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**An experimental study of adolescents' identification
with South Africa and Africa**

by

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This work has not been previously submitted in whole or in part for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

South African social psychological research on national identity has been limited. The current research aimed to address some of the gaps in the local literature. Two studies were conducted among Grade 11 learners at Cape Town high schools. Study 1 (N=565) included Black African-language speakers, Coloured English-speakers, White Afrikaans-speakers and White English-speakers aged between 16.5 and 18.5. This study was an experimental test of hypotheses based on the principle of 'functional antagonism' within Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1987), as well as on other concepts derived from European and local research. Based on methods used by Cinnirella (1998) and Rutland and Cinnirella (2000), participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions designed to make national, sub-national, or personal identity salient. The effect of this experimental manipulation on identification with South Africa and with Africa was then assessed across ethnic groups. Study 1 also investigated the relationship between attitudes towards diversity, perceived sub-national group security, and strength of identification with South Africa. Study 2 (N=91) was restricted to Coloured English-speakers within the same age range as in Study 1. Study 2 tested a hypothesis about the relative sensitivity to the experimental manipulation, of alternative measures of identification. No effects for the experimental manipulation of identity salience were found on any of the dependent variables. Significant differences were, however, found between ethnic groups on absolute and relative identification with South Africa and Africa, as well as on certain pertinent attitudes and beliefs. The results of Study 2 provided a degree of methodological triangulation for Study 1, while also providing additional information about the relative strength of South African, African, and nine other social identities. The results are discussed in the light of findings from prior South African research.

Chapter 1

The Ideology and Psychology of National Identity

'Nations' and nationalism

Historical overview

We live in a world that has for several hundred years been dominated by the ideology of nationalism. Nationalism as a doctrine seeks freedom and political sovereignty for a 'people' or 'volk'. It holds that 'the people' must be liberated from external constraints and domination; that they must be united with each other in a community of *legal equality* and shared public culture; and that this must take place within in a single historic territory or ancestral 'homeland'. Nationalism therefore seeks the expression of a people's 'authentic' culture through the establishment of "*autonomy, unity, [and] identity*" (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994, 5). Nationhood is privileged over other kinds of collective identities, as it is seen as the only legitimate source of political power (Stern, 1995; Triandafyllidou, 1998). Although the nationalist discourse can take several different forms, depending on socio-political and economic conditions, the essential elements remain the same and continue to find receptive audiences across continents and cultures. With a rare degree of consensus, social scientists across disciplines agree that nationalism has played a central role in shaping the modern world (see, for example, the key papers presented by Hutchinson and Smith, 1994, as well as Castells, 1997, and McCrone, 1998).

And yet it was not always this way. It is now generally accepted that nationalist discourse emerged in Europe and North America during the late 18th Century, and soon thereafter in Latin America (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994). According to the famous analyses of Ernest Gellner (1983) and Benedict Anderson (1991), most human societies prior to the 18th Century were run along the lines of dynastic hierarchies, cross-cut in Europe and the far East by great religious domains (Christendom, Islam, Confucianism). People felt allegiance to clan, tribe or village; they had a social status (for example serf, chief, cleric, soldier); they perhaps saw themselves as having something in common with other people of the same religion, as happened during the Crusades; and sometimes they were aware of being subject to the power of a particular kingdom or empire. But people simply did not think of themselves as belonging to a 'nation', in the sense of a *horizontal* social community with a moral right to self-determination.

The Enlightenment saw the beginning of the demise of the old hierarchies, and opened up possibilities for new types of social mobilisation. Both Gellner (1983) and Anderson (1991) stress the importance of technological advancements and industrialisation, as well as colonisation and decolonisation, in creating the conditions for society to be envisioned differently, and for new types of social mobilisation to occur. The precise mechanisms of this shift are not relevant to the present discussion. The point of departure for this thesis is the fact that

nationalism, as a way of seeing the world and as a political ideology, is a product of the modern era, and one of its defining features.

The concept of the 'nation'

In order to argue for the 'liberation' of the nation, nationalists require that one believes in the existence of 'nations', or at least in the inherent potential of people to form nations, if given the opportunity. One must see the world as being divided into distinct peoples, with their own traditions, values and ancestral homelands. Since each nation has unique collective needs and aspirations that are best served by self-government, the legitimate goal of all nations is to become autonomous 'nation-states'. But which groups qualify as 'nations'? The defining features of nationhood have been contested since the 19th Century. Is a nation any group of people who call themselves such and desire to have their own state? Or are there certain features, like territory, ethnicity (including culture and language), psychological makeup ('national character'), myths of common ancestry, and a perception of shared fate, that are required for the objective categorisation of a community as a 'nation'? Seymour (2000) argues that it is necessary to accept multiple definitions of the 'nation', since national consciousness itself takes many forms and cannot be reduced to a single dimension.

Like the historical details of the emergence of nationalism, the debate around the correct definition 'nationality' is beyond the scope of the present discussion. One definition will be singled out, since it offers insights particularly useful to the psychologist attempting to engage with the topic of 'nationhood'. Anderson (1991) defines the nation as an "imagined community". The nation is *imagined* in the sense that each member will never personally meet, or even hear about, even a fraction of all the other members. Nationhood thus depends on the social-psychological process of people imagining a shared bond with unknown others, and with the collectivity as a whole. The nation is also *limited*, since it does not wish to include all of humanity: boundaries and exclusion of certain 'others' are central to its self-definition. And the nation is imagined as a *community* because, "regardless of the inequality and exploitation that may in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 1991, 7).

According to Anderson, nationhood is therefore a social construct, rather than an 'objective' or 'natural' aspect of the world. This constructivist view of nationhood and national identity is useful, since it leads us to ask questions about the social psychological processes involved in imagining (representing) the 'nation' and one's membership in it. But it does not accord with the image of nationhood promulgated by the doctrine of nationalism. Nationalism promotes the idea that nations are every bit as 'real' as kinship groups. Nationalist rhetoric deliberately uses images of family and home to encourage patriotic attachment to the nation. Kinship terms in particular (such as "motherland" and "patria") are used as metaphors for the nation, thereby associating constructed national ties with the 'primordial', morally compelling bonds between parents and children, and between siblings (Anderson, 1991; Johnson, G., 1997; Stern, 1995). It is central to nationalism that nations are seen as natural, objective and timeless entities.

States as 'nations'

Within nationalist rhetoric, the concept of nationhood has been inseparable from the argument for the establishment of 'nation-states'. The drawing and redrawing of state boundaries since the 18th Century has increasingly involved the ideal of the 'nation-state'. Countries that were carved out of old empires or colonies on the basis of ethno-nationalist movements, epitomise this concept. An extreme example persisting to the modern day is Germany, where one is automatically a citizen of the state if one has blood ties to the German ethnic 'nation'. But even in those countries whose borders pre-existed nationalist sentiment (such as France, and many states created under colonialism), there has been a process of 'nationalisation' or 'nation-building'. In these 'state-nations', political elites have consciously attempted to popularise the idea that the citizens form a nation (Csepeli, 1991; McCrone & Kiely, 2000; Pearson, 2000; Seymour, 2000). The nation-building project has been particularly popular in Third World countries, where multi-ethnic states set up under colonial rule have tried to limit internal, inter-ethnic conflict by promoting a shared 'national' identity (Campbell, 1999; Connor, 1990; Cusack, 1999; Eriksen, 1990).

Through the popularity of the nation-state ideal, and the incorporation of nationalist terminology into everyday language, it has become common practice to use the term *nation* interchangeably with *state* or *country*, or to refer to the citizens of a state, depending on the context. Even academics within the social sciences and humanities (who should be more aware than the average person of the debates around nations and nationalism) tend to use the word 'nation' to refer to 'the citizens of a country', and 'national' to mean 'pertaining to the country' (e.g.: Feather, 1994; Hirschberg, 1993; Koomen & Bahler, 1996; Phillips, 1996; Schmid, 1982; Shulman, 1999).

This common usage reflects the extent to which nationalist discourse has shaped how we perceive the world. People not only talk about nations when they mean countries; people also take *nationality* for granted, as a 'given' of life. It is a feature of modernity that nationality is believed to be universal: "everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender" (Anderson, 1991, 5). Billig (1995) coined the phrase "banal nationalism" to capture the way in which the nationalist conception of a "world of nations" (Billig, 1996) forms a subtle, taken-for-granted backdrop to our daily lives. Our own national identity and that of other 'nations' is constantly flagged in the media. For example, discussion about such common topics as 'the weather' or 'our economy' is based on a shared assumption: that we are referring to the weather or the economy of *our country*. The boundaries of the state become the natural way in which we define our collective identity (Billig, 1995).

It is possible that this world view, so dominant in the 19th and 20th Centuries, may not survive the 21st. Sociologists argue that current social trends are threatening the sovereignty and self-concept of 'nation-states'. Globalisation is characterised by the rising power of multi-national corporations and supra-state bodies such as NAFTA and the European Union. These organisations challenge the power of the state to set its own 'national' economic and political agendas. At the same time, the latter half of the 20th Century saw a tremendous upsurge in identity politics other than the 'national'. Feminism and environmentalism (which cut across national boundaries

and seek to revolutionise social relations); ethno-nationalist uprisings and separatist movements; anti-state subversive groups (such as the American militias) – all of these feature identity constructions and political ideals that undermine the hegemony of the state (Castells, 1997; Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999; McCrone, 1998). In addition to this, there has been a shift in First World countries' attitudes towards immigrants and intra-state diversity. The old school that tried to enforce national homogeneity either by exclusion or assimilation, was replaced by a liberal doctrine embracing multi-culturalism and ethnic diversity. The metaphor of the 'melting pot' became the 'mosaic' or 'tossed salad' (Taylor & Lambert, 1996). Most countries are now acknowledged to be multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, to the extent that it is simply not realistic to think of states as representing homogeneous 'nations'. Social analysts argue that it is no longer tenable (if it ever was) to assume unity between state, nation and society (McCrone & Kiely, 2000).

These global shifts seem obvious to intellectuals who study social organisation. But they have arguably not yet permeated ordinary people's everyday perceptions. Even at the start of the new Millennium, "[n]ations, nationalism and national identity are all around us," with nationhood constituting a "central aspect of our social world" (Reicher & Hopkins, 2000, vii). The United Nations shows no signs of changing its name to the "United Countries" or the "World Federation of States". Despite global change, the state-as-nation retains its status as "the most pertinent form of collective identity" (Triandafyllidou, 1998, 595).

National identity as a psychological phenomenon

The statement by Reicher and Hopkins quoted above sums up the connection between nationalism and psychology. The link lies in the 'nation' as a source of identification and emotional attachment. Nationalism is a "political, economic and sociological phenomenon"; but it becomes social-psychological "to the extent that individuals develop attitudes about their own and other nations...feelings of attachment are at the heart of nationalism" (Druckman, 1994, 44). This thesis addresses the social-psychological side of nations and nationalism, namely, *national identity*.

Definition of terms

It has been shown how the term 'nation', and derivations like 'nationality' and 'national identity', do not have a single, consensual definition. They could refer to ethnic or cultural groups as much as to countries, depending on one's theoretical orientation. (The term 'nation' has even been used to refer to a religious movement, as in "The Nation of Islam" in the USA.) But not all kinds of national identity are of interest in the present discussion. Our focus here is restricted to 'nation' in the incorrect, but commonly used, sense of a country and its citizens. This thesis addresses people's identification with the country of which they are citizens. Identification at the country level will be related to people's identification with sub-groups inside countries, and with super-ordinate entities such as the continent on which one's country is located.

The reader is aware why it is problematic to use the term 'nation' to refer to a country and its citizens. But constant caveats and qualifying of terms makes for tiresome reading. In the interests of readability, the following terms will be used:

- *National identity* will refer to identity pertaining to the country of which one is a citizen.
- *Sub-national identity* will refer to identity categories that distinguish between citizens of a country, such as ethnicity, religion, or place of residence.
- *Supra-national identity* will refer to a supra-state identity, such as identity associated with a continent or multi-state political body.

National identification as psychological force for good or evil

The debates and theoretical positions outlined above, have mostly been generated by sociologists, historians and political philosophers. But as a collective identity, 'nationhood' clearly has important psychological aspects. Awareness of one's national identity mostly lies dormant. As a rather abstract, public identity, national identity is mostly not as central to people's lives as more private identities (Trew & Benson, 1996). But allegiance to one's country often exists in the background as a "reservoir of identity commitment" that can be mobilised under specific circumstances (Cassidy & Trew, 1998, 735). The content of national identity is reinforced and validated by the everyday discourses of "banal nationalism", so that when the context makes it salient, national identity is accessible and meaningful to people (Billig, 1995). This typically happens when people travel or talk to foreigners; when people support their country's sports teams in international competition; or when international conflict breaks out.

It is especially in the last case that the latent power of national identity becomes apparent. When countries go to war, armies of citizens – not mercenaries – risk their lives to defend their 'nation'. National identity has an extraordinary power, when mobilised under opportune conditions, to elicit extreme self-sacrifice as well as brutal behaviour towards others (Johnson, G., 1997; Reicher & Hopkins, 2000; Stern, 1995). National identity not only trumps, or pre-empts, other forms of identification, but it also frequently leads to behaviour that is against self-interest. It has been argued that "people motivated by nationalist sentiments and leaders of nationalist movements tend to distort, ignore, or simply reject available information pertinent to self-interest when that information might argue against pursuing nationalist programs" (Stern, 1995, 225). Nationalist appeals during wartime obviously serve the interests of the state. But why do citizens heed these appeals when the risks for individuals are so high compared to the possible direct personal benefits? Where lies the power of national identity to motivate extreme altruism and mass violence? The puzzle may have many psychological pieces, including cognitions and decision-making, emotions, attachment patterns, learning and conditioning, and processes of social influence and identification (Stern, 1995).

The mass destruction caused by international wars in the Twentieth Century, has led people to see nationalism as a Pandora's box of evils. Some historians see fascism and Hitler's Nazism as the logical culmination of nationalist

ideology and practice (Hutchinson & Smith, 1994). It is therefore easy to be suspicious of national identity as the start of a slippery slope to international competition and conflict. But national identity itself may not necessarily entail the inclination to make war. It depends on the way in which national identity is constructed, and the way in which citizens are socialised to identify with the country.

Theorists distinguish between two forms of identification with one's country. Both have positive aspects that promote social cohesion within the country: emotional attachment to the country, national pride, and willingness to sacrifice for the country. But one of the types of identification is based on a sense of superiority over other countries. This orientation has been dubbed 'nationalism', as a result of the negative connotations attributed to the nationalist political doctrine. (The terminology problem appears again, with psychologists borrowing a political term and using it differently.) Chauvinistic, power-hungry 'nationalism' as a form of identification is seen to be detrimental to world peace and international co-operation, since it promotes prejudice, conflict and zero-sum competition between countries. The more pleasant face of national identification is 'patriotism'. Patriotism features love of one's country without denigration of other countries. This type of attachment potentially has all the benefits, but none of the drawbacks, of a 'nationalistic' orientation (Baughn & Yaprak, 1996; Druckman, 1994; Feshbach, 1991; Kelman, 1997; Orwell, 1968). While nationalistic jingoism is rejected in many societies nowadays, patriotic national identification is still seen to be beneficial to individuals and countries (Bar-Tal & Staub, 1997; Condor, 1996; James et al., 2000).

The social psychological study of national identity

National identity clearly has important ramifications in the real world. The scope for social psychological research on this topic would seem to be enormous. And yet social psychologists have, until recently, failed to take up this challenge. The discipline has neglected national identity compared to other forms of social identity (Breakwell, 1996; Reicher & Hopkins, 2000; Reicher, Hopkins, & Condor, 1997). Psychologists have also not been considered by colleagues within other disciplines to be very relevant to the analysis of nationhood. The result has been that, overall, "students of the nation have ignored psychology, and students of psychology have ignored the nation" (Reicher and Hopkins, 2000, 2).

This state of affairs is changing. The global increase in ethno-national conflict in the later part of the Twentieth Century, as well as the moves towards European economic union in the last decade, appear to have had a galvanising effect on the study of national identity. The following pages will illustrate the kind of topics that have been addressed internationally, not including research in South Africa. (The following chapter discusses South African research.) Of the areas of research that are identified, all but the last will be discussed very briefly. The final topic, that of multiple identification at the sub-national, national and supra-national levels, will be looked at in more detail, since it is the main topic of the research presented in this thesis.

National stereotyping

Some research continues in the traditional mould of simply describing national stereotypes, relating them to actual differences between countries, and assessing the degree of consensus in their use (e.g. Koomen & Bahler, 1996; Linssen & Hagendoorn, 1994; McAndrew, Akande, Bridgestock, Mealey, Gordon, Schieb, et al., 2000; Peabody & Shmeyov, 1996; Stephan, Stephan, Stefanenko, Ageyev, Abalakina & Coates-Shrider, 1993). But the current trend is to apply and test refinements of various identification theories with regards to national stereotypes. Thus recent work has stressed the fluid and socially constructed nature of stereotypes, with an emphasis on their contextuality and social-psychological functions. Within this line of investigation, researchers have used field methods, such as studying stereotype change in students on exchange programs abroad (Stangor, Jonas, Stroebe, & Hewstone, 1996), and experimental manipulations of identity salience and stereotyping context (Cinnirella, 1998; Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999; Hopkins, Regan, & Abell, 1997; Rutland & Brown, 2001; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000).

Type of attachment to the nation

As discussed above, patriotism and nationalism are seen as two distinct types of attachment to the nation. When operationalised by Likert-scale measures of attitudes, patriotism and nationalism appear to be positively correlated with each other. But they can be distinguished through factor analysis (Feshbach & Sakano, 1997; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989; Mueller-Peters, 1998; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). Different forms of the nationalistic orientation have been studied, such as 'cultural' (Schatz & Staub, 1997) and 'economic' (Baughn & Yaprak, 1996) nationalism. Research has also investigated the relationship between nationalism, patriotism, and other psychological constructs such as authoritarianism (Baughn & Yaprak, 1996), and 'blind' allegiance to one's country (Schatz & Staub, 1997; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Staub, 1997).

A recent experimental study has demonstrated that patriotism and nationalism may not be stable features of individual mentality, but may instead be stimulated by certain contexts (Mummendey, Klink, & Brown, 2001). In this study, a strong connection between national identification and out-group derogation (i.e. the nationalistic pattern) was more likely when people were first induced to make overt comparisons between their own country and another. When the context did not call for such inter-group comparisons, people showed a weak connection between national identification and xenophobia – in other words, expressed benign patriotism.

National pride / self-esteem

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) asserts that all people strive for positive self-esteem in their personal and collective identities. We would therefore expect identification with one's country to be accompanied by a positive evaluation of it, especially in relation to other countries. National pride, meaning positive evaluation of one's country, is sometimes argued to be an essential affective element of national identification (Bollen & Medrano, 1998; Karklins & Zepa, 1996). Quantitative research using Likert-scale measures does suggest that national pride and national identification are strongly positively correlated (Bollen & Medrano, 1998; Mummendey et al., 2001). National pride is commonly understood to be a global positive evaluation of the

nation. But it has been shown to comprise at least two distinct dimensions: pride in cultural aspects such as language and history, and pride in economic and political progress (Mueller-Peters, 1998). To complicate the picture, it appears that strong national identification does not necessarily require a positive national self-image. A negative, self-derogating national self-image can be combined with high national identification (Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996). This suggests that national pride and collective self-esteem may sometimes be more about *distinctiveness* than about positive traits.

The effects of relocation on national identity

Research has investigated the effects on one's national identity constructions of living temporarily in a foreign country (e.g. Stangor et al., 1996), as well as the effects of permanent resettlement (immigration). In the latter case, the tension between the desire to keep aspects of the old national identity, and the need to assimilate into the new society, have been the questions of interest. Researchers have used quantitative methods (e.g. Boski, 1991) as well as the analysis of talk and text (e.g. Gerson, 2001; Jones, 2001) in order to study the psychological effects of changing one's nationality.

Children's national identities

There is a well-established tradition of psychological research into young people's national identities (e.g. Piaget & Weil, 1951; Tajfel & Jahoda, 1966). Although some of this research is more developmental and cognitive than social, this field of enquiry is mentioned here because of the amount of research that continues to be done on the topic, and because it does address social identification processes. (For example, see Zevin and Corbin, 1998, for a review of research on high school students' perceptions of foreign nations.) Recent research continues to address classic developmental and social questions, such as the dual influence of cognitive development and cultural-historical milieu on children's relationship with their country (Nugent, 1994). Discursive approaches have also been applied fruitfully to describing and analysing how children understand national identities (e.g. Carrington & Short, 1995, 1998; Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Howard & Gill, 2001; Rutland, 1999).

Content of national identity construction

Discursively-oriented social psychologists stress the importance of investigating the specific forms taken by various constructions of national identity. They argue that the results of identifying with one's country cannot be generic. The various versions of a national identity, as it is constructed and contested in public, will have an important impact on behaviour (Reicher & Hopkins, 2000; Reicher et al., 1997). Thus, for example, the Mummendey et al. (2001) study cited above, has been criticised on the grounds that nationalistic attitudes cannot simply be a function of the interaction of identification and inter-group comparison. How the nation is 'imagined' is central to the type of behaviour that national identification will promote. Certain versions of national identity emphasise non-discrimination and inclusivity, while others are built around notions of difference and exclusion (Condor, 2001; Hopkins, 2001). Recent discursive research has investigated ordinary people's representations of 'Englishness' (Condor, 1996); politicians' rhetorical constructions of Scottish and English national identity (Hopkins & Reicher, 1996); and the use of representations of history in national identity

construction (Condor, 1997). Social psychologists outside the discursive school of thought are also studying the way national identity is construed, using a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods (e.g. Chrysochou, 1996; Hilton, Erb, Dermot, & Molian, 1996; Larsen, Killifer, Csepe, Kumov, Andrejeva, Kashlakeva et al., 1991; Salazar & Villegas, 1999; Wong & Sun, 1998).

Identification at the sub-national, national, and supra-national level

As alluded to earlier in this chapter, the current global climate features the increasing visibility, political activity and social power of groups at the sub-national and supra-national levels. The state's claim to being the prime source of social power and political identity expression, is being challenged from 'below' and 'above'. Particularly in Britain and Europe, people are questioning the meaning of their national identity at a time when the 'nation' is becoming ethnically diverse, and a new European supra-national identity is being debated (Castells, 2000). But in other parts of the world, too, political and social change are causing people to reconsider established relationships between sub-national, national and supra-national identities (e.g. Brewer, 1999; Pearson, 2000; Salazar & Salazar, 1998; Salazar & Villegas, 1999; Seymour, 2000). The research and theory pertaining to multiple levels of identification will be discussed in some detail, since this is the topic of the present study.

Sub-national and supra-national identities can be considered 'nation-like', in that they are also constructed as 'identities of origin' and are mobilised in ways similar to national (country) identity (Salazar & Salazar, 1998; Salazar & Villegas, 1999). This raises a crucial question. Can sub-national, national and supra-national identities co-exist harmoniously and productively in a world of limited resources? Or will one or another of these identities always strive to rule the others? There are three possibilities when considering the relationship between any two of these identities. The identities could be *consonant*, meaning that they are harmoniously nested or compatible with each other. They could be *dissonant*, perceived to be incompatible or in conflict with each other. Or they could be *indifferent*, neither mutually reinforcing nor conflicting – essentially irrelevant to each other (Hofman, 1988, in Cinnirella, 1996). Social psychologists have begun to study the relationship between multiple levels of identification, in order to understand (a) what causes identities to be seen to be consonant or dissonant, and (b) what happens when national identity is perceived to be in competition with an identity at an adjacent level.

A wide range of methods has been used in this area of the literature. Likert-type scales have been used to measure strength of identification at various levels of identity (Bollen & Medrano, 1998; Burris, Branscombe, & Jackson, 2000; Cinnirella, 1997; Cinnirella, 1998; Hilton et al., 1996; Huici, Ros, Cano, Hopkins, Emler & Carmona, 1997; Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996; Mueller-Peters, 1998; Mummendey et al., 2001; Salazar & Villegas, 1999), as well as the collective self-esteem, commitment and authenticity (Cassidy & Trew, 1998; Trew & Benson, 1996) associated with various identities. Identity preference measures are used to map out how identities at various levels relate to each other in a subjective hierarchy. Respondents are asked to identify their most preferred identity or identity configuration by spontaneously describing their identity (Saeed, Blain, & Forbes, 1999), selecting one or more out of a list (Brewer, 1999; Feather, 1995; Feather, 1996; Huici et al., 1997; Saeed et al., 1999), making repeated choices between different pairs of identities (Cassidy & Trew, 1998; Waddell &

Cairns, 1991) or ranking identities according to preference (McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn, & Morgan, 1991). Other methods include content analysis of responses to the Twenty Statements Test (Chrysochou, 1996; Saeed et al., 1999); placing identities in concentric circles as a measure of their psychological centrality (Cassidy & Trew, 1998); and multi-dimensional scaling to model subjective relationships between identities (Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). As will be mentioned below, discursive analysis has also been used to investigate how identities are constructed in relation to each other.

Sub-national and national identities

With regards to the relationship between sub-national and national identity, most of the research has been descriptive. Northern Ireland has, not surprisingly, produced a great deal of research on inter-group relations, some of which includes national identity issues. Questions for investigation have included sub-national (Catholic versus Protestant) groups' preferred national identity (McClenahan et al., 1991; Waddell & Cairns, 1986); and how various versions of national identity compare to each other and to sub-national social identities in terms of centrality and salience, commitment, and collective self-esteem (Cassidy & Trew, 1998; Trew & Benson, 1996).

Britain is an interesting case. It is a country made up of countries. Thus 'national identity' in the sense used in this thesis has been applied to both British identity, and English, Scottish or Welsh identity. (See for example Langlands, 1999; McCrone & Kiely, 2000; and Saeed et al., 1999, on the debate about national identity in the UK.) Research into constructions of Scottish national identity usually places this identity in relation (and opposition) to British or English identity, locating it as a regional (sub-national) identity striving for sovereignty (e.g. Hopkins et al., 1997; Reicher & Hopkins, 2000). But sometimes the 'sub-national' Scottish identity is treated as an over-arching national identity, with the focus on levels of identity below that. For example, Saeed et al. (1999) studied the identities of ethnic minority youth in Glasgow, investigating the relationship between Scottish, Pakistani and British national identity, ethnic identity (Asian) and religious identity (Muslim), with the focus on establishing preferred patterns of self-categorisation.

Socio-economic factors and considerations of power play a central role in analyses of identification at the sub-national and national level. Within Spain, for example, strength of identification with Spain varies greatly between regions with different levels of economic development and political aspirations for independence (Bollen & Medrano, 1998). Regional identity can be consonant or dissonant with national identity, depending on the region's status, prosperity and desire for sovereignty. Ethnic identity can also be consonant or dissonant with national identity. It has frequently been observed that majority ethnic or regional groups tend to conflate sub-national and national identity, while minorities perceive a real distinction between these two levels (e.g. Langlands, 1999; Saeed et al., 1999; McCrone & Kiely, 2000). Majority ethnic identity and national identity are, almost by definition, mutually reinforcing within the paradigm of the 'nation-state'. For ethnic minorities, the situation can vary. Hispanic and Black Americans, both ethnic minorities within the USA, show differing levels of national patriotism and patterns of connection between ethnic and national identity (Sidanius et al., 1997). But it is clear that extreme differences in perceived power affect the relationship between ethnic and national identity.

