968).

Group Differences (Hypothesis 2)

The hypothesis that the subjects attending Afrikaans- versus English-medium schools would significantly differ in the several aspects of identity assessed in this study was generally supported by the data. The discriminant function analyses correctly predicted the type of school attended at a rate much higher than that expected by chance. Post hoc analyses revealed that the only two variables on which group differences did not reach a statistically significant level were on the stability of racial attitudes (ORAS Instability subscale) and on strength of personal identity (PI scale). Thus, as predicted, subjects attending the Afrikaans-medium school demonstrated more negative attitudes toward social change in South Africa, more positive attitudes toward aspects of in-group culture, and more negative attitudes toward non-White out-groups. However, on two aspects of the data, the group differences achieved in the sample were actually opposite those predicted. These findings were quite notable, in that those at the Afrikaans-medium school actually reported having less negative attitudes toward political reconciliation and anti-White beliefs (AWS scale) and a less positive sense of similarity with other Whites (RMI scale).

This first contradictory result may be explained by the possible effects of the historical legacy of Apartheid. The items on the AWS primarily assessed a willingness to forgo White power exclusivity and to make retribution for the

sufferings of those negatively affected by Apartheid. Thus, it might be that because White Afrikaans-speakers are more often associated (explicitly and implicity) with the political policies of the Apartheid past, they may now have more to gain by distancing themselves from it than the English-speaking subjects, who in turn might feel less guilty/responsible for Apartheid. This finding might be further explained by the postulate of social identity theory that if an in-group is perceived as being illegitimate, changes in the social identity of that group are likely to occur (de la Rey, 1991); however, because issues of legitimacy and guilt were not assessed directly in the present study, this interpretation remains speculative. The fact that the AWS scores did differ so substantially between the two groups of subjects (ES = -.82) does point to a strong finding, nonetheless, that those attending Afrikaans-medium school did demonstrate a much greater willingness to forgo White power exclusivity and to make retribution to those negatively affected by the policies of Apartheid.

In speaking of this result, it is also interesting to note the conceptually opposite finding which was noted previously: Afrikaans-speaking subjects demonstrated more subtle racism beliefs than English-speaking subjects. Thus, although the Afrikaans-speakers demonstrated a much greater willingness to make amends for the wrongs of the past (primarily on a political/economic level), it appears that they are more willing to continue to assert their own superiority over other out-groups (at least on a social level). This apparent contradiction clearly warrants further, detailed examination in future studies.

The second contradictory result (regarding the perceived level of similarity to other members of the White race) may be interpreted by a perception of

Afrikaans-speakers that they do indeed differ in their views, history, culture, etc. from much of the White population throughout the world, despite the fact that Afrikaans-speaking Whites comprise a majority of the White population in South Africa. Thus, it would appear that subjects may have interpreted the questions on the RMI as referring to members of their own racial group within a broad (worldwide) context, rather than within the local (South African) context. Alternatively, it might also be possible that the Afrikaans-speaking subjects in this sample actually perceived themselves as being more "uniquely White" than other Whites. A final possibility is that the Afrikaans-speaking group perceived themselves as being more diverse (less unique) than did the English-speaking group. This last possibility seems much less likely than the other two, however, given the Afrikaans-speakers' stronger level of cultural identification (as assessed by the CII scale).

Association of Aspects of Attitudes and Identity (Hypothesis 3)

The results of the tests of the third hypothesis provided quite mixed results, many aspects of which were supportive of the hypothesis that statistically significant associations would be found between the dependent measures. However, there were some notable exceptions to the expected result. For example, strength of personal identity was clearly not well related with almost all of the other variables assessed in this study. Levels of prejudice or group identification had very little to do with personal identity for subjects in this sample. This might be due to the relative lack of personal identity development which was demonstrated by the adolescent subjects generally, or

it might be that the personal identity construct is indeed relatively independent of the social identity construct (de la Rey, 1991).

As hypothesized, attitudes toward change in South Africa were clearly related to issues of both social identity and attitudes toward out-groups. It is not surprising that individuals demonstrating greater levels of subtle racism and ethnocentrism found the changes undesirable; of course, an opposite explanation, that those who find the changes undesirable are more ethnocentric and prejudiced toward out-groups, is equally amenable to commonsense.