Black Americans and Palestinians in Israel, who both perceive themselves to be oppressed by the ethnic majorities in those countries, show significantly lower national attachment than ethnic majorities (White Americans and Jewish Israelis). More significantly, these oppressed minorities show an *inverse relationship* between sub-national ethnic identification and national identification, while ethnic majorities show a positive correlation (Sidanius et al., 1997). In other words, an ethnic minority group is likely to see its in-group identity as being incompatible with national identity when its members perceive themselves to be oppressed or subordinated within the national society.

Sub-national identification is also included in three-way studies that combine sub-national, national and supra-national identification. Before turning to that literature, we shall look at the research addressing the two-way relationship between national and supra-national identity.

National and supra-national identities

The recent 'revival' of Latin American identity has stimulated research into the connection between national and supra-national identity in South America. According to Salazar and Salazar (1998), this has mostly taken the form of assessing levels of national and supranational identification in various Latin American countries, and investigating the content of the relevant identity constructions. (Most of this research has been published in Spanish and is thus not accessible to this author.)

The bulk of English-language publication concerning national and supra-national identities relates to the European Union. It is seen as important to the success of the EU project that ordinary citizens learn to identify with Europe (Castells, 2000). There has thus been a great deal of interest in the psychological aspects of European unification. Annual opinion surveys conducted in the 1980's and 1990's throughout Europe and the British Isles, formed the initial basis for analyses of people's attitudes towards a supra-national European identity (Breakwell, 1996; Deflem & Pampel, 1996). This descriptive research found differences *within* countries in people's support for a European identity, based on political orientation, age, gender, and family income. But even with these factors taken into account, persistent differences *between* countries were also found over that ten-year period (Deflem & Pampel, 1996). In some countries, national and supra-national identity were found to be mutually reinforcing, while in others, these two levels of identity appeared to be incompatible (e.g. Cinnirella, 1997; Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996). Further research using more qualitative methods has investigated the role of social representations of one's own country, other countries, and European history, in shaping people's attitudes towards a super-ordinate European identity (e.g. Chrysochou, 1996; Cinnirella, 1997; Hilton et al., 1996).

Some experimental research has also been conducted to investigate the relationship between national and European identification. Social Identity Theory (SIT: Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT: Turner, 1987) have been important in the development of this experimental work. SIT posits a central role for inter-group comparisons in the construction of social identities, and for the creation of positive in-group self-esteem. SCT contributes a focus on identity salience, and the relationship between identities at different levels of

for inter-group comparisons in the construction of social identities, and for the creation of positive in-group self-esteem. SCT contributes a focus on identity salience, and the relationship between identities at different levels of abstraction. According to SCT, social identities move in and out of consciousness depending on the context. The salience of one identity may preclude another from being salient (or activated) at the same time if they are at different levels of abstraction. This is an important point that requires some explanation.

SCT posits that identity can be understood at different levels of abstraction, ranging from very specific identities that have a small membership, through more abstract ones that subsume smaller identities, up to the all-inclusive and most abstract category 'humanity'. With regards to national identity, we could see sub-national identities (such as ethnic or regional identities) as being one level 'down', and supra-national identities (such as continental identities) as being one level 'up'.

Different levels compete within the categorisation cognitions of the individual. Categorising oneself at a certain level of abstraction makes it difficult to categorise oneself simultaneously at a lower or higher level – seeing the wood *and* the trees. According to Turner, there exists a “*functional antagonism* between the salience of one level of self-categorisation and other levels: the salience of one level produces the intra-class similarities and inter-class differences which reduce or inhibit the perception of the intra-class differences and inter-class similarities upon which lower and higher levels respectively are based.” (Turner, 1987, 49, italics in original.) Thus, if one is aware of one's regional identity, it becomes difficult to be aware at the same time of one's national identity. The regions are out-groups with relation to each other; but for country-level identity to be salient, all regions must be seen as fellow in-group members within the over-arching nation. Likewise, if national identity is salient, supra-national identity recedes into the background, since one is thinking of other nations as out-groups rather than members of the super-ordinate in-group.

Salience refers to temporary shifts in awareness and cognitions. Identification is usually assumed to refer to a more stable self-categorisation. But the same principle applies for identification as for identity salience. In order to identify with a super-ordinate group, one has to be able to cognitively assimilate (accept as in-group members) groups that are out-groups at the subordinate level. There is some evidence that individual differences in personality and attitudes affect people's ability (or desire) to assimilate out-groupers at one level of categorisation into an inclusive super-ordinate in-group at a higher level of categorisation. People with strongly xenophobic attitudes show reluctance to identify with a super-ordinate category (such as continental identity) when this would mean joining with out-groupers from a lower category (such as foreigners from other countries) (Sanchez-Mazas, Roux & Mugny, 1994; Sanchez-Mazas, 1996).

Various experimental studies have applied and tested the theoretical tenets of SCT in the context of national versus supra-national identity. One will be discussed in some detail here, since it and another study (to be discussed below) form the basis for the research reported in this thesis. The first study (Cinnirella, 1998) showed how different contexts of international comparison, creating different types of identity salience, influence

identification at the super-ordinate level. British participants were asked to stereotype their own nation, a foreign nation within Europe (Italians), or both groups. Identification with Britain and with Europe was then measured. It was found that participants in the two-group stereotyping condition expressed significantly lower identification with Europe than participants in the other two conditions. This suggests that a comparative context, which makes one think about differences between the national in-group and national out-group, makes it harder to identify at that moment with a super-ordinate category that includes both these groups.

Multi-level identification

Recent research has also begun to combine all three levels of identification: sub-national, national, and supra-national. In the second study that is of particular relevance to this thesis, Cinnirella's (1998) method was extended to include a regional identity (Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). Scottish participants were asked to stereotype an out-group (the English, the Germans, or the Australians). A control group had no stereotyping task. All participants then went on to stereotype their in-group (the Scots). Identification with Scotland, Britain and Europe was then measured. As discussed earlier, Scottish and English identities can be called national identities in certain contexts; but in this study, they are conceived as sub-national identities subsumed by a super-ordinate British identity. This study thus investigated the effects of a comparative context on identification at sub-national, national and supra-national level.

The results showed that in all conditions, a clear identity hierarchy emerged. Scottish identity was the strongest, followed by British identity, followed by European identity. British identity was significantly positively correlated with European identity across all conditions. Neither Scottish nor British identification varied in strength as a function of the comparison context. But, as in Cinnirella's (1998) study, European identity was affected. The participants' identification with Europe decreased significantly when either the English or the Germans were included for comparison with the Scots. Thus comparison with an out-group at the sub-national or national level, decreased the strength of identification at the supranational level. Somewhat surprisingly, the Australian comparison made no difference. According to the functional antagonism principle, the Scottish-Australian comparison should have *increased* European identification, since an inter-continental level of awareness was generated. But the authors explain this lack of effect as due to "the relative scarcity of the Scottish-Australian comparison in contemporary Scotland" (Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000, 504).

The researchers then went on to test the relative accessibility and fragility of Scottish, British and European identity, as well as the perceived psychological relations between these levels of identity. The results suggest that Scottish identity is the most central (accessible) and well-defined of the three identities, followed by British identity. European identity was the least accessible and the most fragile or embryonic. This result is offered as a possible explanation for the fact that only European identification was affected by the stereotyping tasks. People's expressed identification with a psychologically peripheral, ill-defined category such as 'Europe', is easily affected by context. Identification with more central, well-defined groups is relatively stable, and is therefore less likely to show shifts in response to minor contextual variations.

Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) point out that their measures of identification (also used by Cinnirella, 1997, 1998) measure something in between momentary self-categorization and stable identification. This means that one can interpret the findings of these two studies in two ways. If one believes the measures assess mainly identity *salience* in the technical sense, then the findings relating to European identity support the SCT principle of functional antagonism. One cannot simultaneously be thinking in terms of national in-groups and out-groups, and in terms of an inclusive supra-national identity. The fact that the Scottish-English comparison did not lower British identification, however, is then left unexplained. The stability of Scottish and British identification is best explained if we see the identity measures as assessing 'felt attachment'— a mixture of cognitive and affective aspects, influenced by social representations and the meaning of categories. The effect of a particular comparison can only be understood in terms of the social meanings attributed to those categories. Certain identities are socially represented to be consonant, dissonant or indifferent. This construction of identity content ultimately determines which patterns of identification are possible for a given person at a given time.

On the basis of these two studies, we cannot be sure what role is played by purely cognitive processes (functional antagonism in salience), compared to affective responses involving meaning and *felt* identification. But these experiments do prove that a comparative context at one level of identification, can temporarily reduce the strength of identification at a super-ordinate level.

Further research that includes the sub-national, national and supra-national levels of identification has been motivated by the Theory of Comparative Identity (Huici et al., 1997; Ros, Huici, & Gomez, 2000). This theory, derived from SCT, posits that the influence of identifications at one level are qualified by identification at lower or higher-order levels. Comparative identity research in Europe has shown that a sub-national identity will have a greater impact on social cognitions not only if it strongly held, but if it is strongly held *in comparison to* national identity. Thus, the fact that Scots prefer their regional to their state (British) identity, while Andalucians identify equally with Spain and with their region, means that the identity 'Scottish' will be permanently more accessible and potent for Scots than will the identity 'Andalucian' to Andalucians.

There are also repercussions for the identification of these two groups with Europe or the EU. The relative strength of regional versus national identity qualifies identification at the supra-national level, because the EU offers different potential benefits to regions and to states (Huici et al., 1997). Since identification with an abstract supra-national entity such as Europe is often motivated by instrumental, utilitarian thinking (Deflem & Pempel, 1996; Hilton et al., 1996), it follows that those who have a strong comparative sub-national identity will identify with the EU if they believe it will bring benefits to their group. This means that a regional or ethnic group could theoretically have low national identity, but strong supra-national identity, if the supra-national body were expected to offer special benefits to the in-group.

At the same time, historical relationships and social representations must also play a role in determining how sub-national groups perceive their relationship with the national and supra-national entities. Identification at any level

must be seen as the result of both cognitive mechanisms (allowing temporary shifts in response to context) and of the meanings attached to these identities. Identification will be the most stable for those identities that are the most clearly defined and the most central to people's self-definition. More abstract, embryonic identities, and those that are less relevant to people's self-concept, will show the effects of temporary shifts in context.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the ideology of nationalism still has a profound effect on the way in which we perceive the world. Scholars argue that current global social changes are challenging the concept of the 'nation-state' as the prime means of political and social identity expression. But the terms 'nation' and 'national identity' are still used by most people to refer to the citizens of countries, and to their collective country-based identity. The idea of the 'nation' still has tremendous psychological power and relevance, and has important implications for behaviour ranging from voting patterns and consumer choices, to extreme self-sacrifice in times of war. The following chapter shows how national identity is a particularly complex, contested and socially relevant concept in South Africa.

Having been neglected until the 1990's, the study of the social-psychological aspects of national identity is now a growing field of enquiry. It is characterised by a broad range of research topics and methods. Some of the most exciting work has been focused on the relationship between national identity, and identities at adjacent levels of abstraction: sub-national (such as regional or ethnic) identities on the one hand, and supra-national (such as continental) identities on the other. Well-established social psychological theories as well as newer contributions and perspectives are being applied to the study of multi-level identification. The main question that guides this line of enquiry is this: Under what conditions will sub-national, national and supra-national identities be consonant, dissonant, or indifferent with regards to each other?

The research to date suggests that identification at any level must be seen as the result of both cognitive mechanisms and of the meanings attached to these identities. Context-driven changes in identity salience will create temporary shifts in the strength of identification at a given level. At the same time, historical relationships and social representations also play a role in determining what identity patterns are possible (in the sense of being subjectively compatible) for individuals and groups. The meaning attached to identities may mediate the cognitive effects of context. Identification will be the most stable for those identities that are the most clearly defined and the most central to people's self-definition. More abstract, embryonic identities, and those that are less relevant to people's self-concept, will respond more strongly to temporary shifts in context. The concept of the interplay between fleeting cognitive context and more stable social representations plays a central role in the research to be presented in this thesis.

Chapter 2

National Identity in South Africa: Relevant, Contested, Under-Researched

National identity in South Africa

As South Africa attempts to negotiate the transformation from an identity based on racial separateness to an identity based on shared loyalty to the new South African state, of critical political and scholarly importance is the question of how the contours of this new South African nation are being defined....understanding fully the implications of the current nation-building process is paramount. For example, how, or can, a country so deeply and historically divided...unite around a common national identity; what will or should provide the content of that identity; and what is the relationship, real or assumed, between a strong and cohesive national identity and the functioning of a stable democratic state?

Croucher, 1998, 640-641

National identity in South Africa is a highly contentious issue. The 'national question' has stirred debate and controversy for decades, on all sides of the political spectrum (Boyce, 1999). Can there ever be a South African nation? Does South Africa as a country need a sense nationhood? If so, how do we achieve this? What form should it take? Who can define it? Who should be included and excluded in definitions of South African identity? And how do ethnic and pan-African identification relate to a national identity?

The quotation from Croucher (1998) above, contains references to a number of important aspects of the 'national question' in South Africa: historical identity constructions focusing on separateness; an attempt to redefine national identity in the new political dispensation; nation-building discourses; challenges to nationhood posed by social divisions; and the role of national identity in a democratising state. This chapter will start by addressing these issues. The first section presents a brief overview of the ways in which national identity has been constructed and contested in South Africa over the last forty years, with a focus on the political transition from the 'old' to the 'new' South Africa.

On the basis of this description, I shall then argue that national identity in South Africa offers a large scope for social-psychological research that is both locally relevant, and which connects with international research and theory. A review of local social psychological research into South African national identity will, however, show that few of these potential questions have been tackled.

The recent history of national identity construction in South Africa

Apartheid: 1950's to 1990

Apartheid ideology was founded on ethnic nationalism (Adam, 1995; Baines, 1998). Afrikaner nationalism, which sought the political and cultural liberation of the Afrikaner 'volk', was only one aspect of this doctrine. More generally, ethnic groups were presented as being separate nations requiring separate development and self-determination. This idea was used strategically to consolidate White power: while Black South Africans were divided into a number of ethnic groups, thereby undermining their ability to unite in opposition, English and Afrikaans Whites were grouped together under the idea of a 'White nation' (Baines, 1998). The country South Africa was claimed for its White citizens, with Coloured and Indian groups being accorded indeterminate second-class citizenship. Citizenship and political representation were denied to the Black majority of the country's inhabitants. The architects of Apartheid intended that the 'Bantu nations' would eventually have their own countries in the form of the tiny 'homelands' to which they were allocated. Until 1994, the South African national symbols of the flag and anthem represented only the White English and Afrikaans group identities and cultural heritage, to the total exclusion of all others. As put by Mai Palmberg, "South Africa is an extreme case of the usurpation of national identity by one minority group" (Palmberg, 1999b, 8).

The resistance movements rejected the idea that South Africa could be organised on the basis of separate development for distinct 'nations'. Although there were debates within the resistance movements about the existence of 'nations' within South Africa, and the desirability of a non-racial versus a multi-racial stance, the need for an inclusive, democratic civil society was generally agreed upon. The anti-African aspects of Apartheid ideology were also countered by those within the resistance who favoured a Pan-Africanist philosophy. Apartheid ideology depicted South Africa as being fundamentally different from the rest of Africa. Apartheid was profoundly anti-Africa, rejecting its cultures and values:

The denigration of African languages, customs, and political and social structures, medicinal and healthcare traditions, technological and other knowledge systems, was all part of the offensive against African culture.

Alidou & Mazrui, 1999, 101.

In turn the anti-Apartheid struggle was "a pan-Africanizing experience creating a sense of solidarity among Black people across the continent" (Alidou & Mazrui, 1999, 103). The anthem of the resistance movement, *N'kosi sikelela iAfrika*, speaks of an African identity rather than a specifically South African one. The 'white' South African flag and anthem were seen by many as symbols of oppression, and had no power to elicit loyalty or identification with a broader community of South Africa. During the negotiations after 1990, it became clear that just as the Apartheid regime had refused to see Black inhabitants of the country as legitimate citizens, so certain radical African groups were refusing to see the White 'settlers' as part of the new nation.

Political transition and post-election euphoria: 1990 to 1996

“[T]he new society gyrates in search of itself” (Owen, 1997 , 34)

Debate about the ‘national question’ reached a peak during the political transition and period after the watershed 1994 election. Despite the various positions taken, there seemed to be a general consensus among lay people, politicians and intellectuals that the country lacked a cohesive, commonly accepted national identity. South Africans were seen to lack a sense of unified nationhood (Mattes, Taylor & Poore, 1997). In the words of Heribert Adam, “[a] South African nation has yet to be born. South Africa at present constitutes an economic and political entity, but not an emotional one” (Adam, 1994, 46).

The lack of an acceptably inclusive, pre-existing sense of nationhood led to much discussion about how to create one. The discourse of ‘nation-building’ came to be prevalent in the media (such as the SABC’s ‘Simunye’ slogan), political rhetoric (for example, Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s popularisation of the ‘Rainbow Nation’ metaphor), and even on the sports field (Baines, 1998; Mattes et al., 1997). The 1995 Rugby World Cup contest was hailed as a triumph of reconciliation and nation-building, providing a moment of intense patriotic sentiment across the country (Booth, 1996). The new President gave his full support to the nation-building ethos. Nelson Mandela consciously led his administration to focus on promoting reconciliation and national unity (Alexander, 2000; Makgoba, 1998).

The post-election period was characterized by a surge of national pride, fuelled by international praise for the peaceful transition and the perception of being a ‘chosen nation’ (Møller, Dickow & Harris, 1999). The two years following the election were “a ‘honeymoon period’, in which a carnivalesque mood of ‘new South Africa’ euphoria...prevailed over sober reflections upon the future” (Sennet & Foster, 1996, 210). The ‘Rainbow Nation’ metaphor caught the public imagination to the extent that it became “ubiquitous” (Baines, 1998). But ‘Rainbowism’ was also criticised by some commentators at the time as reifying cultural difference, and providing a sentimental, ‘feel-good’ distraction to the realities of social inequalities and injustice (e.g. Boyce, 1997; Baines, 1998; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999).

Nation-building was actively debated by political philosophers and social commentators. Some saw the concept as being deeply flawed. Nation-building was equated to the state engineering a homogeneous, Jacobean national identity. This authoritarian imposition of an identity that would override the identities of minorities (e.g. Boyce, 1999; Degenaar, 1994). It was argued that democracy-building, or the establishment of sound constitutional structures and good citizenship, was more important than the creation of national identity and sentimental attachment. Others countered that nation-building was essential, a prerequisite for ‘democracy-building’ to succeed. Without a subjective sense of nationhood, the country would tend towards Balkanisation and internal conflict, and ‘democracy-building’ would be a pointless exercise in trying to counter the ‘inevitable’ centrifugal forces pulling the country apart (e.g. Alexander, 1996; van Rooyen, 1994). Others took a cautious intermediate stand, stressing the importance of democracy-building, but suggesting that it might be enhanced by the

development of a tolerant, reconciliatory sense of nationhood (e.g. Liebenberg, 1994). There was also disagreement about the form that national identity should take. An integrationist vision of assimilation and Africanisation (e.g. Vilakazi, 1994) competed with an ideal of multiculturalism and enshrined diversity (e.g. Boshoff & Boshoff, 1994).

New directions: 1997 to the present

Since 1996, the country's leadership has shifted away somewhat from the post-election focus on nation-building. By 1997 Mandela was expressing frustration with the slow pace of change, and with resistance to efforts to empower the masses. Thabo Mbeki, first as Deputy President and now as President, has taken a noticeably different approach from that of Mandela. In what his supporters have dubbed the 'second revolution' (Makgoba, 1998), Mbeki has developed a dual emphasis on South African transformation and the 'African Renaissance'. With regard to the former, Mbeki emphasises the fact that the country is not yet a unified nation due to lingering racism and social inequality. He has argued that South Africa is not one nation but two: affluent Whites and poor Blacks (Mbeki, 2000a).

In conjunction with this, Mbeki actively promotes Africanism and the recovery of the African continent. In 1996, as Deputy President, he made a bold identity statement with a speech entitled "I am an African" (Mbeki, 1996; see also Prah, 1998). By positioning himself primarily as an African, and by asserting that all South Africans are African regardless of their ethnicity or ancestral roots, Mbeki heralded a shift from a national to a Pan-African identity focus. From 1996 the ANC began to express more openly its desire that South Africa "truly be an African nation on the African continent...in the style of its media, in its cultural expression, in the language and accents of its children"; and that what was required was "a continuing battle to assert African hegemony in the context of a multi-cultural and non-racial society" (African National Congress, 1997, in Venter, 1999). With Mbeki as President, the current political administration continues to promote the ideals of the 'African Renaissance' and the 'African Century' (Alexander, 2000; Mbeki, 2000b).

Given its complexity, South African national identity offers exciting opportunities for social-psychological investigation. How have South African social psychology researchers approached the topic of national identity?

National identity in South African social psychology research

The South African Social psychology scene in the Twentieth Century was dominated by an inter-group or 'race relations' approach (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Sennett & Foster, 1996). A review of publications in seven South African psychological and behavioural science journals between 1948 and 1988 (Seedat, 1998) reports that the majority (55%) of social psychological research published locally during that period addressed cross-racial perceptions, attitudes and stereotyping. The data presented by Seedat (1998) suggests that no social psychological research focusing on South African national identity was published in South Africa between 1948

and 1988 – a remarkable revelation. Of course research on South Africa could have been published elsewhere. But this author's search of international journals and databases found even international publication output to have been very scant. It is clear that in South Africa, the topic of national identity has been neglected by social psychology.

Before 1990, national identity and patriotism sometimes featured in research into White political attitudes and identities (e.g. Heaven, 1984; Morse & Nell, 1977). It has only been since 1990 that researchers have really taken an interest in issues of national identity. Out of all the research that has been reported, however, only a small proportion is located within the discipline of social psychology. Many of the research approaches are fairly generic and descriptive in nature, rather than testing particular theories, with large scale surveys conducted by market research companies forming a significant proportion of the research.

The work has been largely quantitative and questionnaire-based. This author has found only three studies from the last decade that have incorporated qualitative methods in studying topics relating to South African national identity. Two of these analysed high school and university students' essays on their hopes and fears for the future (Braungart & Braungart, 1995; Finchilescu and Dawes, 1999). A third, discursively-oriented study investigated the construction of 'new' South African identity in the speeches of ex-President F.W. de Klerk between 1990 and 1994 (Roper, 1997).

Almost all the research has been along the lines of inter-group relations, comparing different ethno-linguistic or racial groups' orientations to national identity. Some research has also attempted to monitor trends over the 1990's, looking at changes during the political transition. Table 1 on the following page summarises the variables that have been measured in the quantitative studies. In all cases, research has investigated change over time, or differences between ethnic groups on these variables.

The current study engages with some of these research issues, but not others. Findings relating to the 'Rainbow Nation' construct, expectations of the future, and F.W. de Klerk's identity agenda in the early 1990's, will not be discussed here. Likewise, findings focusing on inter-group and general political attitudes are beyond the scope of this discussion. What is of importance to the current study, are the findings relating to *identification with South Africa*. These findings are as follows.

Differences between racial / ethnic groups in identity patterns

In the 1990's, patterns of identification with South Africa varied along several dimensions of inter-group comparison: province of residence (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Harris, 1997), social class (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Møller et al., 1999), political party affiliation (Møller et al., 1999), and age (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Møller et al., 1999). The major focus of comparative research has, however, been in comparing ethnic or racial groups. Although the findings sometimes appear to be contradictory (this will be discussed later), it is worth drawing together the results from the large, demographically representative studies.

Table 1: Quantitative social psychological research on SA national identity

Research topic / question	Questionnaire operationalisation	Authors
Identification with South Africa	Endorsing (by checking the category) South African national identity	Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999
	Rating the importance of national identity to the self	Heaven, Stones, Simbayi, & Roux, 2000; Sennett & Foster, 1996
	4-item Strength of National Identity scale (items assess importance to self of SA, pride in SA, and desire for a unifying national identity to overcome ethnic divisions)	IDASA survey in Mattes et al., 1997
	Ranking national identity among other social identities	Bornman, 1995; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Mattes et al. 1997
	Selecting the group with which one identifies most strongly	Gibson & Gouws, 1998; MarkData Omnibus survey, in Bornman, 1999
Pride in South Africa	Indicating degree of pride, or frequency of feeling proud	Mattes et al., 1997; Markinor and MarkData surveys in Møller et al., 1999
	Indicating to what extent different experiences or symbols connected to the country evoke pride or patriotism	Møller et al., 1999; Sennett & Foster 1996
The relationship of national identification with other identities and attitudes	Scores on measures of ethnic in-group identification, and of 'attitudes towards diversity', correlated with scores on national identification scale	Mattes et al., 1997
Popular support for the new "civil religion" of the "Rainbow Nation"	Choosing one of three options reflecting personal significance of the rainbow as symbol of a covenant with God	Møller et al., 1999
Perceived bond with other South Africans	Item about feeling "closer to and united with fellow South Africans"	Møller et al., 1999
Orientation towards the future	Items assessing optimism and expectations for the future	Gallup, Markinor and MarkData surveys in Harris, 1997
	Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale	Braungart & Braungart, 1995
	25-item "Perception of the Nation" scale	Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998

The 1997 IDASA study used a four-item measure of identification with South Africa. On this scale, White South Africans had significantly lower strength of national identity than other South Africans (Mattes et al., 1997). Market research surveys report that Whites showed the most marked decline in confidence in the way South Africa was heading between 1994 and 1996, and had the least optimism that 1996 would be a better year than 1995 (Harris, 1997). Complementing these findings, White adolescents have been found to show signs of “deep alienation” from the new political dispensation, as well as increasing anti-Black sentiment from 1992 to 1996 (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998, 1999).

Despite these signs of disaffection with the “new” South Africa, White South Africans have nonetheless shown a relatively high level of self-categorisation as South African. Over 91% of the White adolescents in the study by Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) indicated that they thought of themselves as being South African. Whites also rank national identity highly compared to other social identities. In 1996, Gibson and Gouws (1998) asked South Africans to choose from a list the identity that best described them. Twenty-nine percent of Whites chose the category “South African” – an absolute minority, but more support than was given to any other group identity. When second choices are included, over half chose the national identity as first or second choice. In another national survey in 1996, half of all the White respondents claimed to identify more strongly with “South Africans” than with any sub-national ethnic or language group (Bornman, 1999). Based on these results, it appears that White South Africans in the mid-1990’s identified quite strongly with the category “South African”, while at the same time expressing feelings of lost power and status, alienation from the new political dispensation, and varying degrees of negativity towards South Africans of colour.

One should, however, note differences between English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Social psychological research has consistently found ideological and attitudinal differences between these two groups in South Africa, with Afrikaners generally appearing to be more politically conservative, more strongly identified with their group, and more negative towards non-Whites and the prospect of a Black government (e.g. Bornman, 1995; Bornman & Appelgryn, 1999; Stones, Heaven, & Bester, 1997. For a review of research prior to 1990 see Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991.)

Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) found that English speaking White adolescents ranked South African identity slightly lower than did Afrikaans speaking Whites in 1996 (although all the participants ranked South Africa within the top two out of five identities). The opposite pattern was found by a national survey of adults in 1995. The 1995 MarkData survey found that 65% of English-speaking Whites chose “South Africans” as the group with which they identified the most, compared to only 32% of Afrikaans-speaking Whites (Bornman, 1999). This difference had, however, almost disappeared by the following year. In 1996, the percentages were 49% (Afrikaans) and 55% (English). Further evidence for a narrowing of the gap between English and Afrikaans identification with South Africa, is provided by a small study by Sennett and Foster (1996). Their 1994 sample of White university students was compared to a similar sample in a 1975 study. The 1994 study showed significant

shifts in the importance that these two groups accorded their national identity, compared to twenty years earlier. In 1975, White Afrikaners gave a much higher rating than White English-speakers to nationality as an identity (8.9 compared to 4.5 on a 10-point scale). By 1994, the Afrikaans rating had decreased and the English rating increased to the extent that there was no longer a statistical difference between them (6.5 compared to 6.4). Recent research thus provides evidence for continued inter-group differences between English and Afrikaans Whites, as well evidence for a certain amount of convergence over time.

Black respondents in the 1997 IDASA survey were the only group for which ethnic / racial group identification was positively correlated with national identification. Mattes et al. (1997) offer the explanation that because this group was now the new dominant group, it may have felt that it culturally "owned" the state, just as Afrikaners felt cultural ownership of the state during National Party rule. The possibility that Black South Africans feel the strongest affinity for the *state* under the new dispensation is supported by Finchilescu and Dawes (1999). They report that the Black adolescents in their study were the most satisfied with the changes since 1994, and were most positive about how well the new government would rule, compared to other groups. Thus national identity for this group may be more linked to identification with the "liberation" government than with other groups.

In terms of national identity, however, Black research participants have shown relatively low identification with the category 'South African'. The 1995 national MarkData survey found that only 14% of Black respondents chose 'South African' as their primary identity. This increased to 37% the following year, but still lagged behind the other ethnic groups (Bornman, 1999). A similar result was obtained by Gibson and Gouws (1998), although of a different magnitude. In their survey of 1996, only 19% of Black participants chose South Africa as their primary identity. This was lower than the support given to African ethno-linguistic groups and to an African identity. It was also lower than the level of support for national identity found in all other ethnic groups. Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) report that in 1996, 72% to 78% of Black youth, compared to 93% to 98% in all other groups, self-categorised themselves as South African, a significant difference between the Black adolescents and all others.

Research including Coloured South Africans provides mixed results. Before the 1994 elections it appeared that this group had the lowest rate of self-categorisation as South African, measured by endorsement of the category (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999). After 1994, national identification among Coloured people increased. Again, differences between studies are apparent. In 1996, two surveys produced rather different results. Gibson and Gouws (1998) report that 30% of Coloured people in their study chose 'South African' as the identity that best described them. The MarkData survey in that same year found that 50% indicated that they identified the most with 'South Africans' out of a range of identities (Bornman, 1999). The research from 1996 does, however, converge on the finding that Coloured South Africans identified relatively strongly with South Africa compared to other groups' identification -- always to a greater extent than Black South Africans, and sometimes the most out of all groups, depending on the sample and the measure used (Bornman, 1999; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Gibson & Gouws, 1998; Mattes et al., 1997).

The literature does not create a clear impression of Indian South Africans' identity patterns. Finchilescu and Dawes (1998, 1999) note ambivalence towards the political transformation of South Africa in the Indian group, and a high level of concern about the future. But in two studies in 1996 Indians showed the most frequent endorsement of South African national identity, compared to respondents in other ethnic groups (Bornman, 1999; Finchilescu and Dawes, 1999). Gibson and Gouws (1998) found that, of the 'Asian' respondents in their 1996 survey, 'South African' was selected more frequently as primary identity than any other group (31%). This degree of support for national identity was similar to that expressed by the White and Coloured groups.

The findings described above are sometimes contradictory, a problem that will be dealt with below. We can, however, draw some overall conclusions regarding inter-ethnic differences during the 1990's. When researchers asked South Africans to select their main identities out of a list, or to rank identities, a clear difference emerges between Black South Africans and all others. Black respondents showed significantly lower levels of self-categorisation as 'South African', or less frequent preference for this identity, compared to Coloured, Asian and White South Africans. But when identification with the country was measured in terms that include national pride, the only important difference between groups lay between Whites and all others, with White South Africans showing the least pride and confidence in the 'new' South Africa. Whites also showed the least confidence that South Africa would become a 'nation' over time (Johnson, R., 1997).

This relatively low level of self-categorisation as 'South African' among Black survey respondents makes psychological and historical sense. Prior to 1994, Black people had been totally excluded from South African citizenship, categorized under a variety of different ethnic 'nationalities' and denied basic human rights by those claiming ownership of the South African national identity. As discussed in Chapter 1, international research suggests that subjugated political minorities will not identify strongly with the country in which they suffer oppression (Sidanius et al., 1997). Meanwhile, the political resistance movements (including Black Consciousness) emphasised not only equality within South Africa for all its citizens, but also pan-African solidarity. An awareness of a supra-national African identity could have provided an alternative to a national (country) identity.

We have relatively little evidence regarding the extent to which Black South Africans actually identify with Africa. Two studies using the 'primary identity' approach have included 'Africa' or 'Africans' as choice options. Gibson and Gouws (1998) found that 32% of Black respondents in their study chose 'African' as the identity that described them the best, compared to 4% of Coloured, 2% of Asian, and 0% of White respondents. But the 1995 and 1996 MarkData surveys found fewer than 10% of Black respondents selecting Africans as the group with which they identified the most (Bornman 1999). This 'primary identity' method is, however, very limited, since it cannot give us any information as to the strength with which the prime identity is held, or how it compares to any of the other identities.

A recent study has asked respondents to endorse the categories with which they identified, and then rate these according to their importance (Heaven et al., 2000). Black participants (university students) gave the African identity a mean rating of just over 3 out of 5, with a standard deviation of 2. Although the mean rating was positive and was much higher than the rating given by White Afrikaans-speakers, the results still suggest considerable variation within the perceived importance of African identity.

Whether or not Black South Africans identified strongly with Africa during Apartheid, during that time the identity 'South African' would have been at best irrelevant, and at worst, associated with suffering, loss and exclusion. There was a proportion of Black South Africans who rejected the name 'South Africa' entirely, and who lobbied for the country to be renamed 'Azania' after 1994 (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999). It is not surprising that Black research participants in the transition years showed relatively low self-categorisation as South African, but more pride, confidence and satisfaction with the new political dispensation, compared to other South Africans. For Whites, on the other hand, there existed a legacy of being South African citizens and learning to have patriotic feelings. Thus Whites strongly self-identified as South African, and may have been inspired by the 'Rainbow Nation' ideal; but they felt fundamentally uncomfortable with, and threatened by, the new Black government. Coloured and Indian South Africans occupied an intermediate position in Apartheid society, being relatively advantaged compared to Blacks, but still disenfranchised and discriminated against. Their responses to survey questions during the 1990's indicate some uncertainty about the country's future under a Black government, but also a generally enthusiastic response to adopting the 'new' South African identity.

Increasing ethnic identity salience

Mattes (1999b), in summarising a number of research reports, concludes that most South Africans use constructs such as race and ethnicity to define themselves, and that the salience or perceived importance of ethnicity and culture increased in the 1990's. Likewise, Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) report that in their sample of adolescents, there was an increase in the use of ethnic and racial identity between 1992 and 1996. Even when comparing 1996 to the previous year, it appears that more Black South Africans chose 'Blacks' as the group with which they identified the most; more White English-speakers chose the category 'Whites'; and more White Afrikaans-speakers chose the category 'White Afrikaans-speaking people', than they had the year before. 'Coloured' self-identification stayed the same, however, and Indian/Asian self-identification dropped from ' 55% to 35%. The effect was to make all these ethnic identities roughly equal in their level of support in 1996 (Bornman, 1999).

We can speculate about the causes of this increase in ethnic self-identification. The prominence of the 'nation-building' debate highlighted the importance of ethnicity, culture and language in South Africa. Political debate about minority group rights, as well as rapid social changes like the desegregation of schools and widespread implementation of affirmative action policies, all had the effect of making racial and cultural identity salient. It has been suggested that the emphasis on multiculturalism that predominated in the early 1990's encouraged people to embrace their cultural identity and uniqueness (Sennett & Foster, 1996). It could likewise be suggested that the

emphasis on Africanisation that replaced the Rainbow Nation vision, could also have stimulated awareness of racial and ethno-cultural identities. It would make Black South Africans more aware of their ties with other Black people across Africa, perhaps reducing linguistic ethnic identity while enhancing racial identity. The Africanist discourse could also make racial minorities more aware of their ethnic identity. The public discussion of what and who is and is not 'African' would make these minorities' aware of their racial, linguistic and cultural identity.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore South Africans' specific sub-national identities in depth, or the effect that the political transition had on ethnic group identification. Different groups responded in different ways, depending on their historical position in South Africa, and the agendas of their leaders. The period 1990's saw a waxing and waning of Zulu nationalism, led by Mangosothu Buthelezi (Jung, 2000; Piper, 1999). It also saw a 'crisis' in Afrikaner identity (Palmberg, 1999a). As White Afrikaans-speakers lost their grip on the state, and Afrikaans was relegated to just another one of the country's eleven official languages, Afrikaner identity came to be the topic of heated debate. The protection of the language and culture in an increasingly English-speaking and culturally 'Africanising' country, elicited much introspection and discussion (e.g. du Plessis, 1998; Pakendorf, 1998; van Rensburg, Davids, Ferreira, Links & Prinsloo, 1997). Coloured identity was also strongly contested. This identity, which had been "fraught with tension and ambiguity throughout the Apartheid era" (Jung, 2000, 168), and had often been subordinated to an overarching 'Black' political identity, was vigorously re-examined after 1990. The reader is referred to James, Caliguire and Cullinan (1996) and Jung (2000) for extensive discussions of the construction of Coloured identity in the 'old' and 'new' South Africa.

Increasing identification with South Africa

Identification with South Africa also increased during the 1990's, although to different extents in various population groups. In the national MarkData surveys, selection of South Africa as the group most strongly identified with changed noticeably between 1995 and 1996 (although Bornman, 1999, does not report statistical significance of changes). For the Black, Coloured, Asian and White Afrikaans groups, selection of South Africa increased, so that these percentages went from 14% to 37% for Blacks, 34% to 50% for Coloured, 44% to 61% for Asian / Indian, and 32% to 49% for the White Afrikaans group. The White English-speaking group, however, showed a decline from 65% to 55% in choice of South Africa as most important identity.

Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) found that, between 1992 and 1996, there was a marked increase in the endorsement of national identity by White Afrikaans, Coloured and Indian groups. The increase in the Coloured group was the most noticeable, from 63% in 1992, to over 90% in 1996. There was no significant change within the Black and White English groups.

National pride

In the 1994 to 1997 period, pride in South Africa was extremely high. This could be a reflection of the post-election euphoria that swept the country. As some researchers put it at the time, "South Africans have been 'walking tall' since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994" (Møller et al., 1999, 245). In the 1995

IDASA survey, just under 92% of South Africans said they felt proud or very proud to be South African (Mattes et al., 1997). The 1997 IDASA survey found that 94% of participants said they were proud of their South African citizenship, and 91% said that being South African was an important part of their self-image (Mattes et al., 1997). Likewise, data from two nationally representative surveys, the 1995 World Values Study and the 1996 MarkData Omnibus Survey, showed high levels of national pride. In 1995, 83% of South Africans indicated that they were “very proud” to be South African (with other response options being “Quite proud”, “not very proud” and “not at all proud”). In 1996 the questions were slightly different, asking people how often they felt proud to be South African. On this measure, 65% of respondents felt proud often or very often (Mattes et al., 1997; Møller et al., 1999).

The main conclusion that has been drawn from these findings is that sub-national ethnic, racial or linguistic identities are compatible with an overarching sense of national identity. It is possible for citizens of South Africa to have high “across the board” social identity salience (Sennett & Foster, 1996). Put another way, “it is possible to have high national identity amidst the multiple group identities of a diverse society such as South Africa” (Mattes et al., 1997, 17). The findings of high national pride and identification seem to provide evidence for the existence of the crucial ‘national legitimacy’ discussed by Mattes (1999a, 1999b) and Le Pere & Lambrechts (1999). The fact that Black South Africans in the 1990’s identified less strongly with the category ‘South African’ than did members of other race groups has been interpreted as being a cause for concern (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999). But this group showed the most national *pride*, suggesting that attachment and positive affect towards the country may be not be dependent on self-categorisation as South African. It could be that in the 1990’s the name ‘South Africa’ still carried negative political and emotional connotations for a group who had been oppressed and excluded from citizenship in the ‘old’ South Africa.

Identification with South Africa and attitudes towards diversity

An additional finding is also of relevance to the present study. The 1997 IDASA survey (Mattes et al., 1997) included a scale to measure acceptance of diversity. This eight-item scale was designed to measure “respondents’ comfort with and ability to accept difference in ideas and culture” (Mattes et al., 1997, 9). For the sample as a whole, scores on this scale were significantly positively related to liking for ethnic out-groups and significantly negatively related to in-group favouritism, suggesting that the scale was a valid indicator of attitudes pertaining to social diversity, multiculturalism and relationships with out-groups at the sub-national level. More importantly for the focus of the present study, scores on the scale were found to be significantly positively correlated with scores on the four-item scale measuring identification with South Africa. There is thus empirical evidence that South African’s attitudes towards social diversity are related to their degree of identification with the country as a whole.

This makes intuitive sense. A multicultural, diverse society such as South Africa contains many sub-groups. In Apartheid South Africa, ‘separate development’ rather than multiculturalism was put forward as the ideal and the end state towards which the country would progress. The national motto, “Unity is strength”, applied only to the

White citizens. Since 1994, however, multiculturalism has been officially embraced. The national motto has changed to “Strength in diversity”, and there have been many initiatives (such as Cape Town’s annual “One City – Many Cultures” festival) that try to create positive attitudes towards social diversity.

The research reviewed above demonstrates that South Africans still identify strongly with racial and ethno-cultural categories. Thus South Africans must (according to Social Identity Theory) perceive people of other ethnic groups as being out-group members. But one can argue that post-Apartheid South African national identity has been constructed to include diversity as an essential, defining feature of the country. Identifying with the country therefore implies acceptance of diversity. To identify with a multicultural country requires that one be able to assimilate cognitively out-groups at the sub-national level into a super-ordinate national category. Thus, as shown by the 1997 IDASA survey (Mattes et al., 1997), attitudes towards diversity are directly associated with strength of national identification.

Shortcomings of the research

Limited scope of research questions

Compared to the international research discussed in Chapter 1, the South African social psychological literature poses an extremely narrow range of questions about national identity. All the studies listed in Table 1 focus on the effects of changing political conditions and/or of ethnic group membership on a few aspects of national identity: absolute or relative strength of identification with South Africa, national pride, expectations of the country’s future, as so forth.

Of all the areas for investigation raised in Chapter 1, only three are represented in the South African literature. The compatibility of sub-national and national identity has been tested by comparing strength of identification with South Africa and ethnic or other sub-national groups. The research has demonstrated that people do have multiple social identities, including ethnic, linguistic, racial and national identities, and that national identity seems *in general* to be compatible with strongly-held sub-national identities. (But the relationship between ethnic identification on the one hand, and national identification, tolerance towards other ethnic groups, and in-group chauvinism on the other hand, varies between ‘race’ groups: Mattes et al, 1997). Secondly, developmental issues have been addressed in one study. Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) conducted a longitudinal study of adolescents’ identity and attitude patterns. This study specifically tested a generational or cohort model of attitude development against a life-stage conceptualisation. But again, the focus was mainly on inter-ethnic differences in attitudes and national identification, rather than the finer nuances of the construction of categories and development of identification in children. Thirdly, the discursive construction of national identity in political rhetoric has been studied by Roper (1997), in his qualitative analysis of speeches by former President F.W. de Klerk.

This selection of research questions barely scratches the surface of what is possible, as demonstrated by the international literature. The area of omission that stimulated the present study is the relationship between

identities at multiple levels: sub-national, national, *and supra-national*. Supranational identity has been almost entirely neglected in South African social psychological research. The category 'African' has occasionally been included as one of a list of possible identities for participants to select. But this author has found no attempts to gauge the extent of people's identification with Africa; how African identity relates to ethnic and national identity under different conditions; or how African identity is constructed, contested and mobilised in South Africa.

Limited interaction with theory

Much of the research discussed by social psychologists has been in the form of national opinion surveys by market research companies (e.g. Bornman, 1999; Harris, 1997; Møller et al., 1999). These surveys are atheoretical. The questions asked of participants are not been designed to test or apply any specific social psychological theory. The findings can be interpreted in the light of theory; but these studies inevitably provide rather shallow information that does not connect with the complexities of theory. It also does not connect with international social psychological research: a market survey seldom has the purpose of replicating, or even relating conceptually to, an academic study. The few fully academic studies have been framed in terms of a limited number of theories, mainly Social Identity Theory (Sennett & Foster, 1996) and developmental theories (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998, 1999). Newer contributions, such as the Theory of Comparative Identity (Huici et al., 1997) and the Theory of Optimal Distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991) seem to have gone unnoticed. Even Self Categorisation Theory has not really been applied. The concept of identity salience has been invoked (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Mattes et al., 1997; Sennett & Foster, 1996); but it has always been inferred post-hoc, rather than manipulated experimentally. This leads on to the final, and perhaps most important, shortcoming of the South African national identity research.

Methodological poverty

As mentioned earlier, research on South African national identity has tended to be quantitative. There is a clear need for more qualitative, discursive research to investigate the content of national identity constructions within South Africa, and how they are contested and mobilised to serve different aims. But although quantitative work has predominated, it has not included a particularly convincing selection of methods. Table 1 listed the kinds of quantitative methods used. Researchers have mainly asked participants to endorse, rate, or rank their national identity. They have used single-item measures of national pride, or have asked people to indicate what makes them proud of South Africa by endorsing or rating items. Only one study used an identification scale (the IDASA survey reported by Mattes et al, 1997). And only one study combined two different methods of assessing identification (endorsement and ranking, in Finchilescu and Dawes, 1999).

These methods allow for description, correlation and inter-group comparisons. They test identification as if it were a static, trait-like phenomenon. The only contextual variation that is revealed, is the effect of time. Studies that ask the same questions at two different times can show *how* attitudes change, but not *why*. Causality can only be inferred and hypothesised. No South African research has yet attempted an experimental manipulation to study the way in which context affects identification at the national or supra-national level.

Another methodological problem is the lack of overt consideration of methods to be used. Only one of the quantitative studies read by this author gave any sort of rationale for the methods used. Sennett and Foster (1996) were replicating an earlier study, and so chose their methods to be comparable to that piece of research. Other researchers have treated method as if it were entirely unproblematic. Sometimes methods have been used in a sub-optimal way. For example, Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) asked adolescents to rank order five social identities, including their ethnic group and their nationality. The rankings were analysed to show inter-group differences in the mean rankings given to South Africa and to ethnicity. But the rankings were analysed as if they were ratings. The position of South Africa as an identity, relative to the other identities, was not analysed at all. Thus the unique information that a ranking measure can provide – showing the subjective order given to identities on a particular dimension – was not used.

Subtle differences in methods and instruments can lead to important differences in findings. There have been puzzling inconsistencies both within studies, and between studies, which point to the problematic nature of researching identification. For example, Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) used endorsement and a ranking measure to assess identification with South Africa. The results for the White English-speaking group placed them differently with respect to other ethnic groups on the two measures. But the researchers offer no suggestion as to why an endorsement task produced a different pattern of inter-group differences than did a ranking task.

One can also try to compare two studies conducted in 1996: the MarkData survey reported by Bornman (1999), and the survey by Gibson and Gouws (1998). Both studies asked participants to select a primary identity out of a list of identities. Bornman (1999) reported much higher levels of endorsement of South Africa, compared to Gibson and Gouws (1998), in all ethnic groups. Unless there were major differences in the sample composition, we must conclude that the differences in results arose from the way the question was posed. Firstly, the MarkData survey asked respondents to select the group with whom they *identified* most strongly. Gibson and Gouws, however, asked participants to pick the group that best *described* them. There are subtle differences between these two instructions; and yet the authors both assume that they are tapping identity primacy in a straightforward way. The two studies also presented participants with different sets of choices. While the MarkData survey kept to nationality, race and ethno-linguistic group, the Gibson and Gouws study also included religious groups and the categories “European” and “Boer”. How are we to compare these two studies -- ostensibly measuring the same thing -- when they pose subtly different questions and allow for different answers? How are we to interpret the large differences in the results they report?

Another inconsistency in the research presented, is the difference that emerges between studies using endorsement or identity selection, versus an identification scale. The IDASA survey of 1997 (Mattes et al., 1997) was the only piece of research found by this author, to devise a multi-item scale for measuring identification with South Africa. On this measure, White South Africans showed significantly lower identification than all other groups. In the studies asking participants merely to endorse or select categories including ‘South Africa’, Whites

showed the same level of identification with South Africa as Coloured and Indian participants, while Black participants showed significantly lower preference for this identity (Bornman, 1999; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999; Gibson & Gouws, 1998). It is clear that selecting an identity out of a list is a different sort of measure of identification than that provided by a multi-item scale. Researchers have thus far failed to address the issue of construct validity in the methods they use. They have also not located their method with regard to the methods used by others, or qualified the interpretation of their results in any way with regard to alternative measures.

The South African national identity research literature thus suffers from serious methodological problems. Research questions have been operationalised in a shallow way through one-item measures. The proliferation of idiosyncratic measures and lack of rationale for method selection means that studies cannot be compared meaningfully. And the lack of methodological triangulation means that we cannot be sure, for a given study, that a different conclusion would have not have been reached if a different method had been used. While different measures produce divergent results, we cannot be sure of the validity of any of the measures used.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the notion of 'nationhood' is complex, emotionally charged and highly political in the South African context. Two social discourses regarding South African national identity have received widespread public attention since the 1990's. The first is the concept of 'nation-building', frequently accompanied by visions of cultural pluralism and, until the late 1990's, the popular metaphor of the 'Rainbow Nation'. The second is an Africanist vision of national identity. It based on the ideal of national participation in an 'African Renaissance', and promotes a degree of African cultural hegemony within South African society. Both the nation-building and Africanist discourses have their critics, making national identity a site of ongoing contestation. It is also not clear to what extent these two versions of identity may be compatible or incompatible, with the former focusing on internal cohesion and self-definition, and the latter on an inclusive super-ordinate identity. Despite the social relevance and intriguing complexity of national identity in South Africa, local social psychological researchers have not yet begun to address themselves seriously to understanding national and supra-national identity processes. Some research indicates that sub-national ethnic identity is not necessarily incompatible with national identity. But no research has considered contextual effects on national or supra-national identity, or how ethnic group membership may mediate such effects. The following chapter shows how a research project was designed to tackle some of the gaps in the South African research to date.

Chapter 3

Rationale and Hypotheses

Rationale for the present study

The relevance of national identity in South Africa

To some political philosophers, 'nation-building' is a deeply flawed concept. It distracts people from the more pressing need for democracy, tolerance and institution-building (Degenaar, 1994), and can encourage state social engineering that is doomed to failure (Alexander, 2000). Shallow, sentimental versions of national identity such as the 'Rainbow Nation' ideal are not sustainable, and serve to mask the real challenges facing a society (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). And yet, many of those who support the crucial need for democratic consolidation in the 'new' South Africa agree that some form of 'national legitimacy' or public consensus is needed for democracy to work (Alexander, 1996; Liebenberg, 1994; Mattes, 1999a).

Political philosophers argue that *national legitimacy* is a prerequisite for the democratic and successful functioning of a state (e.g. Mattes, 1999a; O'Malley, 1994). Citizens of a country must accept the appropriateness of the demarcated territory which bears that country's name; must see themselves as members of that community; and must be proud of that membership and willing to support it. An "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) that coincides with the boundaries of the country is crucial in developing legitimacy for the state and the communal processes of citizenship. For a newly-democratised, multicultural state, a "core of common values, practices and national projects" (Alexander, 2000, 21) or "fundamental consensus about national identity" (Mattes, 1999a, 157) is absolutely necessary for the consolidation of democracy and an integrated, relatively peaceful civil society. If people do not identify with the country as a whole and feel themselves to have a common bond with fellow citizens, there is always the threat that friction between sub-national groups will escalate into ethnic conflict and even civil war (Alexander, 2000). Some level of national identification among South African citizens could be argued to be necessary for the future of South Africa.

Supra-national identity, too, is increasing in its relevance to the daily lives of citizens. Globalisation is having an effect on society and national identity formation in South Africa, as it is throughout the world (Le Pere & Lambrechts, 1999). Particularly significant is the new South African government's increasing focus on Africa (which some see as part of a political project to secure a position in the new global order – Alexander, 2000). Since 1994 South Africa has embraced Africa, and has sought to consolidate its economic, cultural and political ties with other African states. South Africa's current President has taken a leading role in the creation of a new 'African Union' and its plan for African recovery. He champions a version of South African identity that locates the country squarely within Africa. A far cry from the social compartmentalisation and anti-African ethos of Apartheid, the current dominant discourses within South Africa promote either multiculturalism or African

cultural hegemony. Thus supra-national (African) identity has increasingly important implications in South Africa.

Social psychologists should be at the forefront of studying the nature and impact of identification with South Africa and Africa. And yet, as Chapter 2 illustrated, the social psychological contribution thus far has been unimpressive. The research to date is limited in terms of the breadth of questions posed, connections with international research, the application of theory, and the methods used. The present study tried to make a start in addressing these shortcomings.

Addressing some lacunae in the South African research

The South African social psychological research to date has not taken cognisance of international research on national identity. Its insularity has limited it in terms of the research questions posed, theory applied, and methods used. In terms of questions posed, a serious gap has been in the consideration of multiple levels of identification. Supra-national identification has been almost entirely neglected as topic for research. There has thus been no serious investigation of the three-way relationship between sub-national group membership, national identification, and supra-national identification. There has also been a tenuous connection with theory. Social-psychological theory has been applied directly in a minority of cases. In terms of research design, local quantitative research has all been descriptive. The effect of context on national identification has never been tested experimentally.

The present study aimed to tackle these shortcomings in the following ways:

- International research was used as the basis for the research. The experimental studies by Cinnirella (1998) and Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) discussed in Chapter 1 provided the general theoretical orientation, the idea behind the research design, and one of the instruments used (see below). This approach means that the research relates meaningfully to the international literature, while contributing to our understanding of South African identification.
- The study was grounded in theory. It aimed to test certain predictions of Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1987) relating to the functional antagonism of identities as adjacent levels of abstraction (sub-national, national and supra-national). The Theory of Comparative Identity (Huici et al., 1997; Ros et al., 2000), as well as the idea of identities being consonant, dissonant or indifferent (Cinnirella, 1996), were also used in conceptualising the possible relationships between sub-national and supra-national identity. The role of social attitudes in mediating one's willingness to assimilate out-groups into a super-ordinate identity (Sanchez-Mazas et al., 1994; Sanchez-Mazas, 1996) was also considered. In this regard, the research further investigated an important local finding that identification with South Africa is related to attitudes towards diversity (Mattes et al., 1997).

- Supra-national African identification was deliberately included for investigation.
- The study took the form of an experiment. It aimed to test the effects of an experimental manipulation of identity salience on national and supra-national identification.

In addition to these considerations, the research also investigated the relationship between national identification and future commitment to South Africa.

Methodological considerations

South African research on national identity has mostly used single-item measures of identity endorsement, selection, rating or ranking. Only one study has used a multi-item measure of strength of national identification (the 1997 IDASA survey in Mattes et al., 1997). This was an idiosyncratic measure designed for that study. Local researchers have also tended not to explain or justify their choice of instruments, evaluate their validity, or comment on their comparability with methods used in other studies. The local literature has tended towards a proliferation of instruments, without any evaluation of methods or methodological triangulation.