Although they were statistically significantly correlated with attitudes toward change, subtle racism, and racial membership identification, cultural identification attitudes were not meaningfully associated with anti-White attitudes or attitude stability. Social identity theory thus correctly predicted the significant associations (de la Rey, 1991), but it is not clear why attitudes which were overtly harmful to the in-group would not have been associated with strength of in-group attitudes. Even if one takes the opposite position, considering attitudes assessed by the AWS as being implicity beneficial (in the long-term) for one's own culture (in-group), it is still not clear why such would not be related to attitudes toward the in-group. The fact that racial attitude stability was not significantly related to level of cultural identification may be explained by the fact that social identity theory considers the stability of the overall social structure to be essential (an issue related to ACSA scores), not the stability of attitudes towards out-groups (which is what was assessed by the ORAS Instability subscale). Nevertheless, given the overall emphasis of social identity theory toward definition of in-group through definition of out-group (and

vice versa), at a conceptual level at least, one would have postulated a stronger degree of association between these two constructs than what was achieved in the present data.

Additional Exploratory Analyses

Differences across home language. The results achieved in the analyses using the three home language groups (English, Afrikaans, and both) were essentially the same as those reported in the section which considered only the language medium of the school attended. However, the addition of the third group of subjects who use both languages in their home provided additional, unique information. This third group of subjects scored very similar to those who reported only Afrikaans as their home language in their subtle racism beliefs, their attitudes toward change in South Africa, and their racial membership identification. On the other hand, they scored similarly to the English group in their attitudes toward White participation/equality in South Africa and in their cultural identity beliefs. They scored between the other two groups on their dependence on others for their racial attitudes. Thus, this group of subjects appears to be a unique blend of both linguistic/cultural traditions and perspectives. In this sample at least, it would seem that they share the traditional Afrikaner conservativism toward racial integration and the accompanying sense of difference/uniqueness, which they recognize as distinguishing them from other Whites. Oppositely, they appear to lack the strong Afrikaner cultural identity, and they appear less willing than the Afrikaans-speaking subjects of this sample to relinquish (White) political/social

power. This latter difference may likely be the case because they do not identify themselves with the Afrikaner political aims of the past, making them more immune to feelings of guilt about Apartheid.

SRS and AWS sub-factor analyses. The primary finding of importance which came from the exploratory analyses with the SRS and the AWS was that subjects attending the Afrikaans-medium school did not differ from the other group in their subtle racism beliefs concerning political/economic issues. Rather, the fact that they did differ in their beliefs concerning social integration with no-Whites speaks to the legacy of Apartheid dogma. Forbidding social integration at all levels, from "mixed" public education to inter-racial physical/sexual intimacy, was one objective of Apartheid which appears to have carried over into the beliefs of the Afrikaans-speaking students of this sample. Thus, although it is positive to note that the Afrikaans-speakers of this sample did not express more bias than English-speakers concerning (more abstract) macro-level political policies (which have actually occurred in large measure), their noticeably higher level of bias concerning social integration does not bode well for the country's new assimilation/integration policies. This is particularly relevant to the school setting in which the questionnaire was administered, because it, like most "Model C" schools of 1995, consists of a large number of non-White students.

Demographic variables. The finding that the youngest subjects were the least prejudiced and the most willing to make retribution to non-Whites for the wrongs of Apartheid may be explained by the fact that they were the least exposed to the racial ideologies promulgated by the past government and

(proportionately) the most exposed to rhetoric surrounding the creation of the new South Africa. Thus, it would appear that although the younger students have inherited the consequences of Apartheid (tremendous inter-racial disparities, etc.), they are more prepared to erase its consequences. An alternative, albeit less optimistic, interpretation is that because they are younger, they hold essentially more idealistic beliefs than their older counterparts, who have been more exposed to the real challenges inherent in inter-racial communication and the reconstruction of the nation.

The findings regarding region of primary residence were mostly amenable to commonsense. It follows quite clearly that because those who were raised outside of South Africa were probably not as exposed to Apartheid ideologies and more exposed to racial integration, they would be more willing to embrace the changes within the country as being positive. The fact that most Whites from the Free State are Afrikaners explains why those from this region demonstrated stronger cultural identity attitudes. And because Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu/Natal are the two most populous provinces and have high levels of urbanization, it is not surprising that subjects from these regions would show a tendency to have less strong cultural identities than those subjects coming from more rural and conservative areas of the country.