The present study aimed to address three key methodological issues in the South African literature: (1) the lack of connection to international research; (2) scarce use of multi-item scales that operationalise several aspects of national identification; and (3) the lack of methodological triangulation and evaluation of methods. The first two points were addressed by selecting a multi-item measure of identification from the international literature.

The seven-item measure used by Cinnirella (1997, 1998) and Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) is presented in Appendix A. This measure was selected for three reasons. Firstly, the measure had been designed to operationalise several aspects of identification, in accordance with Social Identity Theory. The Likert-type items were based on previous social identity research (Brown et al., 1986, and Hofman, 1988, in Cinnirella, 1997) and were designed to relate to “perceived importance, socio-emotional connotations, and...similarity and interdependence between self and in-groupers” (Cinnirella, 1997, 23). The measure thus had a sound theoretical basis. Secondly, the measure had shown high levels of internal reliability. Cinnirella (1997, 1998) and Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) reported Cronbach’s alpha’s ranging from .89 to .93. Thirdly, the seven items had already been adapted successfully to refer to various identity targets, including Scotland, Britain, Italy and Europe. It was therefore reasoned that the measure could be adapted to refer to South Africa and Africa. Lastly, the measure had been used within experimental studies, and had been able to show variations in scores based on identity salience manipulations (Cinnirella, 1998; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). Since the experimental method of the present research was largely inspired by these prior studies, it was deemed appropriate to adapt the measure used in those studies.

The third issue to be addressed was the lack of comparison between methods and methodological triangulation in the existing research. Only one study had been found to use two different methods to investigate national

identification. Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) used endorsement and ranking of identities in their longitudinal study of adolescent national identity. But their report does not go into detail about the relative strengths and weaknesses of these two methods, and does not discuss how to integrate the somewhat divergent findings produced by them.

In the present research, three different methods for investigating national and supra-national identification were tested and explicitly compared. The research was designed so that a secondary study, using two alternative instruments, would provide results that could be compared to those produced by the multi-item measure discussed above. The following chapter will discuss in more detail these two alternative instruments. The point to be made here is that three different instruments were deliberately chosen to allow for methodological evaluation and triangulation.

Choice of adolescents as participants

As indicated in the previous two chapters, national identity research both in South Africa and abroad has featured samples of adults, university students and school-pupils. All the experimental social-psychological studies relating to national identification and stereotyping from the international literature report using university students as participants. This is understandable, given the difficulty of conducting controlled experiments outside of the university setting. But the results of these experiments are then always tied to the socio-demographics of university goers, who arguably represent the more affluent and/or intellectually skilled within the general population.

For the present study it was decided to focus on high school pupils in late adolescence. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, the new school curriculum introduced by the South African Department of Education in 2000 included the concept of education for democracy and human rights awareness. Within this domain, appreciation and respect for cultural diversity within South Africa was to be cultivated. At the same time, a report on values in education commissioned by the Department called for schools to instil patriotic values and national identity in young South Africans (James et al., 2000). These circumstances had clear connections with the theoretical question under consideration. Discussing cultural diversity and ethnic differences in class is likely to make *sub-national* identity salient for learners. How will this affect their ability to simultaneously identify with South Africa as a whole? The present study offered the opportunity to investigate the possibility of such context effects with adolescents. The results would allow one to make practical suggestions as to how diversity education is best approached, if one is also hoping to stimulate national identification.

Secondly, one of the more interesting studies in South Africa is that by Finchilescu & Dawes (1998, 1999). This longitudinal research involved participants in early and late adolescence, both in 1992 and in 1996. The findings of this study suggested significant changes over that period in the national identification of young South Africans, with interesting differences in attitudes, expectations and identity patterns between ethnic groups. Although it

used a different approach to the work of Finchilescu and Dawes, the present study provided the opportunity for a timeous follow-up to the research in the 1990's.

Lastly, high school learners represent a more diverse group than university students. Although a number of young people leave school before high school is complete, a far greater proportion of the population complete high school than ever enter university. According to the South African National Department of Education (1999), only 12.5% of South Africans who passed their Matric examinations in 1999 obtained university exemption (with very comparable figures of 12.6% the previous year). The percentages in the Western Cape were higher than the national average, with exemption rates of 23.4% in 1998 and 24.5% in 1999 (Department of Education, 1999). Nonetheless, this means that under one quarter of Western Cape school-leavers score the necessary marks to enter university. Funding constraints and personal circumstances further reduce the proportion of young people who enter university. University-goers clearly represent only a segment of all the high-school educated population in the Western Cape, and are an even more elite group with regards to the whole of South Africa. High school learners thus represent a more 'realistic' sample of young South Africans than would a university sample.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses regarding the relationship between the salience of specific identities, and expressed identification with South Africa and Africa

The first main hypothesis is derived from Self-Categorization Theory. The hypothesis is based firstly on the principle of Functional Antagonism (and therefore difficulties in category assimilation) between levels of social identity. When a particular level of social identity is made salient, this should reduce the ability of an individual to simultaneously identify with a sub-category or supra-ordinate identity. This principle predicts similar effects for members of all groups, and applies to any groups that can be arranged in a hierarchy of abstraction.

Hypothesis 1 The specific type of identity that is salient at a given time (personal, sub-national, or national) will influence the degree to which identification with South Africa and Africa are expressed.

Sub-hypotheses

Relative to the case in which personal identity is made salient,

- 1.1. Making ethnic identity salient will reduce expressed identification with South Africa.
- 1.2. Making national identity salient will increase expressed identification with South Africa.

The second and third hypotheses, and their sub-hypotheses, are derived from the discursive approaches to national identity outlined in Chapter 1. Discursive researchers argue that the effects of identity salience may not be identical across groups and contexts. The specific meanings attributed to groups, their unique histories, and the relationships that are seen to exist between them, will determine whether identities are seen to be consonant, dissonant or indifferent with regards to each other. Chapter 2 discussed the ways in which sub-national (ethnic), national, and supra-national (African) identities in South Africa have been constructed and related to one another. Based on these historical constructions, one would expect that certain sub-national population groups identify more strongly with South Africa or Africa than do other population groups. There are thus expected differences in people's baseline identification with the national and supra-national categories.

At this point it is necessary to clarify the terminology to be used when referring to demographic groups within South Africa. For the purposes of this study, 'Black' is used in the sense of 'Black African', rather than in the inclusive political sense of 'non-White' or 'oppressed' as it was often used in Apartheid South Africa (e.g. Jung, 2000). *Ethnicity* or ethnic group membership is used to refer to a combination of 'racial', cultural and linguistic identity markers. Ethnic groups are more specific than 'racial' categories. English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites can be seen to constitute distinct ethno-linguistic groups, just as the various indigenous African languages can distinguish Black ethnic groups (Xhosa, Venda, Zulu, Sotho, and so forth). One could also argue, however, that Black African ethnic groups form one broad category that constitutes a general cultural and racial numerical majority within South Africa, while ethnic groups which align themselves with Western cultural heritage and do not speak an African language form another broad category of cultural and racial numerical minorities. The term 'non-Black' refers to all such 'minority' ethno-linguistic groups that are not Black and do not speak an African language. (For these purposes Afrikaans is not considered to be an African language, although some would argue that it is.)

Hypothesis 2 Different ethnic groups in South Africa will show distinct patterns of identification with South Africa and with Africa.

Sub-hypotheses

- 2.1. Regardless of which identity is temporarily salient, Black South Africans will show higher and more stable identification with Africa compared to non-Black South Africans.
- 2.2. Within non-Black ethnic groups, participants will show higher identification with South Africa than with Africa, regardless of which identity is temporarily salient.
- 2.3. Within non-Black ethnic groups, identification with Africa will be less stable than identification with South Africa, responding more strongly to variations in temporary identity salience.

An additional question about which no hypothesis is made, is the specific nature of the relationship between African and South African identification. The study will investigate whether national and supra-national continental identity is consonant, dissonant or indifferent in the ethnic groups under consideration.

Hypothesis 2 above addresses stable differences in identity patterns between ethnic groups. Hypothesis 3 explores the interaction between the type of identity that is made salient for an individual, and the person's ethnic group membership. As discussed in Chapter 1, members of social majority groups tend to feel more patriotic and identified with the country than do members of minorities, especially if the minorities perceive themselves to be oppressed or dominated by the majority. Political majority groups tend to assume cultural "ownership" of the nation. In South Africa today it is debatable whether any one ethnic group dominates others to the extent that minorities feel oppressed. But, given the extent to which ethnicity has been implicated in power relations within South Africa, as well as debate about Black empowerment within South Africa and the relationship between ethnicity and being 'African', it is reasonable to expect that different ethnic groups will have different subjective experiences of the relationship between their ethnicity, their national identity, and a supra-national African identity. Thus would expect there to be differences in the ways that ethnic versus national identity salience affect identification with South Africa and Africa, for different ethnic groups within South Africa.

Hypothesis 3 The effect of having a particular identity made salient will vary as a function of population group membership.

Sub-hypotheses

3.1. Making ethnic identity salient will reduce identification with South Africa in non-Black minority groups, compared to when personal or national identity is made salient.

3.2. Making ethnic identity salient will reduce identification with Africa for non-Black participants, but increase African identification for Black participants.

3.3. Making national identity salient will increase identification with South Africa, but reduce identification with Africa, in all groups.

The study also investigates participants' future commitment to South Africa. No hypotheses are made regarding this, but the study explores the effect of identity salience and ethnicity on civic commitment and the desire to emigrate.

The fourth hypothesis predicts that personal attitudes towards diversity will also influence identification with South Africa. It has been shown how attitudes towards multiculturalism and social diversity are likely to be associated with identification with a multicultural country. For racial or ethnic minority groups, making their

minority status salient should activate the propensity to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in a multicultural country.

Hypothesis 4 Attitudes towards social diversity will be related to identification with South Africa.

Sub-hypotheses

4.1. Negative attitudes towards diversity will predict lower identification with South Africa.

4.2. There will be an interaction between attitudes toward diversity, and identity salience. When ethnic identity is made salient, negative attitudes towards diversity will increase the effect of the experimental condition in racial minority groups, leading to more markedly reduced identification with South Africa.

Hypothesis regarding the sensitivity of different measures of identification with South Africa and Africa

National identity research is characterised by a proliferation of instruments and methods, with little discussion and evaluation of methods. Researchers seldom use measures developed by others within the field. This limits the comparability of studies. It also raises the possibility that somebody else's measure could have found different results. There has been no attempt thus far to compare different types of measure for their sensitivity to context effects in questionnaires (i.e. identity salience fluctuations). The last hypothesis tested in the current research, deals with the issue of measurement sensitivity.

Hypothesis 5 A multi-item rating scale measure of identification with South Africa and Africa will be more sensitive to contextually induced changes in identification than will a ranking task or a one-item measure of identity importance.

Two other questions could not have specific hypotheses made about them, and were investigated without predicted outcomes.

Firstly, no prediction was made with regards to the relative strength or stability of South African versus African identity in Black South Africans. International research suggests that the relative strength of national versus supra-national identity is highly dependent on social representations and discourses. For Black South Africans inclusion in the South African identity is relatively recent, and Pan-Africanism has historically been a pertinent philosophical and political influence. This could potentially support a strong African identity. But there is too little previous research on national and African identity among this group to be able to make a prediction.

Secondly, no prediction was made about the effect of making *national identity* salient upon expressed intention to emigrate. When this level of identity is made salient, it could reduce the intention to emigrate by strengthening

feelings of attachment to South Africa. It could, however, increase the intention to emigrate by making the international context salient, thereby reminding participants of South Africa's shortcomings relative to idealised popular emigration destinations.

The next chapter will describe how these research questions were addressed through a questionnaire-based experimental study with high school learners.

Chapter 4

Methods

Research design

The hypotheses listed in Chapter 3 were tested through two studies. Both Study 1 and Study 2 used an experimental manipulation to test the hypothesis that expressed identification with South Africa and Africa would vary as a function of identity salience. Both studies also investigated the relative strength of identification with South Africa and with Africa. The two studies differed, however, in their complexity and aims. Study 1 (the main study) included ethnicity as an independent variable, and was thus able to investigate the possible interaction of ethnic group membership and identity salience on identity patterns. Study 1 also addressed the relationship between national identification on the one hand, and future commitment to South Africa, attitudes towards diversity, and perceived sub-national group security on the other. Study 2 (a smaller study conducted simultaneously with Study 1) was designed to test the hypothesis that multi-item measures of identification would be more sensitive to salience effects than would single-item, multiple group rating and ranking measures. It was expected that the use of alternative measures in Study 2 would contribute a degree of methodological triangulation for Study 1.

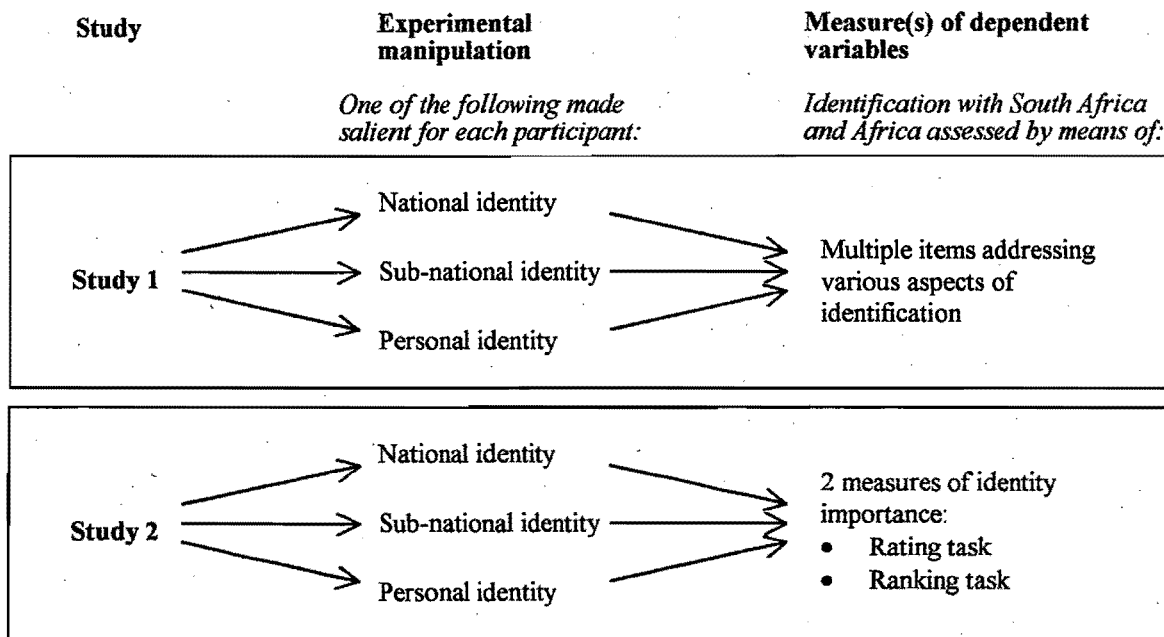
The experimental manipulation of identity salience

Study 1 and Study 2 shared the aim of testing the causal relationship between identity salience and expressed identification at the national and supra-national levels. Both studies therefore featured the same experimental design. All participants were randomly allocated to **one** of three experimental conditions designed to make a particular level of identity salient. The first condition primed national identity, the second primed sub-national ethnic identity, and the third primed personal identity. Both studies then measured participants' expressed identification with South Africa and with Africa as the main dependent variable (operationalised differently in Study 1 and 2). This basic research design is illustrated in Figure 1 on the next page.

This experimental design was based on two international studies discussed in Chapter 2. The first one (Cinnirella, 1998) used stereotyping tasks to prime the salience of the national in-group (the British), a national out-group within European (the Italians), or both groups. The effect of this salience manipulation on British and European identification was then observed. The second study (Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000) also used stereotyping tasks to make Scottish identity salient on its own or in combination with one of three out-group identities. The effects of this manipulation on Scottish, British and European identification were observed. Both studies found that an inter-group context (in which a relevant out-group was made salient alongside the in-group) reduced

identification at the super-ordinate level of European identification. The present study used these findings as the basis for further investigation of the effects of identity salience on national and supra-national identification.

Figure 1: Experimental research design



Questionnaire (presented in Appendix C)

Following Cinnirella (1998) and Cinnirella and Rutland (2000), a questionnaire was used to present both the experimental manipulation and the measures of dependent variables. The variables to be investigated are presented below in the order in which they appeared in the questionnaire.

Independent variable (1): Level of identity made salient

The experimental manipulation took place in the first two pages of the questionnaire (see Appendix C). Each participant was randomly allocated to one of the following experimental conditions and corresponding salience tasks.

- National identity condition: comparison of South Africa and other countries
- Sub-national identity condition: comparison of familiar ethno-linguistic groups within South Africa
- Personal identity condition: comparison of individuals known to the participant

The tasks were adapted from Cinnirella (1998), Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) and Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds and Turner (1999), all of whom have successfully used questionnaire tasks to heighten the salience of certain identities. The overt stereotyping tasks given by Cinnirella (1998) and Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) were, however, deemed to be problematic for the present study. It was felt that participants would object to overt

stereotyping at the inter-ethnic level. It was also necessary to create an inter-group comparative context in a concise format. Thus a method was devised so that groups were ranked according to the applicability of a trait. Only positive traits were selected, so that no group would be pejoratively labelled. The open-ended questions posed by Haslam et al. (1999) were adapted to refer to the national, sub-national or personal level, in order to augment the amount of inter-group thinking required of participants. It was expected that the inter-group ranking task and the open-ended questions would succeed in creating identity salience at the required levels.

The first page of the questionnaire presented six traits (such as “hard-working”), with five individuals, ethnic groups, or countries, listed next to each trait. Participants were required to rank the target individuals or groups according to how much the each trait applied to them. Thus the five targets were compared with each other six times over. The second page asked four open-ended questions. Participants were asked to list various kinds of behaviours that characterise themselves, their ethnic group, or South Africans, compared to other individuals, ethnic groups, or nations. It should be noted that in the ethnic identity condition, the open-ended questions allowed participants to think about their ethnic, cultural or religious group, in relation to other such groups in South Africa. This was to allow for identification with such religious-cultural groups as Muslims and Jews. The point was to make a personally relevant sub-national identity salient, in comparison to out-groups at the sub-national level.

Dependent variables

1. Identification with South Africa and with Africa

Studies 1 and 2 used different measures for this variable. These two approaches each require some discussion.

1.1. Study 1: Multi-item identification measure

Study 1 used multi-item scales to measure the dependent variables of identification with South Africa and with Africa. Chapter 3 discussed the rationale for using the scale developed by Cinnirella (1997) (presented in Appendix A). In the present research one of the seven items in the original scale was omitted. It was felt that, in the multi-cultural South African context, it was unlikely that participants would “expect to agree on most things with other South Africans”. It was also felt that perceived agreement with other group members is not an essential feature of national identity in a multi-cultural context. Thus the item assessing perceived congruence of views was deleted. The remaining six items were worded to refer to South Africa in the first instance, and then to Africa. The wording of the scale’s items was simplified somewhat to make it more understandable for a young participant group, and to allow for more accurate translation into Afrikaans and Xhosa. Thus the phrasing “To what extent do you feel...?” was changed to “How much do you feel...?”.

The seven-point bipolar format of the scale was maintained to ensure comparability with the international findings. The literature on scale design also supports the decision to use a seven-point format, since gains in scale reliability level off after seven points (Nunnally, 1978).

1.2. Study 2: One-item, multiple group rating and ranking measures

Study 2 aimed to test the sensitivity of alternative measures of identification to the same experimental manipulation as in Study 1. Two additional methods for assessing national and supra-national identification, based loosely on methods that have been used in the South African literature, were developed for this study. It was decided to use a rating and a ranking measure with reference to the same social groups. Ratings of multiple groups allow participants to assign a score on a particular dimension to each group. Similar ratings can be given to all groups, providing an *absolute* evaluation of each group without necessarily providing information about preferences between groups. If we wish respondents to indicate preferences or comparative evaluations of groups on a given dimension, a ranking task is needed. Rankings have the advantage of showing subjective ordering or preference, but have the disadvantage of forcing distinctions to be made between groups where perhaps the groups are genuinely perceived to be equal, or where the gaps between some are perceived to be larger than the gaps between others. Thus ratings and rankings complement each other well, and are usefully combined within one study.

The rating measure used in Study 2 used perceived importance to one's self-concept as the dimension on which identities would be scored. Perceived importance of an identity is an aspect of identification frequently included in measures of national and supra-national identity strength in international research (e.g. Cinnirella, 1997, 1998; Feshbach & Sakano, 1997; Trew & Benson, 1996). Locally, Sennett and Foster (1996) asked White English and White Afrikaans respondents to rate ten social identity groups on a ten-point Likert-scale, according to their centrality or importance to participants' self-concept. Heaven et al. (2000) also provided their Black South African and White Afrikaans respondents with ten social identities (different to Sennett and Foster's) and asked them to rate each on a five-point measure of personal importance. The measure used in the current study was based on this style of questioning.

Participants were presented with a list of eleven social groups, and asked to rate the importance of each to their 'sense of self'. Importance was indicated for each group on a Likert scale of 0 to 6, ranging from 'not at all important' to 'extremely important'. Groups were selected to include some of those used by Sennett and Foster (1996) (race, gender, religion, South Africa) as well as other groups presumed to be relevant to the lives of teenagers (family, school, friends, sports clubs, other groups and clubs). The category 'Africa', used by Heaven et al. (2000) but not by Sennett and Foster (1996), was also included.

Multiple group *ranking* has not often been used in the international literature on national identity, although it is potentially very informative when used in combination with some measure of absolute evaluation. International researchers have, for example, used paired comparisons to rank people's preferences as to where they would like to live, as an indication of national and political identification (Waddell & Cairns, 1991). A more popular option is to present respondents with possible combinations of two identities, ranging from a strong preference for the one over the other, to equal identification with both (Huici et al., 1997; Karklins & Zepa, 1996; Ros, Huici, & Gomez, 2000). This type of comparative measure of identity preference implies a ranking of these identities in personal importance, although tied ranks are allowed.

In South Africa, a multi-group ranking measure was used by (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999) to assess the perceived relative importance of South African national identity. Adolescent participants were asked to rank five social identities that included South Africa, according to their personal importance. The mean ranking given to South Africa was then calculated, and comparisons made across the five ethnic groups who were represented in the study as to how they ranked South Africa. But, as discussed in Chapter 2, these authors analysed the rankings as if they were ratings. The position of South Africa relative to other identities was not analysed. The current study used a ranking method in order to obtain an indication of the perceived importance of South African and African identity *relative to* other groups. The same eleven groups that had been rated, were ranked in terms of the same dimension (perceived importance to one's self-concept). A graphic 'ladder' was presented to make this easier. Participants were required to place one group on each rung of the ladder, from the most important at the top, to the least important at the bottom.

2. Future commitment to South Africa

The questionnaires for Study 1 and Study 2 included three items intended to measure future commitment to South Africa. (When it came to analysis, however, these items were not deemed central to the aims of Study 2. Thus responses to these items were not analysed in Study 2.) Future commitment could be seen as an aspect of identification, but it could also be seen as a possible *result* of identification. Because the future commitment items were exploratory, they items were not intended to form part of the scale to measure identification. It was expected that future commitment to South Africa might also be influenced by temporary shifts in identity salience, making it a dependent variable with respect to the experimental manipulation.

The first two future commitment items were adapted from Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo and Sheblanova (1998). These items operationalise civic commitment, assessing the perceived importance of making a personal contribution to one's country and to one's community. The third item was created for this questionnaire. It assesses the participant's attitude towards emigration, by asking whether the participant would prefer to stay in South Africa or leave the country once he/she is independent. All three items were scaled on the same 7-point Likert-type response format as were the items on identification with South Africa and Africa.

Additional variables: Attitudes towards diversity in South Africa, and perceived sub-national group security

Chapter 2 mentioned that in the 1997 IDASA survey (Mattes et al., 1997) attitudes towards diversity were assessed and correlated with identification with South Africa. For the present research a new measure of attitudes towards diversity was devised. It was felt that the IDASA questions were too general, in the sense that only three out of the eight statements referred specifically to cross-cultural contact. The other questions were phrased in terms of general differences of opinion or "various points of view". One could argue that the scale could have been probing openness to alternative viewpoints rather than attitudes to social diversity (which includes exposure to differing views, but also other experiences). New items were therefore devised for the present study.

A pool of statements was created and narrowed down in discussion with my supervisor. Since this scale was exploratory, and was not the main focus of the study, it was not deemed necessary to go through extensive piloting and item selection. Items were selected to represent the following:

- Concerns about diversity: perceived threat to one's culture and religion from other groups, and perceived protection by the state; mixing diverse groups being potentially harmful; multiculturalism creating problems for countries
- Support for diversity: liking diversity at school, believing that inter-group contact is beneficial, liking the country's multiculturalism
- The normative belief that it is natural to want to avoid out-group members (i.e. a rationale for rejecting diversity)

Unlike the IDASA measure, where most items were general, only one out the nine items in the new set did not refer specifically to cultural, linguistic or religious diversity in South Africa. Participants were asked to respond to each statement on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). As with the items on future commitment to South Africa, these items were included in all questionnaires but were not analysed for the purposes of Study 2.

Independent variables (2): Demographic characteristics

The last page of the questionnaire reminded participants of their anonymity. Participants were asked to indicate their year of birth, month of birth, gender, first language and 'race'. Space was provided for comments, with the invitation to add anything they would like to say.

Translation

The questionnaires for study 1 and 2 were piloted at an English-medium school (see below). On the basis of this, the final structure of the questionnaires was settled upon. All versions of the questionnaire were then translated into Xhosa by a registered translator. The questionnaire was back-translated into English by a Xhosa research assistant at UCT, who recommended a number of alterations to make the questions more understandable. Further recommendations were made by a second Xhosa research assistant. I translated the English version into Afrikaans, with the help of an Afrikaans-speaker. It was back-translated into English by an English language specialist also fluent in Afrikaans.

Development of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was piloted in order to:

1. establish the psychometric properties of the scales to be used
2. test the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation
3. check that the language used in the English version of the questionnaire is understandable to adolescent participants

Sample

The questionnaire was completed by all the Grade 11's at an all-girls high school in Cape Town. The final sample of 62 comprised 51 'Coloured' girls (English first-language speakers), and ten Black participants (9 African-language speakers, with one participant not indicating her first language). There was an additional English-speaker who did not indicate her 'race' group. The ages of respondents ranged from 15 years 11 months, to 20 years 2 months, with a mean of 17 years 4 months (standard deviation 10 months).

It was known in advance that this sample would be less diverse than the intended large sample. But the pilot group did roughly fit the age and socio-economic criteria for the study. It was therefore reasonable to expect that, while the specific views of these girls might have differed from those of boys or adolescents from other ethnic groups, the manner in which they approached the tasks set in the questionnaire would not be dissimilar in any predictable way.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires for both Study 1 and Study 2 were handed out. In addition to the measures discussed above, the pilot questionnaire also included a manipulation check. Directly after participants had completed the items priming national, sub-national or personal identity, they were asked to provide ten responses to the question "Who am I?" (a shortened form of the Twenty Statements Test by Kuhn and McPartland, 1954). In previous research, this method of spontaneously eliciting identity items has been used as a measure of identity salience or accessibility (e.g. Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). Responses to this question were therefore used to test whether the experimental manipulation had succeeded priming the relevant level of identity. Two items were included at the end to assess the perceived difficulty of the questionnaire. Table 2 presents the format of the pilot questionnaire.

Table 2: Pilot questionnaire variables and measures

Variable	Measure
Salience of: national identity <i>or</i> sub-national identity <i>or</i> individual identity	Each participant randomly allocated to one of the following: <i>National identity condition:</i> Ranking nations on 6 characteristics, plus open-ended South African Identification task adapted from Haslam et al (1999) <i>or</i> <i>Sub-national identity condition:</i> Ranking South African ethnic groups on 6 characteristics, plus open-ended in-group ethnic identity task adapted from Haslam et al. (1999) <i>or</i> <i>Individual condition:</i> Ranking known individuals on 6 characteristics, plus open-ended personal identity task adapted from Haslam et al. (1999)
Spontaneous self-description	Shortened version of the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). Ten responses required to the open-ended question "Who am I?"
Identification with SA (and Africa / other social identities)	Each participant randomly allocated to one of the following: <i>Measure A:</i> Six-item Likert-type identification scale adapted from Cinnirella (1998), applied to South Africa and Africa. <i>or</i> <i>Measure B:</i> Eleven social identities are each rated on a 7-point Likert scale for importance to the self (e.g. Sennett & Foster, 1996). The same identities are then ranked on a ladder of importance to the self, relative to each other.
Civic commitment	Two-item Likert-type measure adapted from Flanagan et al (1998), plus new item assessing wish to emigrate.
Attitude towards diversity	9-item Likert-type measure constructed for this study
Demographics	Standard questions about age, gender, language, "race".
Difficulty of questionnaire	Likert-type item to assess difficulty experienced with questionnaire, plus an assessment of how difficult others might find it.

Analysis of psychometric properties of measures

Six-item measures of identification with South Africa and with Africa

The six items measuring identification with South Africa had a Cronbach's alpha of .70, with an average inter-item correlation of .31. Principal components factor analysis of these items suggests two factors, with Eigenvalues 2.6 and 1.13 respectively. The factor loadings, using a normalized varimax rotation, showed items 3 and 5 loading strongly on the first factor, and items 2 and 4 on the second. Thus items relating to membership of the group (pleased to be South African, being South African is important to the self) seem to be tapping a different dimension of national identity to those items relating to feelings about other group members (feeling strong ties with, and being similar to, other South Africans). This finding ties in with work on social identities which makes a distinction between attachment to the group and attachment to group members (e.g. Prentice, Miller, & Lightsdale, 1994). This finding suggested that the results of the main study should be scrutinised for a

similar pattern. If a similar factor structure were found, it would imply that the six items on South African national identity should not be treated as a unified scale, but perhaps divided into two sub-scales.

The six items assessing identification with Africa had a Cronbach's alpha of .90, with an average inter-item correlation of .65. This apparently high level of unity within the scale was supported by factor analysis. One factor was extracted, with a high Eigenvalue of 4.17. It thus seemed that the African identification items could be treated as one scale, and their individual scores summed to give a total score for identification with Africa.

Measure of attitudes towards diversity

The 9-item measure of attitudes towards diversity had a Cronbach's alpha of .67, with an inter-item reliability of .2. This suggested that the items did not form one cohesive scale. Factor analysis suggested two factors with Eigenvalues of 2.69 and 1.46 respectively. Normalised varimax rotation found items 1, 7, 8 and 9 loading on the first factor, and items 3 and 5 loading on the second.

Factor 1:

- I like the idea of hearing many different languages being spoken in the playground at school.
- I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages.
- I believe that in South Africa, everybody's culture and language are equally protected and respected.
- I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected.

Factor 2:

- Mixing people of different cultures and religions can actually do more harm than good.
- Countries where the people share one language and culture, have fewer problems than multicultural countries.

Items 2 and 4 did not load cleanly onto either factor.

It is clear that the 9 items in the Diversity Attitudes measure could not be treated as a unified scale. With the main study, further investigation of factor structure would be needed before these scores could be related to the effects of the experimental manipulation. Given the fact that the pilot group did not include any White youth, and very few Black respondents, it was decided not to try to modify the nine items on the basis of the pilot findings. Instead, the same 9 items would be used in the main study, with careful evaluation of their individual relationships with other variables.

The efficacy of the experimental tasks in priming identity salience

"Who am I" responses

It was hoped that this measure would show whether the manipulation had succeeded in making ethnic, national or personal identity salient. In theory, those participants in the ethnicity and national identity conditions should have mentioned these group identities more often, or higher up on their lists of identity statements, than the participants in the personal identity condition. No such effect was found. Contrary to Rutland and Cinnirella's

(2000) findings among their Scottish participants, the South African pilot sample showed very low spontaneous awareness of their national identity. Being South African was mentioned by four participants: three in the national identity condition, and one in the ethnicity condition. Two of these participants also mentioned their ethnic identity (one in the ethnicity condition, the other in the national identity condition). A further two participants mentioned their racial or ethnic identity, one in the ethnicity condition, and one in the national identity condition. Neither ethnicity nor national identity was ever mentioned under the personal identity condition, which suggests that there was some difference between the personal identity and the other two conditions with regards to making ethnic and national identity salient. Overall the shortened TST did not provide convincing evidence for or against the effectiveness of the manipulation.

The effect of the identity salience manipulation on identification

Identification with Africa

The scores on the six items assessing African identification were summed for each participant, and the totals compared between the three experimental groups. The six items for South African national identity were analysed separately, because of the evidence mentioned above that the items did not form a scale. ANOVA's were performed on these scores, comparing means across the three experimental conditions.

The ANOVA on African identification scores (totalled) found a statistically significant effect at the .05 level of significance. There was a clear tendency for identification with Africa to be higher in the personal condition compared to the ethnic identity condition. Thus the experimental manipulation was effective in creating changes in identification at the supra-national level of identity.

Of the ANOVA's on the six South African identification items, one reached statistical significance. Item 5 asks participants how important it is to them to be South African. On this item, more importance was accorded to the South African Identification in the personal identity than in the ethnic identity condition, at $p < .05$.

Comparisons across experimental conditions for the other items did not reach significance at the .05 level. Although there were no significant differences across conditions, a trend was observable. In five out of six of the South African Identification items, the ethnic identity condition showed the lowest scores. This pattern, although not confirmed as significant, is in line with the hypotheses of the study: that making ethnicity salient will reduce people's identification with the country as a whole. This trend in the pilot data was therefore encouraging. It was hoped that the effects of the experimental manipulation would reach statistical significance in a larger, more diverse sample.

ANOVA's were also conducted on the two civic commitment items and the emigration item, to test for a possible effect for the experimental manipulation. These comparisons were non-significant, with $p > .05$ in all three cases. But the trends that emerged were intuitively sound. For the two items on civic commitment, the national identity condition saw slightly greater commitment than the ethnic condition, with the personal condition lowest. This

would be expected, as making national identity salient should encourage feelings of patriotic altruism. But for the item about emigration, the ethnicity condition engendered the strongest inclination to leave the country. This fits in perfectly with the five identity items that showed the ethnicity condition leading to slightly lower levels of national identification. Thus thinking about one's ethnicity, for this group, seemed to be leading towards negative affect towards the country and one's future in it. This effect (although non-significant) was predicted for a sample of mostly ethnic minority (Coloured) youth.

Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric ANOVA's were conducted on the rankings given to the South African and African identities in the ranking task. The aim was again to test for differences between the three identity salience conditions. Both these tests showed non-significant results. Rankings of South Africa and Africa did not vary systematically between the three experimental conditions.

The preliminary analyses reported above found some suggestions of an effect for the manipulation, but most of the findings were null. It should be noted, however, that the cell sizes being used may have been too small to allow for statistical significance to emerge. The three conditions comprised between 20 and 22 cases each. It was thus reasoned that the non-significant trends that emerged from the pilot group, might well crystallize into significant patterns with a larger sample.

Comprehensibility of the questionnaire

At the end of the questionnaire, the respondents answered a 7-point Likert-type question about the difficulty of the questionnaire (from 'extremely easy' at 0, to 'extremely difficult' at 6). Scores ranged from 0 to 6, but most were 3 or below. The mean was 1.53 and the median was 1, with a standard deviation of 1.55. Thus the questionnaire was experienced as being easy to answer.

A further question asked the respondents whether they thought that a lot of English-speakers their age would be confused by the questionnaire, or whether most would find it easy. Three respondents indicated that they thought lots of English speakers their age would be confused. Fifty-seven (92%) thought that most English speakers their age would find it easy. Two respondents ticked both options.

Overall, these checks suggest that the format and wording of the pilot questionnaire was acceptable for use with adolescents aged 15 and older. No major changes were therefore made when producing the final questionnaire. Care was taken in the translation stages to aim for equally accessible Afrikaans and Xhosa.

Although the questionnaire administered in Study 2 included many of the same items as used in Study 1, not all of these items were deemed relevant to the aims of Study 2. Thus certain items were not included in the analysis of results from Study 2. Figure 2 (next page) shows the items in each questionnaire that that were actually included for analysis in each of the two studies.

Figure 2: Relevant items in Study 1 and Study 2 questionnaires

Study 1

National identity salience tasks	+	Multi-item measure of identification with South Africa	+	Future commitment to South Africa	+	Multi-item measure of identification with Africa	+	Attitudes towards diversity, perceived sub-national group security	+	Demographic questions
Sub-national identity salience tasks	+	Multi-item measure of identification with South Africa	+	Future commitment to South Africa	+	Multi-item measure of identification with Africa	+	Attitudes towards diversity, perceived sub-national group security	+	Demographic questions
Personal identity salience tasks	+	Multi-item measure of identification with South Africa	+	Future commitment to South Africa	+	Multi-item measure of identification with Africa	+	Attitudes towards diversity, perceived sub-national group security	+	Demographic questions

Study 2 (items included in analysis)

National identity salience tasks	+	Multiple groups rated on importance to self-concept	+	Multiple groups ranked on importance to self-concept	+	Demographic questions
Sub-national identity salience tasks	+	Multiple groups rated on importance to self-concept	+	Multiple groups ranked on importance to self-concept	+	Demographic questions
Personal identity salience tasks	+	Multiple groups rated on importance to self-concept	+	Multiple groups ranked on importance to self-concept	+	Demographic questions

With regards to Figure 2 it should be noted that content of responses to the **identity salience tasks** were not analysed. It was simply noted to which experimental condition each participant had been allocated.

Sample

Sampling strategy

Phase 1

Purposive sampling was used. The study attempted to control for socio-economic class differences, as class has been found to be significant factor in influencing political orientation (e.g. Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999). Because the study could not be large enough to allow for full analysis of class differences, one class stratum was selected to control this variable. I tried to select schools whose pupils are mostly from a lower-middle class background. This was mainly to move away from the class bias that tends to lead researchers to use middle and upper-middle class respondents. The differences that may result from a boys-only, girls-only or co-educational environment were also controlled for. Only co-educational schools were included.

It was also decided to try to use schools that had a similar level of ethnic diversity. The "contact hypothesis" (Amir, 1969; Hewstone & Brown, 1986) suggests that people's attitudes towards social groups "are determined, to a major extent, by the experiences they have with individual members of those groups" (Stangor, Jonas, Stroebe, & Hewstone, 1996, 664). The nature of this experience could lead to positive or negative attitudes and stereotypes being held. Regular contact with out-group members is no guarantee of developing positive attitudes towards the out-group; but contact certainly has the power to affect attitudes towards out-groups. Adolescents' experience of cross-cultural or inter-ethnic contact at school probably has an effect on their attitudes towards social diversity and ethnic out-groups. Thus it was deemed necessary to try to control for the effects of inter-group contact by selecting schools with similar levels of diversity (the ratio of majority to minority groupings within the school, regardless of which ethnic groups these represented).

The Western Cape Education Department was approached for information about the socio-economic level and racial composition of high schools in the Cape Town area. It became apparent, however, that straightforward data would not be obtainable. A socio-economic rating was available for each school, ranging from 1 (for the most affluent schools) to 7 (for the poorest). This index is calculated to inform funding allocations. The formula for calculating the index is weighted to include both factors in the school's community, and factors pertaining to the school itself. Thus the ratings are not strictly reflective of the socio-economic status of the learners in the school, because factors like the quality of the school buildings and the educational qualifications of the teachers, are included in the index. A breakdown of the data on schools, however, was also not very helpful. The indices that referred specifically to the socio-economic status of the learners and their families, such as census data on income and parents' reports of their income and educational level, often seemed to contradict each other.

The WCED overall index was therefore considered to be a very rough measure of socio-economic status. But it was the best indicator available, and so was used to select a band of schools for consideration. Schools with an index greater than one, but less than 2.5, were considered for inclusion in the first instance.

Data on the racial composition of schools was not available from the WCED. The Department requests this information from schools, but many schools decline to provide it, on the basis that the request encourages racial classification and discrimination. Therefore the nearest thing available was information on the linguistic diversity at schools. In an attempt to ensure that all the participants in the study would have had some form of inter-ethnic contact at school, schools were selected if they had at least a 20% minority group. That is, no one language could be spoken by more than 80% of the learners. Table 3 shows the characteristics of the initial selection of schools.

Table 3: Language breakdown and Education Department ratings for first six schools

	% English	% Afrikaans	% Xhosa	WCED total index
School A	55.0	5.7	39.2	1.14
School B	50.3	5.7	44.0	1.52
School C	71.6	5.0	23.4	1.71
School D	60.4	15.2	24.4	1.93
School E	64.2	22.3	13.5	2.35
School F	64.0	5.5	30.5	2.46

Three of these schools used to be open to White pupils only under Apartheid; two had been unofficially desegregated for many years; and one used to be open to Coloured pupils only. It was therefore assumed that the mixed language statistics reflected a current picture of racial integration between Black, Coloured and White learners. Once research commenced, however, it was discovered that all six of these schools had only a tiny minority of White learners enrolled. The ethnic composition of these schools had changed much more radically than I had anticipated. (The topic of "White flight" from South African state schools is not within the scope of this thesis, but is certainly worth noting. There appears to be a major demographic redistribution process unfolding within the educational system.)

It was also discovered that many schools do not only serve their adjacent suburbs. One school principal explained that Cape Town public schools located in middle or lower-middle-class suburbs, and which are also close to public transport, sometimes have a high percentage of their pupils commuting to school from poorer communities. The location of these previously "White" state schools is no indication of the schools' current catchment areas, or the socio-economic status of the communities they serve.

Phase 2

Additional schools had to be selected to ensure the inclusion of White participants. It was clear that schools with a slightly higher socio-economic rating would have to be included to provide a White sample. This time,

information was gathered through informal channels about the racial composition of prospective schools. On the basis of this new information, four schools were selected to provide large enough White Afrikaans and English-speaking samples. These schools all scored "1" on the Education Department's index, suggesting that they are among the most affluent schools. But informal information about these schools suggested that they did not necessarily represent the most affluent communities.

Once the data from the ten schools had been captured, it became clear that the final Black sample was smaller than had been anticipated (with the additional problem that some were several years older than their White and Coloured Grade 11 peers). It was therefore necessary to find additional Black participants. The eleventh school in the study had an entirely Black enrollment. Unlike the other schools, it was located in an economically depressed township.

In the second phase of sampling, the criterion of ethnic diversity within schools had to be abandoned. By the end of Phase 1 sampling sufficient questionnaires had been completed by Coloured participants. The research funding could not support the cost of distributing questionnaires in schools where a significant proportion of the respondents would be from this group, and whose questionnaires would therefore not be needed. The final five schools were therefore selected because they offered a guaranteed White and Black sample.

The initial sampling plan was designed to control for socio-economic differences by selecting schools with similar socio-economic ratings. But this plan was confounded by the lack of official information about the ethnic composition of schools, and the resulting miscalculation of ethnic representation in those schools. The second stage of sampling was aimed at correcting the ethnic imbalance in the sample. But the socio-economic criterion was difficult to follow. Using informal channels (in the absence of official records of school demographics) it was difficult to locate schools with a significant proportion of lower-middle-class English-speaking White learners. It was even more difficult to find schools with a high proportion of lower-middle-class Black learners, apart from the ones located in Phase 1. (Most schools with a majority of White English-speaking learners fall above the Phase 1 SES bracket, and most schools with a majority of Black learners fall below it.)

Thus, although the sampling began with an attempt to be objective and accurate, the final sample was less controlled than had been intended. A point was reached where a large number of questionnaires would have had to be distributed, for a small return of participants in the desired socio-economic bracket and ethnic groups. Funding constraints prevented this. The participants were therefore not all from the same socio-economic bracket. The implications of this are discussed in Chapter 6.

Selection of the final sample

Over 1000 questionnaires were administered. The participants categorised themselves as belonging to a wide range of ethnic groups and nationalities. All non-South African participants were excluded at the outset. Certain ethnic groupings were not represented in sufficient numbers to warrant their inclusion in statistical analyses. This

resulted in the exclusion of Afrikaans-speaking and bilingual Coloured participants, Black participants who indicated only a European language as their first language, bilingual White participants, those indicating their ethnic group as being Indian or "Muslim", and those who did not indicate either their ethnic group or their language. Likewise, those who failed to indicate either their year or month of birth were excluded.

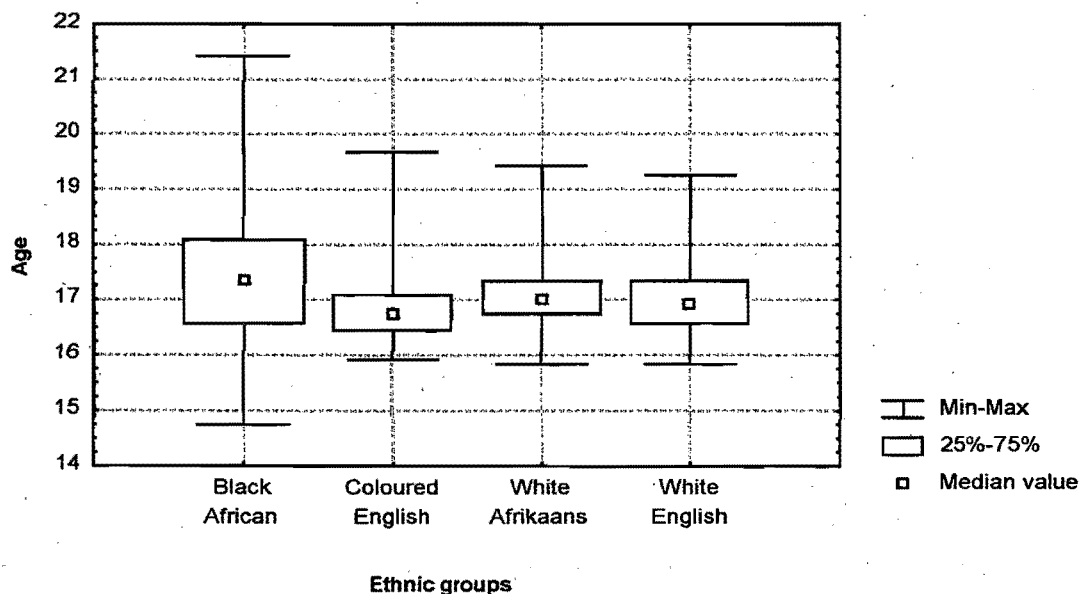
Due to funding constraints, Study 2 had to be restricted to a smaller number of participants than Study 1. It was decided to include only first-language English-speakers in Study 2. (The following section describes how this was achieved during questionnaire administration). When the data collection was complete, only the Coloured English-speaking participants in Study 2 numbered enough to allow for statistical analyses. The small number of White and Black English first-language speakers who had completed questionnaires for Study 2 were not included in the final sample for analysis.

The resultant sample of correctly-completed questionnaires numbered 879.

Participants' ages were calculated relative to the month of June, 2001. The age of the participants ranged from 14 years 9 months, to 21 years 5 months, with a mean of 17.03. The standard deviation was .78 (just over 9 months). The lower quartile was 16 years 6 months, and the upper quartile 17 years 4 months. The rationale for using only Grade 11 learners had been to restrict the age range of the participants, so as to control for developmental stage. When considering the age spread of the sample, it was deemed inappropriate to include 14 year-olds with 21-year-olds in the same study. It was therefore decided to trim the sample to ensure a relatively narrow age range.

When age was broken down by ethnicity, it appeared that the Black African language group was much more diverse in terms of age than the other groups. Figure 3 illustrates this.

Figure 3: Boxplot of ages within the initial sample, categorised by ethnicity



Trimming the data narrowly around the general mean or inter-quartile range would have led to the exclusion of many Black African language participants. It was therefore decided to use an age range that would encompass the inter-quartile ranges for all ethnic groups. The lower and upper limits for inclusion in the study were set at 16 years 6 months and 18 years 6 months, inclusive.

The final sample stood at 656.

- **N=565 in Study 1**, including participants from all four ethnic groups.
- **N=91 for study 2**, comprising Coloured English-speakers only.

Table 4 presents a breakdown of the ethnically mixed sample in Study 1, in terms of age, gender and ethnicity.

Table 4: Demographic characteristics of final sample for Study 1

	Black African – language speaking	Coloured English- speaking	White Afrikaans- speaking	White English- speaking
Male	37	81	86	53
Female	62	91	86	69
Total	99	172	172	122
Mean age	17.44	16.98	17.12	17.07

For Study 2 (Coloured English-speakers only) the mean age of this group was 17.06, with a standard deviation of .49. There were 36 males and 55 females in this sample.

The available sample sizes in both Study 1 and 2 would not allow for the inclusion of gender as an additional independent variable. Based on the literature, however, there is no a priori reason to expect gender differences in adolescent identification with the country and continent. Gender was therefore not included in any analyses in Study 2, and was excluded from analysis of variance calculations in Study 1. Study 1 did, however, include a multiple regression analysis in which gender could be entered as an independent variable.

Procedure

Permission was obtained from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct this study in Cape Town High Schools (see Appendix B letter of permission). Thereafter schools were contacted and requested to participate. The nature of the study was explained to school principals. Principals were asked to arrange for all their schools' Grade 11 learners to be present for the questionnaire administration, if possible, and for the session to last at least 50 minutes. Most schools were able to arrange this. At two schools it was possible to see only one

class; at another, three classes were seen in succession. At two there was less time available than the requested 50 minutes because of the time taken for the learners to assemble and follow instructions.

The questionnaire was administered personally by this researcher at all eleven schools. In each case, learners were asked to sit with some space between them, and to treat the questionnaire like a test with no talking or looking at each other's work. It was explained that this was a study of the social attitudes of teenagers in Cape Town. Participants were requested to fill out the questionnaire, but at the same time it was made clear that they did not have to participate if they did not want to. The anonymous nature of the questionnaire was stressed. It was made clear that there were different versions of the questionnaire, so it would not make sense for participants to look at each other's answers.

Questionnaires were handed out according to language in order to control who received questionnaires for Study 1 and Study 2 (recall that Study 2 was to involve English first-language speakers only). Participants were first given the option of doing the questionnaire in Xhosa, and then in Afrikaans. Next, those participants whose first language was not English, but who preferred to do the questionnaire in English, were given questionnaires. These three groups received questionnaires for Study 1 only. Lastly, those whose first language was English were given questionnaires. Questionnaires for Study 1 and Study 2 were distributed randomly amongst them.

An unexpected turn of events was that Xhosa-speakers attending English-medium schools mostly preferred to complete the questionnaire in English. They explained that they did not have any opportunity to practice reading and writing Xhosa and thus found the Xhosa questionnaire difficult to understand. They experienced no problems completing the questionnaire in English. Most of the learners from the all-Black school also completed the questionnaire in English. It transpired that Xhosa-speakers were in the minority in that class.

Once all participants had a questionnaire, a final important instruction was given. Each page was to be completed and thereafter not returned to. It was stressed that it would upset the research findings if the participants were to skip backward and forward or change their answers.

The questionnaire took most participants between 15 and 25 minutes to complete. A few took longer. If time was running out, stragglers were requested to omit the second-last page (the items assessing attitudes towards diversity) and to move onto the last page (the demographics section).

An omission was noticed after the questionnaires had already been printed. There was no question to determine the respondents' nationality. This problem was addressed by requesting this information at the end of each session, once all questionnaires were complete. Participants were asked to write down their nationality (in the sense of their citizenship or passport) on the last page of the questionnaire.

Questionnaires were then collected and the learners thanked for their participation. A debriefing followed. Depending on the amount of time left a short explanation of the nature of the study was provided. The debriefing also emphasised that the study was not endorsing ethnic or racial stereotypes, since those in the ethnic identity condition may have felt that they were being asked to make judgements about ethnic groups in South Africa. The true purpose of the stereotyping task was explained. Participants were encouraged to ask any questions they wished.

Investigation of scale properties

The measures used in Study 2 did not require reliability testing since only rankings and single-item ratings, rather than scales, were used. Study 1, however, featured three sets of items that required preliminary assessment for their reliability and meaningfulness as scales. It will be recalled that in the small pilot sample, the items measuring identification with Africa formed a cohesive scale, but the items assessing South African identification seemed to point to two separate sub-scales. Preliminary analyses with the main sample were thus required to confirm the psychometric properties of the African identification scale, and to examine the relationship between the items concerning South African identification. Likewise, the pilot analysis found that the nine items measuring attitudes towards diversity and perceived sub-national group security did not form a single scale, but might be divisible into two sub-scales. This required investigation.

Measure of identification with South Africa

Item analysis

Item analysis was conducted to assess whether the 6 items measuring identification with South Africa, formed a psychometrically sound scale. Table 5 shows the results of for the sample as a whole, and for each ethnic group.

Table 5: Item analysis on 6 items measuring identification with South Africa

	Black African	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Whole sample
Cronbach's alpha	.73	.80	.67	.80	.76
Average inter-item correlation	.32	.41	.26	.41	.36

Table D1, Appendix D shows the full item analysis for the sample as a whole. It should be noted that none of the items were "bad" items, in that alpha would have improved in the item were omitted. There was therefore no reason to exclude any items.

The Cronbach's alpha (non-standardised) of .76 for the whole sample is lower than the reliability levels reported in the previous studies on which the present one is based (Cinnirella, 1997; Cinnirella, 1998; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). For the scale measuring national identification, these studies reported Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .89 to .93. These studies, all conducted in Britain, included a seventh item in the scale and used

university students as participants. The present study differs from these conditions in terms of location, sample age and ethnicity, and number of items in the scale; so it would have been truly impressive if similar reliability levels had been found. A Cronbach's alpha of .76 is passable, rather than strong. But for a scale being used under such different conditions -- adapted for a different age group, in a different cultural context -- this level of inter-item reliability must be seen as being quite good.

Factor analysis

Principal factors analysis by communalities was conducted on the six items, to test whether they all represented one underlying construct. The factor analysis was conducted within each ethnic group, since it was important to establish that the items represented one underlying construct for each group. In all cases, one factor was extracted. Table 6 (next page) shows the extent to which each item loaded onto the single factor.

For all four ethnic groups, all six items loaded positively onto the single factor. The single factor solution seemed to provide more explanatory power for the two English-speaking groups, with a greater proportion of the variance explained by the one-factor solution in these groups. In the English-speaking groups, the items also loaded more strongly and consistently onto the factor. Overall, however, the results show that a single factor does seem to underpin responses to all six items.