The findings related to socio-economic class are less readily explained, because past studies have been equivocal as to the role which socio-economic background plays in identity formation and prejudice (Carter & Helms, 1988). Nevertheless, one reason why those subjects who reported coming from more affluent socio-economic backgrounds would hold more subtle racism attitudes

and less reconciliatory attitudes is that they stand to lose more (proportionately) by the implementation of reconciliation policies (higher taxation, etc.). Alternatively, it might also be that they benefitted more from Apartheid, in that through exploitation of others their standard of living increased (ease of hiring domestic assistance, etc.), with all the implied connotations for increased power and status attached (being able to order others of lesser status, etc.). These two possibilities offered at the macro-social level of analysis could be lowered to the psychological level if one considers the impact of adult role models. Nevertheless, there are assuredly more possibilities which may account for this finding which could be examined in greater detail in future studies.

Limitations of the Present Research

There are several limitations inherent in the present research. The principle weakness of the study involves the design itself. Cross-sectional survey research cannot address issues of longitudinal change and the related issues of causality. Thus, this thesis did not deal with the essential question of how attitudes or identities have changed from before to after the official political transition of 1994; it provided more of a limited "snapshot" assessment of the topic than a substantive contribution to theory or social policy.

It should also be noted that all subjects participated in the study on a voluntary basis. Although every effort was made to encourage student participation, a small percentage of students at the schools were either absent on the day of questionnaire administration or declined to participate. This fact slightly increased the likelihood of sampling bias, since volunteers have been

found to be more intelligent and more sociable than non-volunteers (Borg & Gall, 1989). Furthermore, the fact that one of the six schools approached refused participation also impacts upon a potential sampling bias which may be inherent in the results.

A related issue concerns the generalizability of the results. Given the fact that this study examined only subjects who identified themselves as being White, the results presented here should not be equivalent to those from other studies which assess mixed or exclusively non-White samples[4].

Similarly, because all subjects in the present investigation were attending high school in the same community in the Eastern Cape Province, it is probable that South African Whites from different regions of the country may demonstrate distinct patterns in their attitudes and identity than those presented here. Furthermore, the results may not generalize to Whites of different age groups or with different educational experiences than those of the sample assessed here.

Finally, it should be noted that triangulation and replication are central to issues of validity. This study could have strengthened its conclusions if additional techniques (such as qualitative interviews) had been employed in addition to the administration of the survey. In listing these limitations, it is hoped that future studies could improve upon these issues and at the same serve to verify or refine the results which have been presented here.

CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, issues related to group identity, including attitudes toward in-groups and out-groups, continue to play a major role in the transformation of South African society. The results of this thesis, although limited in their generalizability, have served to contribute some unique information on this important topic.

First, this thesis has shown that the sample of White South African adolescents who participated in the research had strong pro-White attitudes and generally uncertain/ambivalent attitudes toward other racial groups. These attitudes were apparently largely based on the subjects' own experiences, but no particular tendency for the subjects to either avoid or seek out racial issues was apparent. On average, the subjects expressed that they felt uncertain about the social and political changes which have occurred in South Africa. They did tend to identify with other members of their own racial group and to believe that their culture is important to them, but they did not seem to have a well defined sense of their personal identity.

Second, this thesis has shown that to a large extent, the cultural, linguistic, and historical differences between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South African Whites which have been noted in previous research still contribute toward relatively large differences in group identities (but notably, not personal identities). Specifically, compared with Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers were found to be: (a) moderately more accepting of inter-racial social equality and integration, (b) much more resistant to policies which would limit White socio-political power in favour of non-Whites, (c) slightly less avoidant of

racial issues, (d) moderately less dependent on others for their racial attitudes, (e) very similar in their racial attitude stability and personal identity, (f) much more positive toward social and political changes in South Africa, (g) much less identified with their own culture, and (h) somewhat more likely to perceive themselves as being similar to other Whites.

Third, this thesis has shown that the strength of personal identity demonstrated by the subjects was not meaningfully related to issues of group identity and that the subjects' attitudes toward change in the country were moderately related with most all aspects of group identity and inter-group attitudes which were assessed.

Overall, then, this thesis has shown that the adolescent subjects in this sample were generally in a state of transition. They were neither stable nor instable in their opinions, which were neither the racist attitudes of previous generations nor the accepting attitudes characteristic of more integrated multi-cultural societies (Smith, 1993). Some are frightened or confused by the changes which have taken place in the country, while others embrace them with excitement; most, however, are either uncertain or hesitant to commit their opinion one way or another. As one legacy of Apartheid, White culture continues to be important to many, but some are more willing than others to let go of power and social dominance, thereby changing the dynamics which have been such a part of White South African identity in the past. In summary, then, the adolescents in this study appear to be a reflection of their larger society. As they struggle in the process of their development between identity formation and role confusion, so too does their adolescent nation, a State in transition.

ENDNOTES

[1] For the purpose of the present research, the concepts of race, cultural and ethnicity will be employed as functional, operational terminology, without implying priority of any one group over another. That is, all three of these terms refer to socially constructed concepts, not to actual biological realities (see Foster, 1991).

[2] However, in a rare longitudinal study, Nieuwoudt and Plug (1983) showed that during the late 1970s, levels of White prejudice against Blacks actually increased (presumedly due to the 1976 Soweto riots and their aftermath).

[3] Language of use at school was selected as the principal dividing factor for the primary reason that parents make an explicit choice as to which school to send their children. This reflects upon the cultural values (identities) present in the home. Another reason for the selection of this variable was that in the general population, a given percentage speak both Afrikaans and English nearly equally in the home and outside of school. Thus, for purposes of clarity, language of instruction at school was selected, rather than home language. However, additional analyses were also conducted with home language as the independent variable to verify the validity of this categorization as selected (see the Results section).

[4] However, it should be remembered that the data collected with non-White students enrolled in the five schools assessed will be analyzed and reported elsewhere.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

White Racial Identity Theories

Hardiman's (1982) Five-Stage Model

In 1982, Rita Hardiman defended a doctoral dissertation entitled White Identity Development Theory. In her work, she drew heavily from the social identity literature (i.e., Erikson, 1968; Tajfel, 1978) to describe a five stage model of how social identity, in general, develops. She then used this generic model to arrive at her theory of White racial identity, which was supported by her own analysis of six autobiographies of Whites describing their racial experiences in the United States. The five stages of her model were as follows: Lack of Social Consciousness, Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition, and Internalization. For Hardiman, the first stage, Lack of Social Consciousness, was marked by a lack of racial socialization and naive curiosity. The Acceptance stage was characterized by a yielding to the influences of socialization, such that association with Whites becomes preferred over association with other ethnic groups. The stage of Resistance was described as a period of confusion, in which questioning of White superiority and unjust social policies occurred. Redefinition, the fourth stage, was achieved through the acquisition of a new, non-racist White identity. Finally, the Internalization stage was marked by an integration of a positive White racial identity with the overall social identity of the individual, such that positive attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups are spontaneous and open opposition to racist ideologies is often taken.

Helms' (1984) Six-Stage Model

Two years after Hardiman's (1982) dissertation was completed, Janet Helms, working independently of Hardiman, published a paper presenting six stage models of both Black and White racial identity development. Both her models were specifically meant to explain the effects of race upon psychological counselling, and they did differ from Hardiman's on several key points (see the Review section of this thesis for a full description of Helms' model).

Ponterotto's (1988) Four-Stage Model

Relying primarily upon Helm's 1984 model of White racial identity, Joseph Ponterotto presented his own four-stage model in 1988. As with Helm's effort, Ponterotto was primarily interested in the application of this theory to the client/counsellor relationship. More specifically, he implemented it within the context of training White counsellors. Ponterotto labelled the four stages of his model Pre-Exposure, Exposure, Zealot-Defensive, and Integration. The Pre-Exposure stage characterized therapists in training who have not seriously considered their own racial identity or the possibility that racism continues to be a social problem. The Exposure stage describes those who are first exposed to the "realities" of racism in the United States and who subsequently experience anger or guilt at this revelation. The Zealot-Defensive stage is marked by a tendency of students to either immerse themselves completely into multi-cultural issues and defend ethnic minority interests or to withdraw from exploration multi-cultural topics and defend the (White) status quo. Finally, Ponterotto described the Integration stage as being the achievement of a balance between

perspectives, such that White identity is accepted as positive and forms of racism are eschewed.