Table 6: Results of factor analysis: items on identification with SA

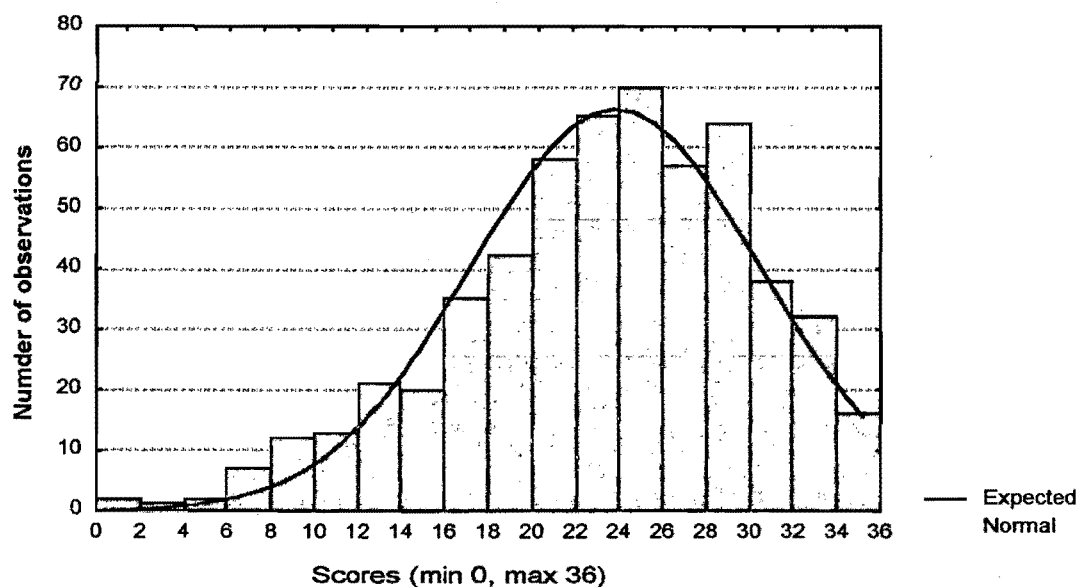
	Black African	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English
Loading of items				
How much do you feel South African?	.68*	.79*	.36	.79*
How much do you feel strong ties with other South Africans?	.41	.54*	.56*	.51*
How pleased do you feel to be South African?	.81*	.73*	.62*	.71*
How similar do you think you are to the average South African?	.48	.50*	.30	.51*
How important to you is being South African?	.54*	.76*	.69*	.75*
When you hear a foreigner criticising South Africa, how much do you feel personally criticised?	.44	.46	.46	.54*
Eigenvalue of factor	2.01	2.49	1.60	2.50
Proportion of total variance explained	.33	.42	.27	.42

Items with loadings ≥ .5 are marked with an asterisk.

Taken together with the results of the item analyses, the factor analyses suggested that the six items used to measure identification with South Africa could justifiably be used as a scale. The items all tap into an underlying factor of identification with the country, although they represent different aspects of this identification. It was therefore deemed reasonable to sum each participant's scores on the six items, to obtain a single total score for Identification with South Africa. This total is subsequently referred to as the SA Identification score. SA Identification scores could range from 0 to 36.

After deleting those cases where one or more of the six component items was missing, the total sample of SA Identification scores was 555. The scores ranged from 1 to 36, with a mean of 23.82 and a standard deviation of 6.67. Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of SA Identification scores.

Figure 4: Distribution of SA Identification scores for whole sample



Measure of identification with Africa

Item analysis

Item analysis was conducted to assess whether the 6 items measuring identification with Africa, formed a psychometrically sound scale. Table 7 shows the results of for the sample as a whole, and for each ethnic group.

Table 7: Item analysis on 6 items measuring identification with Africa

	Black African	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Whole sample
Cronbach's alpha	.81	.86	.87	.91	.89
Average inter-item correlation	.43	.52	.55	.64	.59

The items measuring identification with Africa showed much higher inter-item reliability than did the items measuring identification with South Africa, discussed above. On the six African identification items, inter-item reliability was above .81 in all four ethnic groups. Cronbach's alpha of .89 for the whole sample compares favourably with the inter-item reliability reported by (Cinnirella, 1997; Cinnirella, 1998; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). These studies used the same six items, plus an additional one, to assess identification with Europe. Cronbach's alpha for these European identification scales ranged from .91 to .93. Thus it appears that the questions regarding African identification cohere to much the same extent as questions regarding European identification. While the items on national (South African) identification showed moderate inter-item cohesion, the items on supra-national (African) identification showed a high degree of inter-item coherence.

Table D2 in Appendix D shows the full item analysis for the sample as a whole. As with the items measuring identification with South Africa, none of the African Identification items detracted from Cronbach's alpha. Item analysis therefore supported keeping all 6 items.

Factor analysis

As with the items on South African identification, the items on African identification were subjected to factor analysis to ensure that they all tapped into a single underlying construct. Principal factors analysis by communalities was conducted for the six items within each ethnic group. In all cases, a single factor was extracted. The degree to which each item loaded onto this factor is summarised in Table 8.

Table 8: Results of factor analysis: items measuring identification with Africa

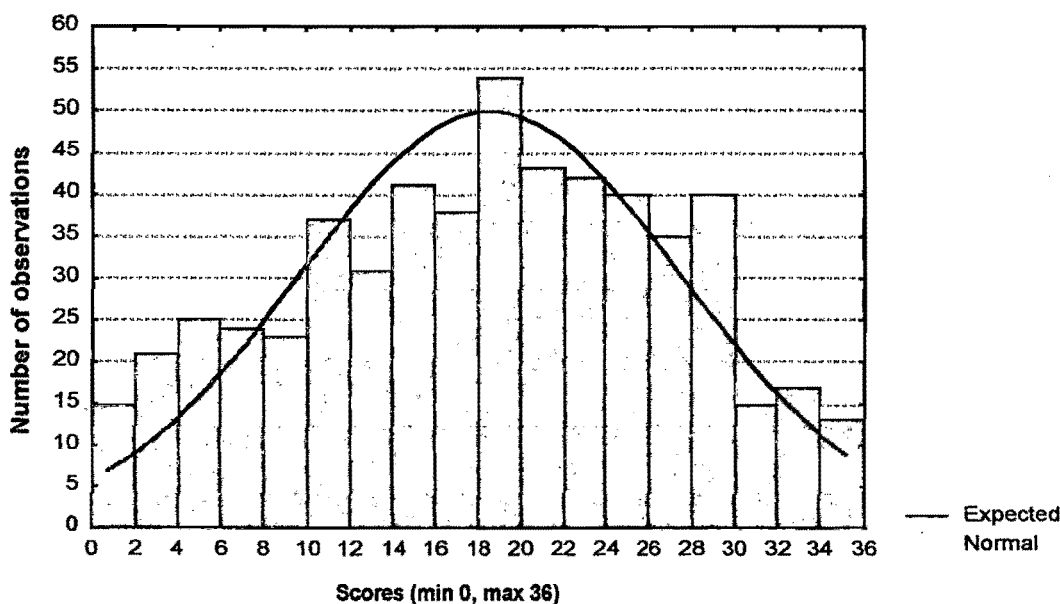
	Black African	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English
Loading of items				
How much do you feel African?	.77*	.77*	.78*	.81*
How much do you feel strong ties with other Africans?	.67*	.73*	.75*	.79*
How pleased do you feel to be African?	.81*	.81*	.85*	.91*
How similar do you think you are to the average African?	.57*	.60*	.54*	.72*
How important to you is being African?	.63*	.78*	.82*	.75*
When you hear a person from another continent criticising Africa, how much do you feel personally criticised?	.45	.61*	.62*	.88*
Eigenvalue of factor	2.64	3.10	3.25	3.81
Proportion of total variance explained	.44	.52	.54	.64

Items with loadings $\geq .5$ are marked with an asterisk.

The factor loadings are all positive, and, with the exception of Item 6 in the Black African language speaking group, are all higher than .5. The single factor solution also explains at least 44% of the variance in item scores. Factor analysis thus found strong evidence for a single underlying factor that connects these items. In addition, the items appear to cohere very well as a scale with high Cronbach's alpha for all groups. These results strongly supported the use of the six items as a unitary scale. As with the South African national identity items, a total score was therefore calculated for each participant. The total is referred to as the African Identification score. The score, as with the SA Identification Score, could potentially range from 0 to 36.

After deleting incomplete cases, the total sample of African Identification scores numbered 561. The scores ranged from 0 to 36, with a mean of 18.56 and a standard deviation of 8.96. Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of African Identification scores.

Figure 5: Distribution of African Identification scores for whole sample



In Study 1 the six-item measures of identification could therefore be used as psychometrically reliable scales. The totals on these scales (SA Identification and African Identification) could be used as measures of the dependent variables (identification with South Africa and Africa, respectively). Before the main analyses could be conducted using these scores, however, it was necessary to rule out the possibility that differences in age between ethnic groups could confound the results.

Analytical issue: Age as a covariate of ethnicity

As discussed above, the initial sample showed a broader distribution of age in the Black African-language speaking sample, compared to the other three ethnic groups. The final sample was trimmed to eliminate this

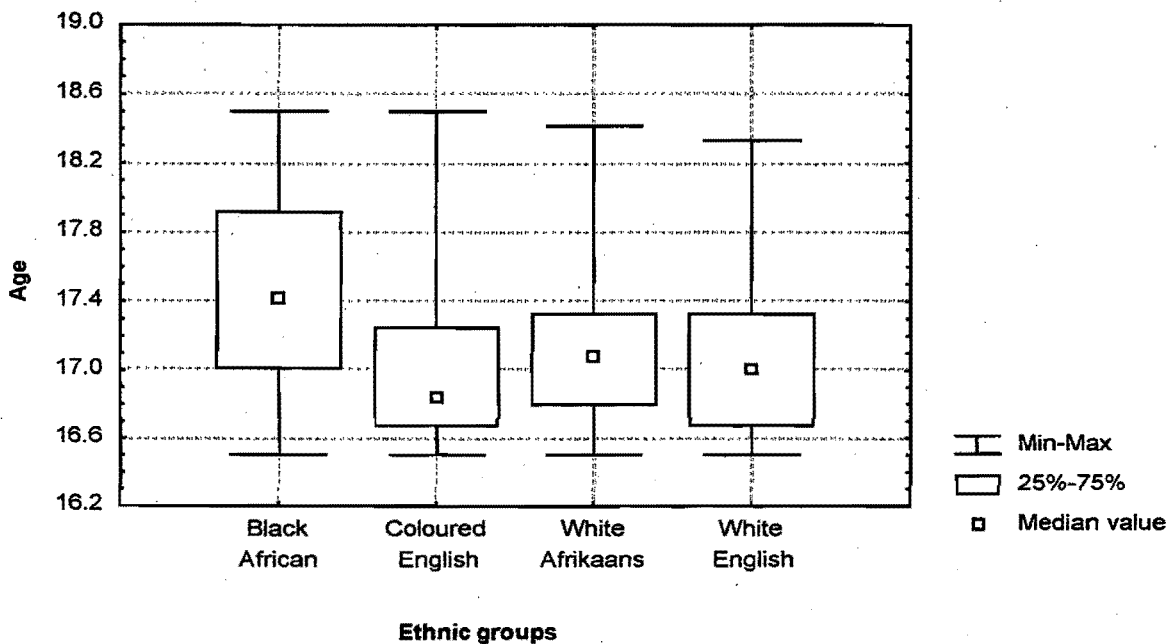
spread, with only participants aged 16.5 to 18.5 years included. But it was still necessary to investigate possible systematic age differences in the final sample, and to correlate age with the dependent variables to see whether age could have a confounding effect on conclusions about ethnic differences.

Analysis of variance was used to test whether there was a still a systematic difference in age between ethnic groups within the final sample. A one-way ANOVA comparing ages between ethnic groups found a significant effect for ethnicity ($F[3, 565] = 21.48; p < .01$). Post-hoc comparisons, using Tukey's Honest Significant Difference (HSD) test for groups with unequal N's, found that:

- (a) the Black African-language group was older than the other three groups ($p < .01$)
- (b) the Coloured English-speaking group was younger than the White Afrikaans group ($p < .05$).

Figure 6 shows a categorised box plot for the ages spread across ethnic groups. The age difference between the Black African-language sample and the other groups is more prominent than the age difference between the Coloured English-speaking and White Afrikaans groups.

Figure 6: Boxplot of ages within final sample, categorised by ethnicity



Age varied systematically between ethnic groups. If significant differences were later found between ethnic groups on any of the dependent variables, this would raise the question of whether the differences were not due to age, rather than ethnicity-related factors. To deal with this potential confounding variable, it was necessary to establish whether age covaried with the dependent variables of identification with South Africa and Africa (as measured by SA Identification and African Identification scores). The correlations between the independent

variable of age, and the dependent variables of SA Identification and African Identification, were calculated for each ethnic group. These correlations are displayed in Table 9.

Table 9: Correlations between age, and SA and African Identification.
Correlations significant at $p < .05$ are marked with an asterisk.

Ethnic group	r: Age and SA ID	r: Age and African ID
Black African language speakers	.12	.18
Coloured English-speakers	.04	.02
White Afrikaans-speakers	.18*	.17*
White English-speakers	-.03	-.04
Whole sample	.14*	.24*

Age correlated significantly with the two dependent variables in the White Afrikaans group only. The Black African-language group showed a correlation of .18 between age and African Identification, which is larger than the same correlation in the White Afrikaans group. The fact that the former was non-significant but the latter significant can only be due to the smaller size of the Black African-language sample, which leads to less statistical certainty in the correlation for this group.

For the group as a whole, however, age correlated positively and significantly with both SA and African Identification scores. This is cause for concern, as this establishes that age is indeed potentially confounded with ethnicity in further analyses of variations in SA and African Identification. In further calculations where potential differences between ethnic groups were investigated, age was therefore included as a covariate of ethnicity.

Attitudes towards diversity, and perceived cultural and religious security

The second-last page of the questionnaire contained seven items designed to measure attitudes towards cultural diversity, as well as two items assessing the perception that cultural and religious group identities are protected in South Africa (perceived in-group security). Participants indicated their agreement or disagreement with each item on a scale of 0 to 6. The items are presented below, with each item's abbreviated title in parentheses:

1. I like the idea of hearing many different languages being spoken in the playground at school.
(*Like many languages*)
2. When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures.
(*Culture undermined*)
3. Mixing people of different cultures and religions can actually do more harm than good.
(*Mixing can be harmful*)
4. The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day. (*Contact creates appreciation*)
5. Countries where the people share one language and culture, have fewer problems than multicultural

countries. (*One culture less problematic*)

6. I think it is natural to want to be with people from your own culture, and to avoid people who are different.

(*Stick to own culture*)

7. I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages.

(*Like SA's diversity*)

8. I believe that in South Africa, everybody's culture and language are equally protected and respected.

(*Cultures and languages protected*)

9. I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected.

(*Religions protected*)

The first seven of these items were designed to tap attitudes towards diversity in South Africa. Items 1, 4 and 7 were phrased so that higher scores reflected more favourable attitudes towards diversity. Items 2, 3, 5 and 6 were phrased so that higher scores reflected *less* favourable attitudes towards diversity. Items eight and nine were designed to measure the perceived security of two types of sub-national identity: cultural / linguistic, and religious. High scores on these items would indicate that these groups are seen to be protected and secure. Low scores would indicate perceived threat or vulnerability. Since these items were all designed for the present study, exploratory analysis was carried out to assess whether they related to each other in the way they were designed to do. Table 10 presents the correlation matrix for these nine items.

Table 10: Attitudes towards diversity and perceived in-group security: correlation matrix for whole sample. Correlations significant at $p < .05$ are marked with an asterisk.

N=538	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Like many languages	1.00								
2 Culture undermined	-.10*	1.00							
3 Mixing can be harmful	-.29*	.32*	1.00						
4 Contact creates appreciation	.31*	-.10*	-.28*	1.00					
5 One culture less problematic	-.14*	.20*	.29*	-.02	1.00				
6 Stick to own culture	-.16*	.18*	.32*	-.13*	.25*	1.00			
7 Like SA's diversity	.61*	-.16*	-.41*	.38*	-.22*	-.26*	1.00		
8 Cultures, languages protected	.03	.05	-.07	-.00	.02	-.02	.00	1.00	
9 Religions protected	.03	-.03	-.03	.11*	-.04	-.04	.05	-.00	1.00

Of the correlations between the seven items assessing attitudes towards diversity, all but one were statistically significant at the .05 level. The correlations were also all in the predicted directions, reflecting the "negative scoring" effect of the phrasing of items 2, 3, 5 and 6.

Scores on items 8 and 9 (perceived protection of sub-national identities) did not correlate to any significant extent with the items assessing attitudes towards diversity. This suggests that they were indeed reflecting a different type of cognition compared to the attitude items. It is surprising, however, that the two items addressing perceived in-group security did not correlate with each other at all. We must therefore assume that perceived threat to culture and language is entirely independent of perceived threat to religion. It was also surprising that neither of these items was significantly correlated with Item 2 ("When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures"), which addressed perceived threat to one's own cultural identity from other cultures in South Africa.

The significant correlations between the items 1 to 7 ranged in magnitude from -.10 to .61. Thus, although the pattern of correlations for the sample as a whole suggests that the items are logically inter-related, the strength of the inter-relations varied considerably. Item analysis was conducted to investigate whether the seven items on attitudes towards diversity formed a reliable scale.

Cronbach's alpha for the sample as a whole, using all seven items, was a low .17. The average inter-item correlation was .03. This suggests that the seven items do not work together as a measure of attitudes. Rather, the items were measuring attitudes on difference dimensions. Put otherwise, it seemed likely that the seven items could be reduced to represent a smaller number of underlying factors.

Factor analysis was therefore conducted to explore the possibility that sub-groups of items might cluster together along independent dimensions. Because an attempt was being made to find orthogonal factors, Principal Components extraction was used. Two factors were extracted. Table D3 in Appendix D summarises the findings.

It appeared that three items 1, 4 and 7 were related to a single underlying factor. These items all reflect a positive attitude towards diversity. Item analysis was conducted on these three items. Together, they had a Cronbach's alpha of .70, with average inter-item correlation of .44. This is an acceptable level of inter-item congruence. Further investigation was warranted at the level of the four ethnic groups, to confirm that these three items could be treated as a single scale.

Items 2, 3, 5 and 6 appeared to cluster on a second, orthogonal factor, representing negative attitudes towards diversity. Item 3 did not, however, load cleanly onto this factor, since it also had a reasonably high loading (-.41) on Factor 1. Item analysis was conducted on items 2, 5 and 6. Cronbach's alpha was .44, with average inter-item correlations of .21. Adding item 3 increased Cronbach's alpha to .58. This level of reliability was unsatisfactory, and it was decided that items 2, 3, 5, and 6 could not be treated as a scale.

Factor analysis was carried out for each ethnic group, using Principal Components extraction (with varimax normalized rotation), to see whether the same two clusters of items emerged within all four ethnic groups. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables D4 to D7, Appendix D.

In the Black African-language and the White Afrikaans groups, three factors were extracted. In the Coloured and White English-speaking groups, two factors were extracted. No item cluster is repeated in all four ethnic groups. The factor analyses indicated that it would be inappropriate to pool the scores on items 1, 4 and 7 for all ethnic groups.

Item analysis by ethnic group confirmed this. Reliability analysis on items 1, 4 and 7, for the sample as a whole, had yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .70, with average inter-item correlation of .44. Thus for the sample as a whole, these three items could justifiably be pooled to form a scale. But this was not the case for each ethnic group. The White Afrikaans and White English-speaking groups showed acceptable levels of inter-item congruence, with Cronbach's alpha's of .73 and .69 respectively (with average inter-item correlations of .48 and .43). But in the Black African-language and Coloured English-speaking groups, inter-item reliability and correlation were too low to justify treating these items as a scale (Cronbach's alpha's of .46 and .59; average inter-item correlations of .21 and .33).

Thus it was not possible to construct a meaningful scale from the seven items assessing attitudes towards diversity. Further analysis had to treat each item separately.

The following chapter presents the formal analysis of results, based on these preliminary analyses.

Chapter 5

Results

Study 1 (main study): Identity salience, ethnicity and identification with South Africa and Africa

The main study investigated a number of hypotheses concerning identification at the national and supra-national (African) level among South African adolescents.

- The specific type of identity that is salient at a given time (personal, sub-national, or national) will influence the degree to which identification with South Africa and Africa is expressed.
- Different ethnic groups in South Africa will show distinct patterns of identification with South Africa and with Africa.
- The effect of having a particular identity made salient will vary as a function of population group membership.
- Attitudes towards social diversity will be related to identification with South Africa.

Additional questions not subsumed under these four areas of investigation, and about which no specific hypotheses were made, were also posed. Firstly, it was asked whether national and continental identity would be consonant, dissonant or indifferent in the ethnic groups under consideration. Secondly, it was asked whether there was a link between identification (at the national or continental level) and future commitment to South Africa (in terms of civic commitment and desire to emigrate). The effects of identity salience and ethnicity on future commitment were also investigated.

The questionnaire used for Study 1 is presented in Appendix C. The research questions above were investigated by applying statistical analysis to participants' questionnaire responses. The order of analysis reflects a logical progression from general questions to more specific ones. The research questions were investigated in the following order:

1. The effects of the identity salience manipulation and ethnicity on
 - identification with South Africa
 - identification with Africa
2. The relationship between South African and African Identification, including
 - the relationship between SA Identification and African Identification scores within participants
 - the absolute difference between these two scores within participants, across ethnic groups

3. Future commitment to South Africa. This included:
 - the relationship between civic commitment, desire to emigrate, and identification with South Africa
 - the effect of the identity salience manipulation and of ethnicity on responses to the two future commitment questionnaire items
4. Attitudes towards diversity, perceived security of sub-national identities, and identification with South Africa. This included:
 - the relationship between specific attitudes and beliefs, and identification with South Africa
 - the ability of attitudes and beliefs to predict identification with South Africa
 - further investigation of three attitude items

1. The effects of identity salience and ethnicity on strength of identification at the national and supra-national level

The central hypotheses of this study involved the effect of identity salience on expressed identification with South Africa and Africa. The questionnaire was designed to stimulate salience of one level of identity (personal, sub-national, or national), and then measure identification with South Africa and Africa. It was hypothesised that the specific level of identity made salient would influence the degree to which identification with South Africa and Africa were expressed. Specifically, it was expected that ethnic identity salience would reduce expressed identification with South Africa, and national identity salience would increase it, relative to the 'neutral' condition of personal identity salience.

It was, however, also hypothesised that this effect would vary across ethnic groups and types of identity salience. Thus, it was expected that an interaction would be found between ethnicity and experimental condition. Several specific interactions were hypothesised (see Chapter 3).

Ethnicity was expected to have an effect over and above the effect of identity salience, with regards to absolute levels of identification with Africa. It was predicted that Black African-language speaking adolescents would identify more strongly with Africa compared to other ethnic groups, regardless of the level of identity that was made salient. It was thus expected that the Black African-language group would score higher on the African Identification scale than the other groups would, irrespective of the experimental condition to which participants had been allocated. (The study also investigated the possible existence of a similar effect for ethnicity on South African Identification, although no specific link between ethnicity and South African identification was hypothesised.)

These hypotheses were tested through analysis of variance of means in SA Identification and African Identification scores.

The effect of the experimental manipulation on identification with South Africa

Two-way ANCOVA was conducted on SA Identification scores. SA Identification scores were compared between experimental conditions and ethnic groups, with age included as a covariate to control for its possible confounding effect. Table 11 summarises the means that were compared.

Table 11: SA Identification cells means, standard deviations and N's by experimental condition and ethnic group.

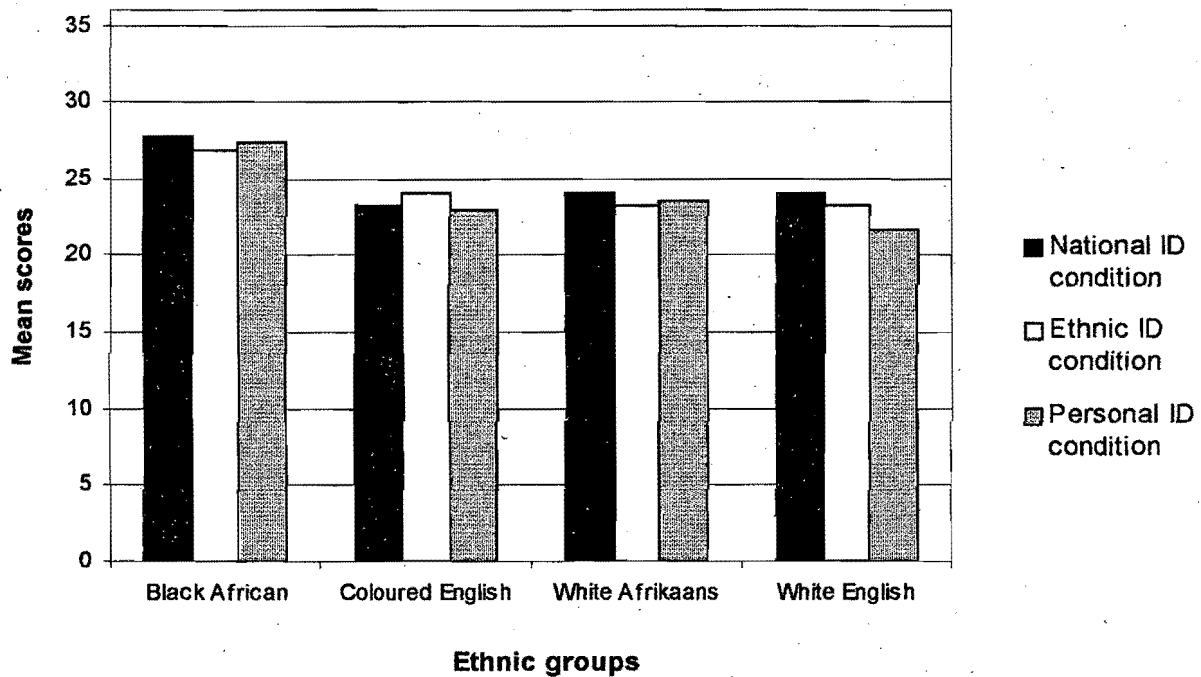
Experimental condition	Ethnic group	SA Identification		Age		N
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
National identity	Black African	27.82	5.39	17.39	.56	34
	Coloured English	23.27	6.51	17.00	.47	55
	White Afrikaans	24.08	5.82	17.01	.44	56
	White English	21.70	6.61	17.04	.44	47
Ethnic identity	Black African	26.80	7.80	17.47	.57	30
	Coloured English	24.05	5.77	16.99	.41	56
	White Afrikaans	23.28	6.18	17.21	.48	63
	White English	22.32	6.81	17.08	.39	38
Personal identity	Black African	27.43	6.31	17.48	.58	30
	Coloured English	22.98	7.51	16.95	.40	58
	White Afrikaans	23.54	5.81	17.16	.38	52
	White English	21.69	7.51	17.06	.47	36
All groups		23.82	6.67	17.12	.48	555

The ANCOVA showed that SA Identification scores were not affected by the identity salience condition to which a participant had been assigned. There were no systematic differences between the SA Identification scores of participants who completed the national identity, ethnic identity or personal identity salience tasks ($F[2, 551]=.13, p>.05$). Thus the experimental manipulation did not succeed in producing any changes in expressed identification with South Africa.

There was also no significant interaction between experimental condition and ethnicity ($F[6, 551]=.31, p>.05$). It had been predicted that certain ethnic groups would respond in particular ways to certain types of identity salience: for example, ethnic identity salience was expected to have a more powerful impact on identification with South Africa in the English and Afrikaans-speaking groups than in the African-language speaking participants. No such variations were found. The identity salience manipulation failed to create any fluctuations in SA Identification scores.

Identification with South Africa did, however, vary by ethnic group. The ANCOVA found a significant main effect for ethnicity ($F[3, 551]= 9.92, p<.01$). Post-hoc comparisons were conducted to investigate this effect, using Tukey's HSD for unequal N's. No significant differences were found between the scores of the Coloured English-speaking, White Afrikaans or White English-speaking groups ($p>.05$ in all cases). But the Black African-language group scored higher than all the other groups ($p<.01$). Although this difference was statistically significant, it was not of a large magnitude, as can be seen in Figure 7.