Integration of Three White Racial Identity Models

Recognizing the high degree of overlap between the three models presented above, Sabnani, Ponterotto, and Borodovsky (1991) presented a five-stage synthesis model. They labelled their five stages as follows: Pre-exposure/Pre-contact, Conflict, Pro-Minority/Anti-racism, Retreat Into White Culture, and Redefinition and Integration. Each of these stages corresponded to the similarly named stages presented in the previous three models they attempted to integrate. Thus, the first is typified by individuals who lack understanding of their own racial identity and who naively accept racial stereotypes without question. The second is illustrated by individuals who, having gained an awareness of racial issues, are caught in a struggle between a social pressure to uphold stereotypes and a desire to eliminate the injustices of inequality. The third stage is depicted in those who begin to identify with minority groups and resist racist ideology. The fourth stage is distinguished by the individual's avoidance of the conflict generated in the second stage and subsequent over-identification with White culture. The final stage is portrayed as a redefinition of a more integrated racial identity, such that healthy, productive perceptions of self and others endure.

Summary of Racial Identity Theory Research up to 1992

As Sabnani and colleagues (1991) demonstrated, the theories of White racial identity developed during the 1980s shared many similarities. However,

only one of these theories has yielded a subsequent body of research. In 1990, Helms published an edited book in which she reported the results of research which had been conducted using a measure of her theory. Subsequently, Helms and her colleague Robert Carter (Carter, 1990; Helms & Carter, 1991; 1992) were quite active in publishing research related to her revised model. The publication of her book and the measure of White racial identity which it contained also spurred a number of other researchers to similar action (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1992; Taub & McEwen, 1992; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Thus, although three models of White racial identity exist in the literature, Helms' model has by far produced the most scientific interest (which is probably related to the fact that she was the only one prior to 1992 to have produced a measure of her theory).

Criticism of Racial Identity Theory

In 1992, Rowe and Hill published the first critique in opposition to the theories of White racial identity described above. They argued that the widespread growth and popular promotion of these theories was premature, given that only a handful of studies existed at that time regarding their utility and validity. Perhaps more importantly, they pointed out several conceptual flaws in the models as depicted. For example, they stated that a large majority of White North Americans may actually hold largely ambivalent racial attitudes (see also Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986), which are not addressed in any of the models. They also concluded that a number of alternative models could also be easily postulated, although they did not specify what these might be.

Two years later, Rowe and his colleagues (Rowe et al., 1994) published a more thorough critique of White racial identity theory, focusing primarily on Helms' (1990) model because of the popularity which that paradigm had by then achieved. First, they noted that these models were based on an oppressive-adaptive paradigm, meaning that it was assumed that society at large was overtly oppressive to non-dominant racial/ethnic groups. Although they had no argument against this assumption, they did note that it had been used principally in the development of Black racial identity theories first. They believed that the transition of the same paradigm from a non-dominant group to a dominant group was not warranted. Second, they noted that the actual label applied to the theories, that of racial identity was not valid, because the theories were more concerned with how Whites felt about other groups than about how they felt about themselves. Third, they criticized the assumption that racial identity was developmental in nature, progressing necessarily from one stage to another, in a progression from ignorance to racial acceptance. They saw this later issue particularly vulnerable to an imposed ethical code which assumed that racial acceptance was indeed more conducive to psychological health. Finally, they indicated that if models of White racial identity are to increase in their social utility, they should not be couched solely in terms of White-Black relations, as does Helms' model.

In light of their criticisms, Rowe and colleagues (1994) postulated a different (new) model of White racial consciousness (note wording alteration). Rather than a developmental stage model, theirs emphasized classification of individuals at a given point in time. They distinguished between three types of