Figure 7: SA Identification scores by experimental condition and ethnic group



The effect of the experimental manipulation on identification with South Africa

Two-way ANCOVA was conducted on African Identification scores. African Identification scores were compared between experimental conditions and ethnic groups, with age included as a covariate. Table 12 summarises the means that were compared.

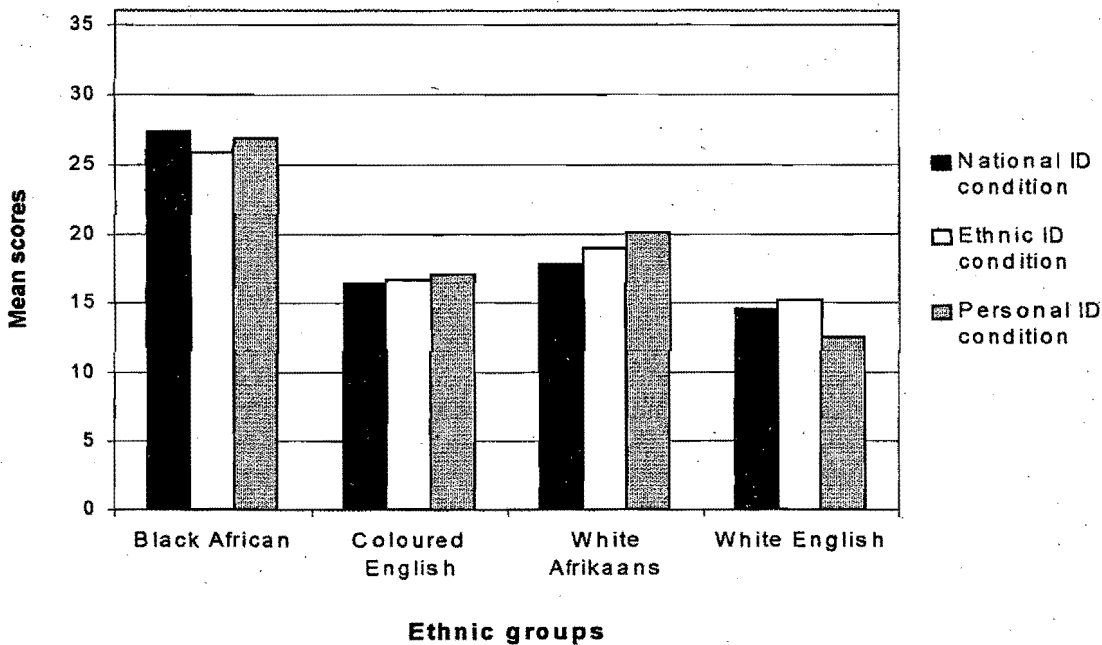
identification with Africa ($p < .01$ for all comparisons). The hypothesis that Black African-language speakers would identify more strongly with Africa than would members of other ethnic groups, was thus supported.

Secondly, there was a significant difference between the Coloured English-speaking and White Afrikaans groups ($p < .05$), with White Afrikaans-speakers scoring higher than the Coloured English-speakers.

Thirdly, there was a significant difference between the White English and Afrikaans-speaking groups. The Afrikaans-speakers scored higher than the English-speakers on African Identification ($p < .01$)

Thus there emerged a staggered order among ethnic groups for African Identification: Black African > White Afrikaans > Coloured and White English. Figure 8 illustrates these differences. Figure 8 is compared with Figure 7, it can be seen that the magnitude of difference between the Black African-language speakers' and the other ethnic groups' African Identification scores was larger than the magnitude of the inter-group difference in SA Identification scores.

Figure 8: African Identification scores by experimental condition and ethnic group



The results thus far suggest that the experimental manipulation of identity salience had no effect on expressed identification with South Africa or Africa. No support was found for the hypotheses regarding the effect of national versus ethnic identity salience on South African and African identification. Likewise, no support was found for the hypothesised interactions between the specific level of identity made salient, and ethnic group membership. No conclusions could be drawn about relative stability of identities across ethnic groups, since no fluctuations *within* ethnic groups (between experimental conditions) were observed. The possible reasons for the ineffectiveness of the experimental manipulation will be discussed in the following

chapter. There were, however, statistically significant differences between ethnic groups. As hypothesised, Black African-language speakers showed higher identification with Africa compared to the other ethnic groups. The African-language speakers also identified more strongly (but by a smaller margin) with South Africa. With regards to African identification, an unexpected finding was that White Afrikaans-speaking adolescents expressed greater identification with Africa than did their Coloured and White English-speaking peers, although still lower than the Black African-language adolescents.

2. The relationship between identification at the national and supra-national level

Two broad questions were addressed here. Firstly, the nature of the connection between identification with South Africa and Africa was explored. Would national and supra-national identities be consonant, dissonant, or indifferent, and would this vary between ethnic groups? This question was addressed by correlating scores on the SA Identification and African Identification scales.

Secondly, relative strength of identification with South Africa compared to Africa was explored. It had been predicted that Coloured English-speaking, White Afrikaans-speaking and White English-speaking participants would identify more strongly with South Africa than with Africa. Participants from these three ethnic groups were thus expected to score higher on the SA Identification scale than on the African Identification scale. (Relative strength of national versus supra-national identity in Black African-language speakers was also investigated, although no prediction had been made for this group.) Analysis of variance was used to test for possible between-group differences in relative strength of identification with South Africa and Africa.

To add to these findings, the distribution of scores on the SA Identity and African Identity measures were investigated for each ethnic group. Graphic representation of these distributions allows us to comment on the overall strength of national and supra-national identification in the four ethnic groups in this study.

South African and African Identification: harmonious or conflicting?

Research in the European context has found that national identities are not necessarily incompatible with a super-ordinate continental identity, but that this relationship depends on several factors: social constructions of the historical and current relationship between one's own and other countries within the continent; material and power concerns; and perceived relationships between these two levels of identity, and identities at other levels (such as the regional level). No research has yet tested the relationship between identification at the national level in South Africa, and the super-ordinate continental category of Africa. The current study is the first to attempt this.

If national and super-ordinate identities are perceived to be consonant, we would expect identification scores for these two categories to be significantly positively correlated. If the identities are dissonant, the correlation should be significantly negative. If the identities are indifferent (not psychologically related to each other), the correlation should approach zero.

Correlations were calculated between SA Identification and African Identification scores, for each ethnic group and for the sample as a whole. Table 13 displays these correlations.

Table 13: Correlations between SA Identification and African Identification. Correlations significant at $p < .05$ are marked with an asterisk.

Ethnic group	r: South African and African identification
Black African language	.58*
Coloured English	.34*
White Afrikaans	.51*
White English	.53*
<i>Whole group</i>	.57*

SA Identification and African Identification scores were significantly positively correlated with each other, both for the sample as a whole and within each ethnic group. This suggests that South African and African identities are construed as being consonant, or harmoniously nested, for all the ethnic groups in the present study.

Relative strength of national and supra-national identity

It was predicted that identification with Africa would be weaker than identification with South Africa, in the Coloured English-speaking, White Afrikaans-speaking and White English-speaking ethnic groups. Analysis of covariance was selected as the best way to test this prediction, since age had to be included as a covariate of identification.

First the data had to be tested for its suitability for ANCOVA. Levene's test indicated that the SA and African Identification scores did not violate the assumption of homogeneity of variances. (For SA Identification, $F[11,543] = .94, p > .05$. For African Identification, $F[11, 549] = 1.10, p > .05$.) The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed that the distributions of the two Identity scores did not deviate significantly from normality. (For SA Identification, $d = .033, p > .05$. For African Identification, $d = .049, p > .05$.) It was thus possible to conduct analysis of variance based on means.

Analysis

A two-way repeated-measures ANCOVA comparing SA and African Identification scores within subjects, across ethnic groups, and controlling for age as a covariate, was conducted. Table 14 summarises the means that were compared.

Table 14: Mean SA and African ID scores within subjects, by ethnic group

Ethnic group	SA Identification		African Identification		Valid N
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Black African language	27.37	6.54	26.45	7.62	93
Coloured English	23.42	6.64	16.73	7.61	168
White Afrikaans	23.61	5.94	19.00	8.19	170
White English	21.88	6.93	14.20	8.36	120
<i>All Groups</i>	<i>23.81</i>	<i>6.69</i>	<i>18.52</i>	<i>8.87</i>	<i>551</i>

Three significant effects were found. Firstly there was a significant difference between SA Identification and African Identification scores, when these were compared as the two “levels” of within-subjects testing ($F[1, 551] = 252.70, p < .01$). Post-hoc comparison of means using Tukey’s HSD for unequal N’s found that, for the sample as a whole, ^{SOOTH}African Identification scores were higher than ^{AFRICAN}SA Identification scores ($p < .01$). Thus the adolescents in this study tended to identify more strongly with South Africa than with Africa.

Secondly, there were significant differences between ethnic groups in the absolute strength of national and supra-national identity ($F[3, 546] = 29.15, p < .01$). According to Tukey’s HSD test for unequal N’s, Black African-language speakers scored significantly higher on *both* the South African and African Identification scales than all other participants ($p < .01$). White English-speakers scored the lowest on both scales, although this difference was only significant when compared to White Afrikaans-speakers and Black African-language speakers ($p < .01$). This pattern of ethnic differences will be analysed further, when the effects of identity salience and ethnicity on South African and African Identification scores are examined in detail.

Thirdly, there were differences between ethnic groups in the relative strength of South African versus African identification. The ANCOVA found a significant interaction between ethnicity on the one hand, and SA versus African Identification scores on the other ($F[3, 551] = 18.9; p < .01$). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD for unequal N’s found that the difference lay between the Black African-language speaking group and the others. As hypothesised, English-speaking Coloured, Afrikaans-speaking White, and English-speaking White groups all scored higher on South African Identification than on African Identification. No hypothesis had been made regarding relative strength of national versus supra-national identity in the Black African-language speaking participants. The ANCOVA showed that in this ethnic group, there was no significant difference between strength of national and supra-national identification. Figure 9 illustrates the effect of ethnicity on the difference between SA and African ID scores.

Figure 9: Mean SA and African Identification scores, by ethnic group

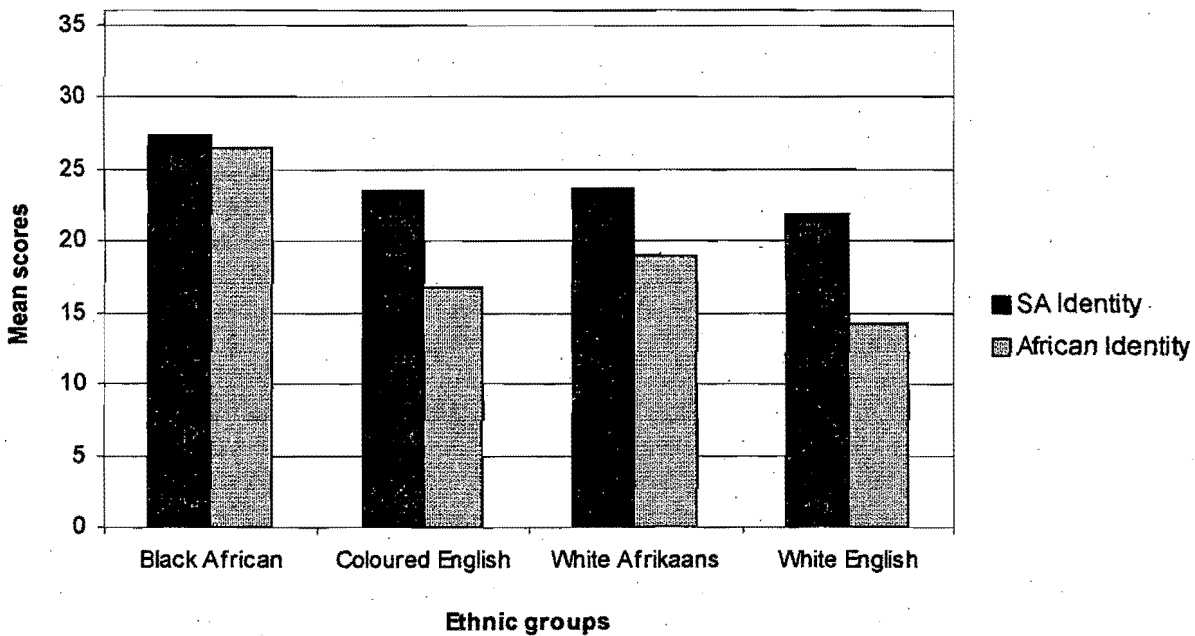
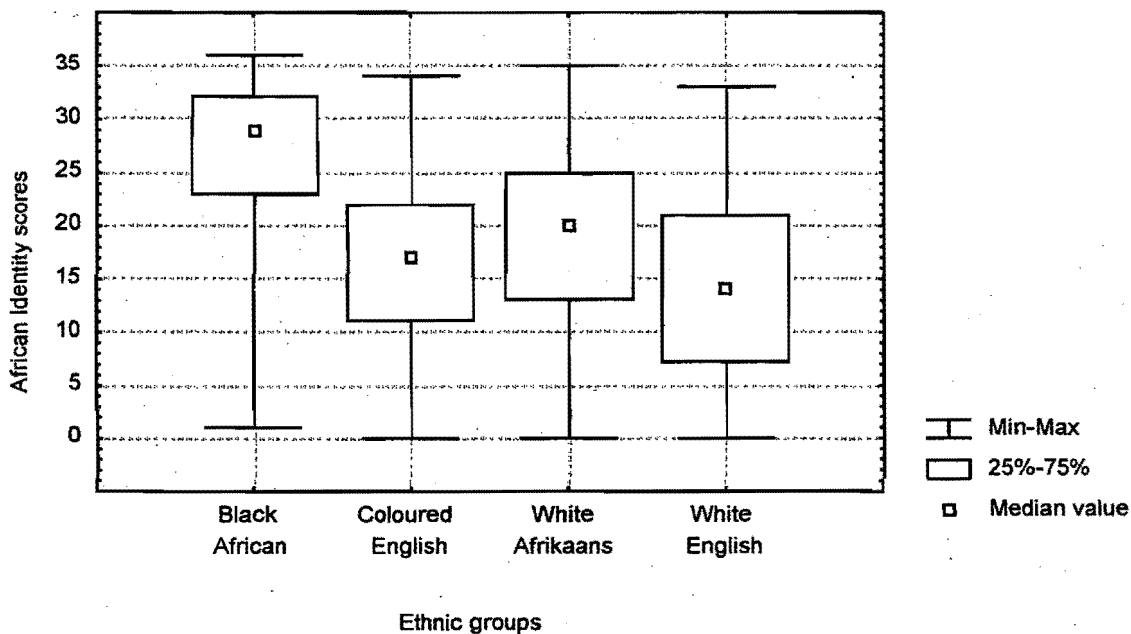


Figure 9 above gives us an indication of the absolute strength of identification with South Africa and with Africa in the four ethnic groups. With regards to identification with South Africa, the mean scores are well above the scale midpoint of 16. Identification with South Africa is moderate to strong in all four ethnic groups. Mean scores for African identification show a greater degree of variation between groups. While the Black African language group shows strong identification with Africa, the White Afrikaans and English-speaking Coloured groups' means suggest moderate identification. The White English-language group's mean score is actually below the scale midpoint. This suggests that many White English-speaking participants did not identify with Africa, or actively rejected this identity. Figure 10 below shows how almost half of the Coloured English-speakers and over half of the White English-speakers scored below the midpoint of the scale. While three-quarters of the Black African-languages speakers scored above 23 on the scale, three-quarters of the Coloured and White English-speakers scored *below* 23. The distribution of the White Afrikaans-speakers' scores is only slightly higher than the two English speaking groups' scores, but this difference is statistically significant.

Figure 10: Boxplot of African Identification scores, categorised by ethnicity



The results support the hypothesis that Coloured English speakers, White Afrikaans-speakers and White English-speakers identify more strongly with South Africa than with Africa. No hypothesis was made regarding the relative strength of national versus continental identification in the Black African-language speaking participants. This group was found to show essentially the same (high) level of identification with South Africa and Africa.

3. Future commitment to South Africa

The six-item measure of identification used in Study 1 operationalised several aspects of identification, as discussed in Chapter 3. But there are certain aspects of social identity not tapped by this scale, such as unwillingness to contribute to the group and intention to remain a group member. The two additional items on ‘future commitment’ in Study 1 were designed to explore these two components of identification, although, as mentioned in Chapter 3, ‘future commitment’ could also be hypothesised to be a *result of* identification. The personal importance of making a contribution to South Africa in the future, and the desire to emigrate, were each assessed by a single item. (A third item on personal contribution to one’s community was not included for analysis, as it was felt to be too general and not necessarily related to *national* commitment.) The two items are referred to as the Contribution and Emigration items.

Contribution item: “When you think about your life and your future, how important is it for you personally to contribute to South Africa?”

Emigration item: “When you have finished your education and you are independent, would you prefer to stay in South Africa, or would you prefer to leave and go to live in another country (emigrate)?”

The response format was the same seven-point Likert-type scale as was used in the SA and African Identification measures. Higher scores on the Contribution item indicate higher importance to the self of making a personal contribution to South Africa (i.e. positive commitment). Higher scores on the Emigration item indicate a greater desire to emigrate (i.e. negative commitment). These two items together will be referred to as the “Future Commitment” items.

No specific hypotheses were made regarding future commitment. Exploratory analysis was therefore carried out. The relationship between future commitment to South Africa, and identification with the country, were analysed by correlating scores on the Contribution and Emigration items with SA and African Identification scores. The effect of identity salience and ethnicity on the two future commitment scores was also analysed, using non-parametric statistics.

Table 15 summarises the means, standard deviations and range of scores for the Future Commitment items, for the sample as a whole

Table 15: Means, standard deviations and range for Future Commitment items

	N	Mean	SD	Range
Contribution	565	3.83	1.83	0 to 6
Emigration	563	4.10	1.97	0 to 6

Figures 11 and 12 illustrate the distribution of scores on these two items for the sample as a whole.

Figure 11: Distribution of Contribution scores for whole sample

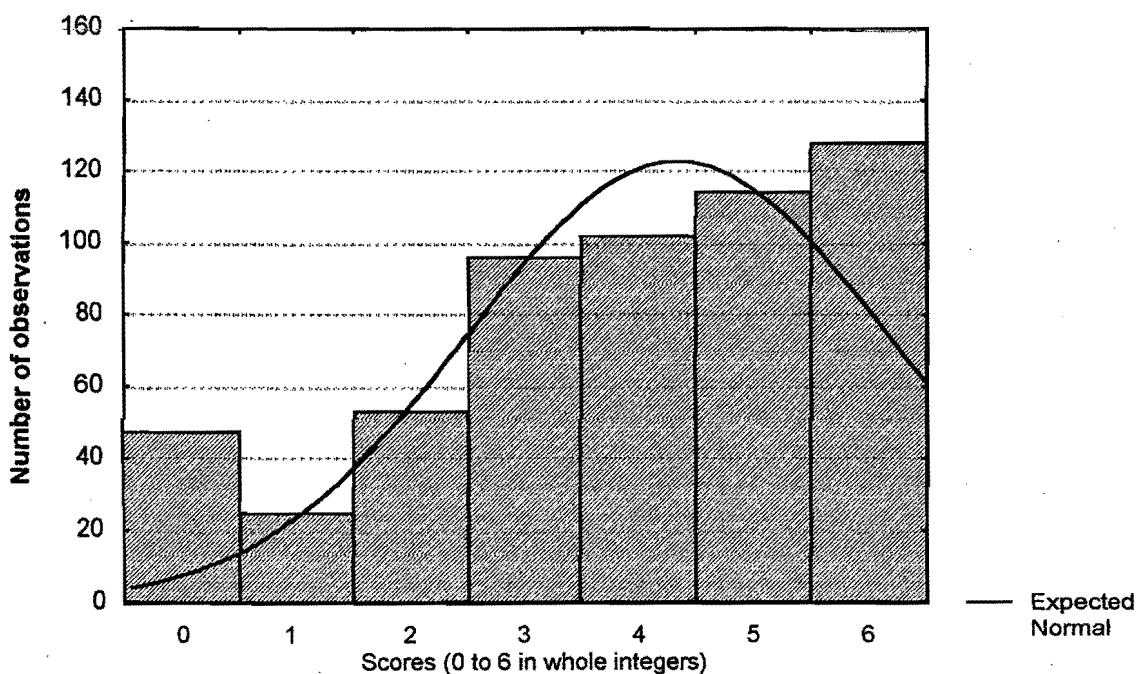
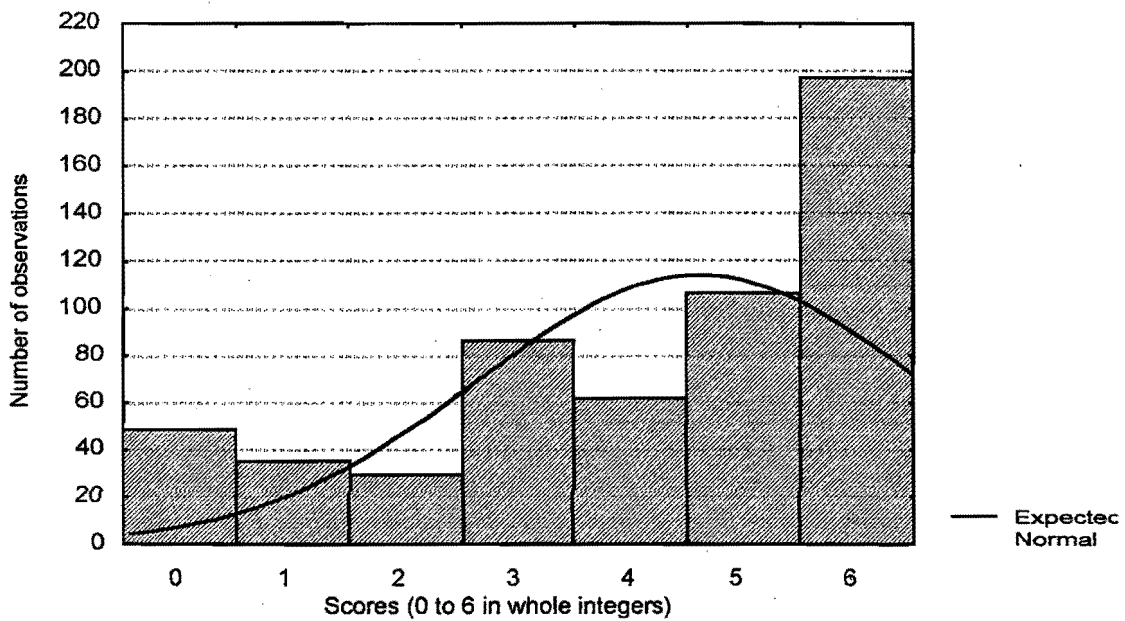


Figure 12: Distribution of Emigration scores for whole sample



It is interesting to note that, for the sample as a whole, both measures of attachment are positively skewed. Most adolescents in this sample claimed that it was important to them to make a personal contribution to South Africa; and yet, the majority also expressed the desire to leave the country! This seems counter-intuitive. When scores on the Contribution and Emigration items were correlated, however, a negative correlation was obtained ($r = -.27, p < .05$). This suggests that in some cases, those who expressed a desire to make a contribution to the country were not the same participants who expressed the desire to emigrate. But the magnitude of this correlation is low, and suggests a surprisingly weak inverse relationship between wanting to emigrate, and the desire to make a personal contribution to the country. Perhaps the fact most worth noting is that 300 out of 549 adolescents in this study responded with a 5 or a 6 to the Emigration item, meaning that they would “strongly prefer to leave” South Africa -- a sobering finding.

The correlation between Contribution and Emigration scores, and the respondents’ age, was calculated. Contribution scores were significantly correlated with age, but, as we would expect in a sample where the age range is restricted, the relationship was weak ($r = .12, p < .05$).

Correlations between the Future Commitment items and SA Identification were then calculated for the sample as a whole. The Contribution item correlated quite strongly and positively with SA Identification ($r = .46, p < .05$). The desire to emigrate correlated somewhat negatively, but also statistically significantly, with SA Identification ($r = -.28, p < .05$). These correlations are in the expected direction. Stronger identification with South Africa was associated with greater motivation to make a personal contribution to the country. To a lesser extent, stronger national identification was also related to a lower desire to emigrate.

The correlations between the Future Commitment items, and between these and SA Identification scores, were also calculated for each ethnic group. These are listed in Table 16.

Table 16: Correlations between Future Commitment and Identity scores, by ethnic group. *Correlations significant at $p < .05$ are marked with an asterisk.*

Ethnic group	N	Correlations (r) between:		
		Contribution and Emigration	Contribution and SA Identification	Emigration and SA Identification
Black African language	91	-.03	.17	-.07
Coloured English	168	-.16*	.34*	-.35*
White Afrikaans	171	-.36*	.46*	-.29*
White English	120	-.40*	.60*	-.30*

For each ethnic group, all the correlations were in the expected directions. But they varied greatly in magnitude, within groups and between groups.

The Black African-language speakers stand out from the rest of the participants on two counts. Firstly, none of the correlations for this group reached statistical significance, whereas all correlations across the other groups were significant at the .05 level. Given that a correlation of .16 was significant in the Coloured English-speaking group, but a correlation of $r = .17$ in the Black African-language speaking group was non-significant, we must conclude that the smaller sample size of Black African-language participants was affecting the statistical significance of the outcomes. That is, although the correlation between Contribution and SA Identification scores might have been statistically significant in the other groups, in the smaller African language group there was a greater probability than .05 that the correlation was due to chance.

But even taking the effect of sample size into account, there does seem to be a large difference in magnitude between the correlations within the Black African-language speaking group, and the other ethnic groups. The correlations between the two Future Commitment items, and between the desire to emigrate and identification with South Africa, are almost non-existent in the Black African-language sample. This contrasts with moderate to strong, and statistically significant, correlations in the other ethnic groups. For the Coloured English-speakers, White Afrikaans-speakers and White English-speakers in this study, commitment to making a personal contribution to South Africa was strongly related to the degree of identification with the country. Both identification and desire to contribute were negatively related to the desire to emigrate. But among Black African-language-speakers, these connections were weak. Commitment to making a contribution was somewhat (but non-significantly) related to identification with South Africa. But the desire to emigrate was wholly unrelated to either identification, or perceived importance of contributing. Possible interpretations of this finding will be suggested in the following chapter.

The effects of identity salience and ethnicity on Future Commitment

With respect both to comparisons between experimental conditions and comparisons between ethnic groups, the data violated at least one of the assumptions required for the analysis of variance of means. Non-parametric statistics were therefore used to investigate the possible effects of identity salience and ethnicity on future commitment to South Africa.

Contribution scores

Levene's test showed that the Contribution scores did not violate the assumption of homogeneity of variances ($F [11,553] = 1.79, p > .05$). But the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed that the distribution of scores was significantly different from the normal distribution ($d = .18, p < .01$). Further analysis showed that the kurtosis of the distribution was less than 0 ($-.57$). When kurtosis is less than 0, the F statistic tends to be too large, leading to faulty rejection of the null hypothesis (i.e. heightened risk of Type 1 error.) To avoid the risk of finding spurious significance using ANOVA, it was decided to conduct a non-parametric analysis of the Contribution scores.

The Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA and Median Test was used, to compare scores firstly between experimental condition, and secondly between ethnic groups.

Comparison between experimental conditions

Table 17 summarises the observed and expected frequencies above and below the median score, between experimental conditions.