"unachieved" racial consciousness and four types of "achieved" racial consciousness. The first unachieved categorization was the "Avoidant type." Individuals of this type lack consideration of their own identity and also ignore or minimize racial issues. The second category was the "Dependent type," which portrays those who hold superficial attitudes toward their White group membership, with little sense of their personal meaning. The third category of unachieved racial consciousness was the "Dissonant type," illustrated by those who waiver substantially regarding their opinions of White consciousness and racial attitudes. Individuals in this type are often in conflict over which set of values they hold in relation to racial issues. Of individuals characterized by achieved White racial consciousness, those in the "Dominative type" are portrayed as being highly ethnocentric and racist. Those in the "Conflictive type" are depicted as opposing racist ideology in principle, but they also often oppose public programmes to reduce discrimination (i.e., affirmative action). (This type is very closely aligned with the construct of subtle or modern racism reviewed previously). Individuals in the "Reactive type" are characterized by an awareness that Whites have been primarily responsible for the oppression of non-White groups and that therefore Whites must take measures to correct this. Further, they tend to believe that they themselves have much in common with non-Whites, such that they often exaggerate the positive qualities of non-White groups. The final category of achieved racial consciousness they presented was that of the "Integrative type." Individuals of this type are typified by their sophisticated, pragmatic view of racial issues. They value differences without idealizing or oppressing them.

Limitations

Although the above theories do offer a specialized extension to social identity theory, there appear to be multiple weaknesses in the utility of such theories, as now constituted, outside of North America. First, these theories assume an individualistic level of analysis to inter-racial issues, at the expense of important variables at the societal level, such as socio-economic status and cultural upbringing. Second, the fact that they were developed with exclusively North American social and historical factors taken into account severely limits their relevance and validity elsewhere. A specific example of this is that they assume (at least initially) an ignorance and/or apathy toward racial issues, which is often associated with a lack of exposure to non-Whites (hardly common in South Africa). Another chief weakness related to this is that these theories assume that Whites represent the social and political majority. Also glaring is the assumption that "Whites" constitute a homogenous group. Differences in language and cultural heritage are not considered by this label, so such models may not apply equally as well to unique White ethnic groups such as those which exist in South Africa.

In summary, then, although these theories may contribute to the understanding of White racial identity within the North American context, they appear to be in need of further refinement before they can be extensively utilised elsewhere. For the purposes of the present study, then, they served primarily to inform and enhance the theoretical foundation described earlier, which appears to be more appropriate for the South African context.

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire which will ask you to indicate how you feel about certain social issues. Your answers will be kept completely confidential, so **please be honest and open** in your responses. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, so it is important that you state your true feelings. If you have any questions or comments, please write these on the questionnaire, or please phone Mr T B Smith at 29747.

Thank you for your assistance!

Questions 1 - 6

Please **number** the 6 items below in their order of importance to the way you see yourself (who you are).

Use the number 1 to signify the most important, number 2 for the next most important, etc., so that 6 signifies the least important. You may use a number only once in ranking them, so please consider their order carefully.

1. ____ My home language
2. ____ My racial membership
3. ____ The influence of my parents
4. ____ My social friendships
5. ____ My own unique interests
6. ____ My religious beliefs

Questions 7 - 67

A number of statements are listed below. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements and disagree with others. Please indicate your reaction to each statement by writing the number (1 to 7), which according to the following scale, best reflects your degree of agreement or disagreement.

1 = strongly agree
2 = moderately agree
3 = only slightly agree
4 = neutral (Only use this if you are undecided)
5 = only slightly disagree
6 = moderately disagree
7 = strongly disagree

Write your response here

7. I wish that I knew myself better. ____

8. I sometimes feel confused about who I am. ____

9. I feel confident that I know myself fairly well. ____

10. I have felt quite upset over how things have become in this country. ____

11. Last year's elections made me proud of my country. ____

12. I feel unhappy over the recent changes in this country. ____

13. Things in South African society are changing so fast that I do not know how to act. ____

14. Recent changes in our society have made me question some of my beliefs. ____

15. I am confused about where I stand in the new South Africa. ____

16. I feel that social change in South Africa has not been fast enough. ____

17. The making of the "new" South Africa has not affected me at all. ____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly agree	moderately agree	slightly agree	neutral	slightly disagree	moderately disagree	strongly disagree

18. I have had a hard time adjusting to the changes in South Africa over the past few years. ____

19. I am afraid that even greater changes within society could lead to violence. ____

20. I do not think that anything is really different in this country compared to how it was a few years ago. ____

21. Last year's elections gave me hope for the future. ____

22. Things are definitely better now for me in the new South Africa. ____

23. The changes over the past few years have severely limited my chances for success in the future. ____

24. I am afraid of what is happening in the new South Africa. ____

25. I often act against the customs of my family. ____

26. I have been taught to feel proud of my home language. ____

27. Knowing that I am a member of a cultural group helps me think about myself positively. ____

28. I do not feel that I belong to a specific cultural group. ____

29. Traditions and customs of my culture are important to me. ____

30. My membership in a racial group has not affected who I am. ____

31. My cultural heritage is a valuable treasure to be preserved. ____

32. My culture is an important part of who I am. ____

33. My home language is precious to me. ____

34. The fact that I belong to a cultural group does not really influence who I am. ____

35. I avoid discussions that have to do with racial issues. ____

36. Other people's opinions have largely determined how I feel about other racial groups. ____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly agree	moderately agree	slightly agree	neutral	slightly disagree	moderately disagree	strongly disagree

37. Because I am really not sure how I feel, I am looking for answers to questions I have about racial issues. ____

38. Racial issues may be important, but I do not want to think about them. ____

39. I think I am changing how I feel about racial issues. ____

40. My attitudes toward other races are really based on what others have told me. ____

41. My feelings about racial issues are mixed compared to what I used to think. ____

42. I really do not want to think about the concerns of other racial groups. ____

43. What I think about other races is pretty much based on what I have heard others say. ____

44. I am really having to change my thinking about other races. ____

45. Given the same education and opportunities blacks should be able to perform as well as whites in any field. ____

46. It is important to work for reconciliation and brotherhood between white and black in this country. ____

47. It would be unfair if greater expenditure on black education were to be funded by white tax payers. ____

48. If all races mixed freely they would certainly live in peace. ____

49. Whites should not be allowed to keep their wealth. It should be taken from them and re-distributed among all the people of South Africa. ____

50. Given favourable conditions black majority rule will ensure a stable, prosperous and democratic South Africa. ____

51. Whites should have to suffer for the wrongs of Apartheid. ____

52. Only greater equality between black and white can in the long run guarantee social peace in this country. ____

53. Whites are no better and no worse than any other group. ____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly agree	moderately agree	slightly agree	neutral	slightly disagree	moderately disagree	strongly disagree

54. After what they have done to other groups, whites should have to make some kind of repayment. ____

55. This country would have a better future if political rights had not been extended so rapidly to blacks. ____

56. Whites can and should play an important role in the new South Africa. ____

57. The wealth of this country is almost entirely due to the hard work and leadership of the whites. ____

58. Although black living conditions should be improved, it is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites still retain a great deal of political influence. ____

59. Discrimination in favour of blacks in a new South Africa could be just as bad as discrimination in favour of whites was in the old South Africa. ____

60. It is important for everyone to forgive and forget the injustice of the past in order to create a society in which all people will live together in full equality. ____

61. In order to compensate for the injustices of the past there will have to be discrimination in favour of blacks and against whites in the new South Africa. ____

62. It is almost certainly best for all concerned that inter-racial marriages remain very rare. ____

63. The history of this country shows that most whites do not deserve to be treated with respect. ____

64. It is important that drastic steps be taken to ensure a far more equal division of the wealth of this country. ____

65. I am very different from the typical member of my racial group. ____

66. Other members of my racial group act very similar to how I act. ____

67. My attitudes and beliefs are very similar to those of most members of my racial group. ____

For the remaining few questions, please indicate which traits would best describe you personally by writing these in the column on the left.

68. I am: female male _____

69. Education (Standard level): _____

70. My age is: _____

71. I am: White, Coloured, Indian, Black
Other (please indicate which) _____

72. My home language is: _____

73. The language I speak most of the time outside my home is: _____

74. What economic class best describes your home? ____
1 = Lower class
2 = Lower middle class
3 = Middle class
4 = Upper middle class
5 = Upper class

75. In what region of the country were you primarily raised? ____
1 = Eastern Cape
2 = Western Cape
3 = Northern Cape
4 = Gauteng (PWV, Johannesburg/Pretoria area)
5 = Kwa-Zulu/Natal
6 = Free State (OFS)
7 = Eastern Transvaal
8 = Northern Transvaal
9 = North West Province
0 = I was not raised in South Africa.
(Please name country: _____).

THANK YOU very much for your assistance!

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