Table 17: "Contribution" scores: Observed and expected frequencies for each experimental condition

Overall median = 4

		<i>Experimental condition</i>			
		National	Ethnic	Personal	Total
<= Median:	observed	119	104	100	323
	expected	111.48	108.62	102.90	
	obs.-exp.	7.52	-4.62	-2.90	
> Median:	observed	76	86	80	242
	expected	83.52	81.38	77.10	
	obs.-exp.	-7.52	4.62	2.90	
Total:	observed	195	190	180	565

The Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA and Median test found that scores on the Contribution item did not vary as a function of the experimental manipulation (Chi-Square = 1.83, $df = 2, p > .05$). The salience task priming national, ethnic, or personal identity, had no effect on the extent to which participants felt it was important to make a personal contribution to South Africa.

Comparison across ethnic groups

Table 18 summarises the frequencies of scores above and below the median, for each ethnic group.

Table 18: “Contribution” scores: Observed and expected frequencies for each ethnic group.

Overall median = 4

		<i>Ethnic groups</i>				
		Black African language	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Total
<= Median:	observed	25	92	110	96	323
	expected	56.60	98.33	98.33	69.75	
	obs.-exp.	-31.60	-6.33	11.67	26.25	
> Median:	observed	74	80	62	26	242
	expected	42.40	73.67	73.67	52.25	
	obs.-exp.	31.60	6.33	-11.67	-26.25	
Total:	observed	99	172	172	122	565.

The analysis found significant differences between groups (Chi-Square = 68.44, df = 3, p < .01).

Post-hoc analysis was conducted to investigate where the differences lay. This required conducting multiple t-tests for non-parametric data. The Mann-Whitney U-test was used for this purpose.

In order to control for the possibility of increased Type 1 error resulting from multiple t-tests, Bonferroni’s adjustment to α was made (Howell, 1997). Six comparisons would be made. Thus the α level of .05 was divided by 6, to create a new threshold rejection level of .008. On each t-test the result would only be considered statistically significant if $p < .008$. This more stringent rejection threshold would counter the increased risk of finding spurious differences. The results of these comparisons are presented in Table D8, Appendix D.

The Mann-Whitney tests show that the Black African-language group scored significantly higher than all other groups. The White English group scored significantly lower than all other groups. There was no significant difference between the Coloured English and White Afrikaans groups. (The difference is significant at $p < .05$, but fails to meet the more stringent Bonferroni-adjusted alpha level of .008.) These differences are illustrated in Figure 13 on the following page.

Figure 13: Boxplot of "Contribution" scores, categorised by ethnicity

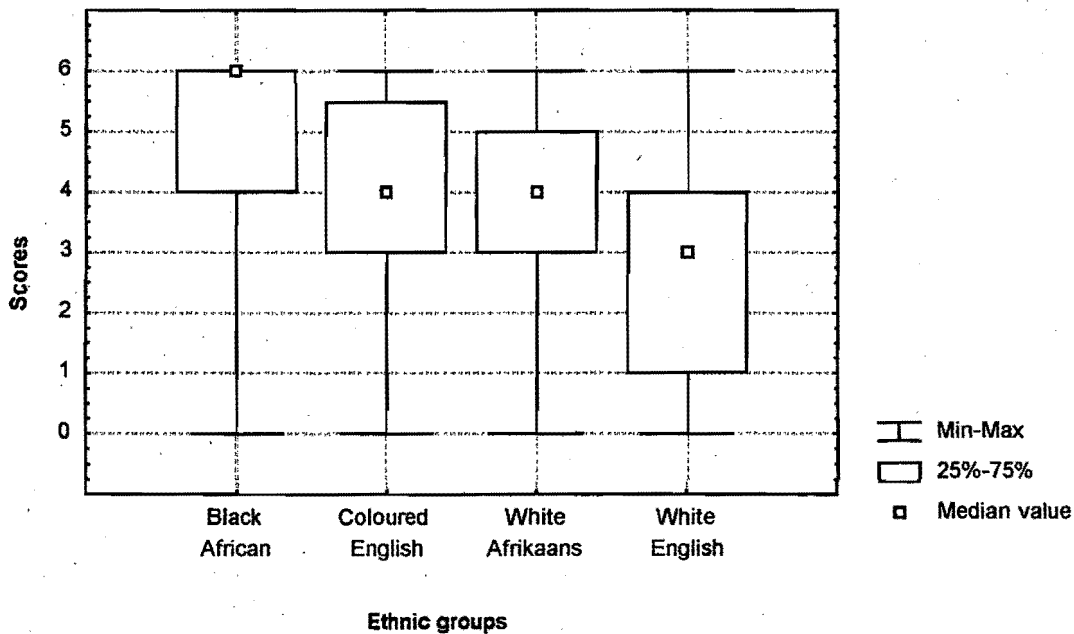


Figure 13 makes it clear that Black African-language speaking adolescents in this study showed the greatest perceived personal importance of personally contributing to South Africa. Seventy-five percent of this group chose the top three (positive) response options on a seven-point response scale, with the median being the highest ("extremely important") response option. Coloured English-speaking and White Afrikaans-speaking adolescents felt somewhat less compelled to make a personal contribution, although 75% percent of these youth still scored at or above the scale midpoint, with the median response being on the positive side of the scale (4). In the White English-speaking group, however, the median response was the scale midpoint, and the middle 50% percent of respondents scored between 4 and 1. This group as a whole showed the least interest in making a personal contribution to the country.

"Desire to Emigrate" scores

Levene's test indicated that the assumption of homogeneity of variances was violated within this set of scores ($F[11,551] = 2.18, p < .05$). The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test also indicated that the distribution of scores was significantly different to the normal distribution ($d = .25, p < .01$). It was therefore decided to use the same nonparametric analysis as was used for the Contribution scores.

The Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA and Medians test was used to investigate the effects of experimental condition and ethnicity on Emigration scores.

Comparison between experimental conditions

Table 19 summarises the observed and expected frequencies of scores above and below the median, between experimental conditions.

Table 19: "Emigration" scores: Observed and expected frequencies for each experimental condition

Overall median = 5

		<i>Experimental condition</i>			
		National	Ethnic	Personal	Total
<= Median:	observed	132	122	112	366
	expected	126.77	122.87	116.37	
	obs.-exp.	5.23	-.87	-4.37	
> Median:	observed	63	67	67	197
	expected	68.23	66.13	62.63	
	obs.-exp.	-5.23	.87	4.37	
Total:	observed	195	189	179	563

As was the case with all the previous dependent variables, the identity priming task had no effect. The extent to which participants expressed the desire to leave South Africa did not vary systematically between the personal identity, ethnic identity and national identity experimental conditions (Chi-Square = 1.10, df = 2, p >.05)

Comparison across ethnic groups

Table 20 summarises the frequencies of scores above and below the median, across ethnic groups.

Table 20: Emigration scores: Observed and expected frequencies for each ethnic group.

Overall median = 5

		<i>Ethnic groups</i>				
		Black African language	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Total
<= Median:	observed	61	122	110	73	366
	expected	63.06	111.82	111.82	79.31	
	obs.-exp.	-2.06	10.18	-1.82	-6.31	
> Median:	observed	36	50	62	49	197
	expected	33.94	60.18	60.18	42.69	
	obs.-exp.	2.06	-10.18	1.82	6.31	
Total:	observed	97	172	172	122	563

This analysis found no statistically significant differences between the four ethnic groups on Emigration scores (Chi-Square = 4.36, df = 3, p >.05). In all four ethnic groups, more adolescents expressed the desire to leave South Africa (scores 4 to 6) than expressed the desire to stay (scores 0 to 2).

5. Attitudes towards social diversity, perceived protection of cultural and religious identity, and identification with South Africa

It was hypothesised that attitudes towards social diversity would be related to strength of identification with South Africa. As argued in Chapters 2 and 3, more positive attitudes towards diversity should contribute to stronger South African Identification, while negative attitudes towards diversity should detract from national identification. It was also predicted that perceived security of sub-national identities would be related to strength of identification with South Africa, with threat to sub-national identities leading to lower national identification. Although this study did not test causal connections in this regard, it was able to test for relationships between attitudes towards diversity, perceived sub-national threat versus security, and identification with South Africa. Multiple regression analysis was also used to establish the ability of attitudes and perceived threat to predict identification when other variables are taken into account. The results of the multiple regression analysis motivated further investigation of a few of the specific attitude and belief items.

Correlation between diversity attitudes, perceived threat, and SA Identification scores

As discussed in the previous chapter, the items on attitudes towards diversity did not form a reliable scale for each ethnic group. It was therefore not possible to relate a global score for attitudes towards diversity to the global score for SA Identification. Instead, SA Identification was correlated with each of the seven attitude items, as well as the two items on perceived protection of cultures and religions, for the sample as a whole. Table 21 summarises these correlations.

Table 21: Correlations between SA Identification and nine attitude / belief items.
Correlations significant at $p < .05$ are marked with an asterisk.

	Item	Correlation with SA Identification (r)
Item 1	I like the idea of hearing many different languages being spoken in the playground at school.	.17*
Item 2	When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures.	.05
Item 3	Mixing people of different cultures and religions can actually do more harm than good.	-.04
Item 4	The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day.	.17*
Item 5	Countries where the people share one language and culture, have fewer problems than multicultural countries.	-.04
Item 6	I think it is natural to want to be with people from your own culture, and to avoid people who are different.	.01
Item 7	I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages.	.28*
Item 8	I believe that in South Africa, everybody's culture and language are equally protected and respected.	.24*
Item 9	I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected.	.22*

It is interesting to note that only the positively-worded items are significantly correlated with SA Identification scores (Items 1, 4, 7, 8 and 9). All five of these correlations are in the expected direction (positive). The items reflecting negative attitudes and beliefs (Items 3, 5, 6) show extremely low, non-significant correlations which are not all in the expected negative direction. (Item 2, also negatively-worded, is perhaps more appropriately classed as a measure of perceived threat, as opposed to an attitude measure. It will be discussed below.)

Although the positively-worded items were significantly correlated with South African identification, the magnitude of these correlations was moderate to low. The statistical significance obtained is a result of the large sample size. We must therefore be cautious in over-interpreting these results. It seems, for example, that a positive attitude towards going to school with people who speak other languages, and believing that that daily contact with members of out-groups teaches one to appreciate them, are both only weakly linked to stronger identification with South Africa.

Believing that sub-national identity groups (religions, and cultural / language groups) are equally protected and respected in South Africa, also showed rather weak relationships with national identification in the present sample. The strongest evidence of a relationship was found with the statement "I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages." This item arguably represents most directly the construct of 'positive attitude towards diversity', since it expresses a positive personal orientation towards the country's multiculturalism. The correlation of $r=.28$, while still not entirely convincing, does suggest that there is some connection between a positive attitude towards cultural and linguistic diversity, and stronger identification with the country.

On the whole these correlations do not provide much support for the hypothesis that attitudes towards diversity and perceived sub-national group security will be related to identification with South Africa. The hypothesis can be seen to have two parts. Firstly, it is hypothesised that *negative* attitudes towards diversity and fears about one's sub-national identities will be associated with *lowered* national identification. Secondly, the inverse hypothesis is that *positive* attitudes towards diversity and a perception that sub-national identities are secure, will be associated with *higher* national identification in a multicultural country. The correlations obtained provide no support for the former half of the hypothesis, and only weak support for the latter half. It does appear, however, that liking South Africa's multiculturalism may be somewhat related to identifying more strongly with South Africa.

Multiple regression: SA Identification

This analysis investigated the role played by various independent variables in predicting identification with South Africa. The independent variables included in the regression equation were ethnicity, gender, age, attitudes towards diversity, and perceived threat to sub-national identities. All nine items on attitudes towards diversity and perceived protection of sub-national identities were included as independent variables, since they did not represent any single underlying factor. The dependent variable for this analysis was the SA Identification score.

Ethnicity as a variable had four, rather than two, levels. Since multiple regression requires all categorical variables to have only two levels or options, three 'dummy variables' were generated to allow each ethnic group to be categorised with a set of binary combinations. The multiple regression then proceeded in two steps. In the first step, all the independent variables other than ethnicity were included. In the second step, the three dummy variables classifying ethnicity were included at the same time. This provided an indication on the increment in the regression coefficient following the adding of ethnicity as a variable. Table 22 summarises the results of the two steps.

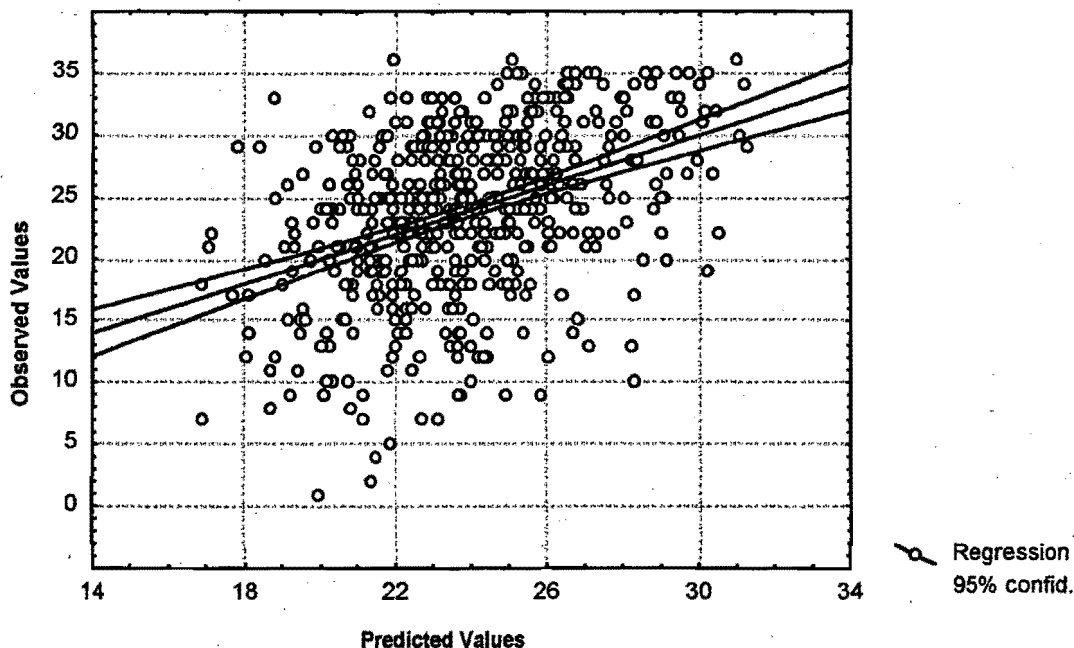
Table 22: Results of two-stage multiple regression (SA Identification as dependent variable)

	Step 1	Step 2 Ethnicity included
N	526	526
Multiple R	.387	.417
R ²	.150	.174
F	8.25	7.70
df	11 514	14 511
Statistical significance of model	p<.01	p<.01
Standard error of estimate	6.18	6.11
Intercept	-12.51	-2.95
Standard error	9.59	10.04
Beta values for independent variables		
Age	.118**	.075
Gender	-.01	-.01
Attitudes towards diversity		
I like the idea of hearing many different languages being spoken in the playground at school	-.01	-.01
When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures	.10*	.074
Mixing people of different cultures and religions can actually do more harm than good	.046	.036
The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day	.090*	.085
Countries where the people share one language and culture, have fewer problems than multicultural countries	-.030	-.04
I think it is natural to want to be with people from your own culture, and to avoid people who are different	.077	.081
I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages	.217**	.217**
Perception of cultural and religious group protection		
I believe that in South Africa, everybody's culture and language are equally protected and respected	.072	.079
I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected	.141**	.132*

* p<.05** p<.01

When actual SA Identification scores are mapped against the scores that would be predicted by the model, the resulting scatterplot illustrates the large degree of variance around the regression line (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Regression line and scatterplot: Predicted versus observed values for SA Identification scores



The model as a whole has relatively poor predictive power. R^2 does not exceed .174, and there is much residual variance around the regression line in Figure 14. In other words, the model explains less than 18% of the total variance in SA Identification scores. It seems likely that there are other independent variables, whether socio-demographic or psychological, that were not addressed in this study, but which are needed in order to predict how people score on the SA Identification measure.

Turning to those variables that were included in this analysis, it is interesting to note the patterns of partial correlations. In the first step of the regression, five independent variables had partial correlations with SA Identification scores that was greater than $\beta = .10$. These three were also statistically significant at $p < .01$.

- Liking “the way that South Africa has so many different cultures and languages” ($\beta = .22$)
- Believing that “in South Africa, everybody’s religion is equally protected and respected” ($\beta = .14$).
- Age ($\beta = .12$)

In the second step of the regression, ethnicity was entered (three dummy variables at one time). The partial correlations of the other variables shifted, so that only two variables retained partial correlations of $\beta = .10$ and statistical significance at $p < .05$. These are:

- Liking “the way that South Africa has so many different cultures and languages” ($\beta = .22$)
- Believing that “in South Africa, everybody’s religion is equally protected and respected” ($\beta = .13$).

The first of these remained statistically significant at $p < .01$.

When ethnicity was entered at the second step, R^2 increased by .024. This increase was statistically significant ($p < .01$). Thus ethnicity as an independent variable does add to the predictive power of the model, and should be included. But multiple regression cannot show differences between specific ethnic groups, in the way that analysis of variance can. Analysis of covariance (reported earlier) established that the Black African language group scored higher than all the other ethnic groups on SA Identification ($p < .01$). Thus we have reason to believe that the difference between the African-language, as opposed to the non-African language, participants, is what is adding to the regression model.

This assumption was tested by grouping participants' responses into two groups. These groups could be seen as African-cultural versus Western-cultural; or as majority culture versus minority culture, in the sense of which groups have political majority in the country. A new multiple regression was conducted to see if this variable of majority / minority would have a significant partial correlation with SA Identification scores.

The results are similar to the second step of the first regression analysis. Multiple R was .407, R^2 was .165. ($df = 12,513$; $N=526$; $F=8.47$). The model was significant at $p < .01$. Four items had partial correlations above .10 ($p < .01$):

- Liking "the way that South Africa has so many different cultures and languages" ($\beta = .21$)
- Majority vs minority categorisation ($\beta = -.14$)
- Believing that "in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected" ($\beta = .14$).

It is clear from these two regression models that the variables included in the present study do not go very far in predicting identification with South Africa. As would be expected, age had limited predictive power because it was narrowly controlled. It also lost its statistical significance when ethnicity was introduced as a variable because age varied significantly between ethnic groups. Gender did not predict national identification at all, with or without the inclusion of ethnicity in the equation. This suggests that analyses investigating the effects of identity salience and ethnicity on the dependent variables (reported earlier in this chapter) were not missing any important effects by omitting gender as a third independent variable.

The multiple regression analysis supports the findings from Analysis of Covariance that ethnic group membership is implicated in strength of identification with South Africa. Ethnicity had a small but statistically significant amount of unique shared variance with SA Identification scores, and also accounted for some of the shared variance between other variables and South African identification. The multiple regression also suggests, however, that certain attitudes and beliefs are to predict identification with South Africa to the same or a greater extent than ethnicity. Notably, one attitude item appeared in both versions of the regression analysis as the strongest overall predictor of identification with South Africa. This item was the statement "I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages." As discussed earlier, scores on this item had the strongest correlation with SA Identification scores out of all the attitude

and belief items, and it was suggested that this item is a fairly direct measure of a positive orientation towards cultural diversity in South Africa. The simple correlation indicated that a positive attitude towards South Africa's multicultural society is somewhat linked with stronger national identification. The multiple regression analysis shows that this relationship holds true even when additional variables, such as age, ethnicity and gender, are taken into account. Although the regression analyses cannot prove the causal hypothesis that this attitude leads to or contributes towards identification with South Africa, it establishes a link that cannot be explained as a function of ethnicity, gender or age. This attitude stands independently as a predictor of identification.

A second cognition item also appeared in both models as a significant predictor of identification with South Africa. This was the item that read, "I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected." This item followed a similarly-worded item referring to "cultures and languages", rather than religions. As discussed earlier, both these items were weakly but statistically significantly related to SA Identification scores when simple correlations were calculated. But in the multiple regression analyses, only the item about religions proved to be a statistically significant predictor of identification with South Africa. This was somewhat surprising. This researcher's informal expectation had been that security of cultural or linguistic in-group identity would be more important than religious security, since there has been more debate in South Africa about political expression and minority rights for cultural-linguistic groups than for religions. But the item about cultures and languages was not a significant predictor when age, gender and other attitudes were taken into account, and remained non-significant when ethnicity was introduced. Thus, although correlated with identification with South Africa, much of this correlation could be accounted for by other variables. Perceived security of religious groups, however, had a significant relationship with national identification not accounted for by ethnicity, gender, age or other attitudes. Study 2 sheds more light on this surprising result.

It is interesting to note the way in which other attitude/belief items fluctuated in significance, depending on the way in which ethnicity was entered into the regression analysis. The first is the item that reads, "The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day". This belief was a significant predictor in the first model, until ethnicity was entered into the equation. It then lost its significance, which suggests that responses to this item varied systematically between ethnic groups and ethnicity therefore accounted for much of the variance shared with SA Identification scores. The second item reads, "When I think about South Africa, I sometimes worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures." In the first two-step model, this item lost its statistical significance when ethnicity was entered into the equation, suggesting that much of its relationship with SA Identification scores was accounted for by ethnic group membership. In the second model, however, where the African culture / Western culture distinction was made, this item retained its significance. This means that scores on this item must have varied between ethnic groups (as evidenced by the first model), but not along the African / Western (political majority versus political minority) dichotomy.

Further analysis was carried out on these two items to establish where the ethnic differences lay. In addition, the item expressing liking for South Africa's cultural diversity was also examined in detail, since it was an important predictor of identification with South Africa.

Scores on these items were all tested for their concordance with the assumptions for performing analysis of variance. In all three cases, the assumptions of homogeneity of variances, and of normality of distribution, were violated.

- For the item expressing worry about one's culture being undermined, Levene's $F(3, 543) = 13.24$, $p < .01$. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic was $d = .15$, $p < .01$.
- For the item about learning to appreciate those who are different, Levene's $F(3, 545) = 8.19$, $p < .01$. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic was $d = .27$, $p < .01$.
- For the item expressing liking for South Africa's diversity, Levene's $F(3, 543) = 4.75$, $p < .01$. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic was $d = .17$, $p < .01$.

It would not have been appropriate to conduct analysis of variance based on means. Non-parametric statistics were therefore calculated. The Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA and Median test was performed on each item, to investigate possible differences between ethnic groups.

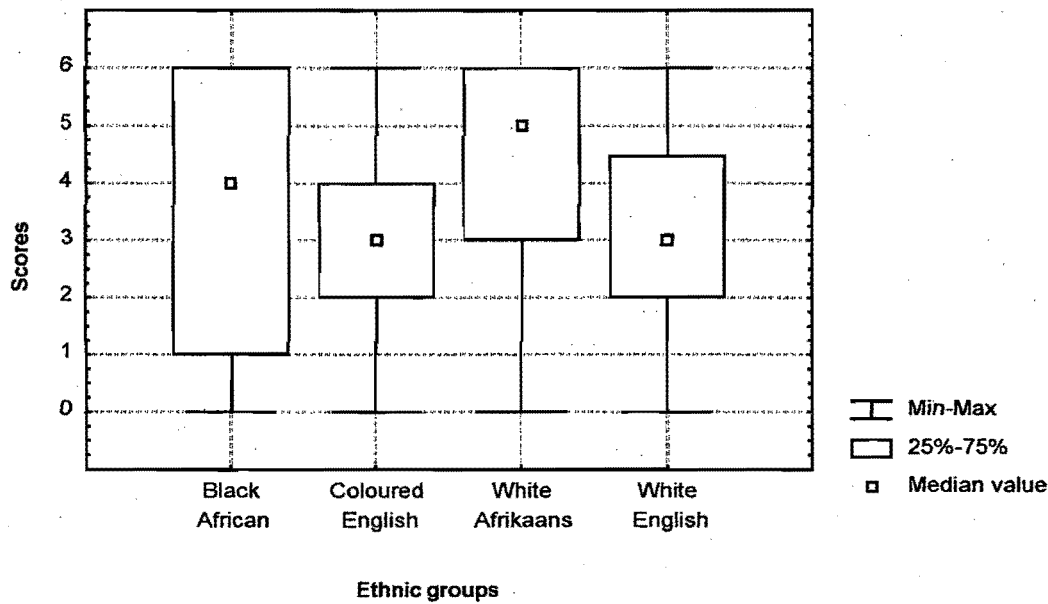
Concern about own culture being undermined by others

Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA was conducted to test for possible ethnic group differences in scores on this item. Table D9 (Appendix D) summarises the frequencies on which this analysis was based.

A significant difference was found between ethnic groups on this item (Chi-Square = 37.99, $df = 3$, $p < .01$). Post-hoc comparisons were conducted using the Mann-Whitney U-test. In order to counter the effect of increased risk of Type 1 error, Bonferroni's adjustment to α was made. The resulting level of acceptance of statistical significance was $p < .008$. Table D10 (Appendix D) summarises the results of the post-hoc comparisons.

The post-hoc comparisons showed that White Afrikaans-speaking participants scored significantly higher on this item compared to Coloured and White English-speaking respondents, even when adopting a more stringent α . As indicated by Figure 15 below, there was also a difference between the scores of the Black African-language speakers, and the scores of the two English-speaking groups. This difference is significant if we are prepared to accept a five percent chance of a Type 1 error ($p < .05$). But at the Bonferroni-adjusted α level of .008, these differences did not reach statistical significance.

Figure 15: Boxplot of concern about culture being undermined, categorised by ethnicity



It is interesting to note the large inter-quartile range for the Black African-language speakers, compared to the other groups. This group showed a wide range of responses to this item, indicating that within this group there is no particular trend regarding perceived threat to one's culture. Despite the 'African cultural hegemony' promoted by the ruling party, many Black African-language speakers nonetheless felt their culture was being undermined by others. This points to a weakness in the present study. The fact that African ethno-linguistic groups were not represented in sufficient numbers to form separate groups for analysis, meant that a (perhaps artificially) broad 'Black African-language speaking' group was being compared to more narrowly defined ethno-linguistic racial minority groups. The degree of variance in the broad Black African-language group, with regards to perceived cultural threat, raises the possibility that certain African ethnic groups may feel threatened, while other do not. Some may even feel that the 'African Renaissance' concept is undermining their cultural uniqueness by homogenising African culture. Further research is clearly needed to address this issue.

The White Afrikaans-speaking participants clearly tended to score in the upper range of the response scale, with a median of 5. This is notably higher than the Coloured and White English speakers' scores, which are located around the midpoint and have a median of 3. White Afrikaans-speaking adolescents in this study felt more threat to their cultural identity than did the Coloured and White English-speaking adolescents. Perhaps this is because the latter two groups have a less defined cultural or ethnic identity than do White Afrikaners (e.g. Jung, 2000; Sennet & Foster, 1996; Sonn, 1996). It could also be because of the relative positions of the Afrikaans and English languages in the New South Africa. English-speakers are reaping the benefits of increased legitimacy and use of English as a lingua franca in South Africa. Afrikaans, however, has been effectively 'demoted' from its previously privileged position with English as official language, to one of eleven official languages (Alexander, 1996; Owen, 1997). There has been a great deal of debate about the

vitality and viability of Afrikaans in the new South Africa (e.g. du Plessis, 1992; van Rensburg et al., 1997; Webb, 1992). Since the Afrikaans language is very much part of White Afrikaner ethnic identity, perceived threat to the language could contribute to a perception that other cultures (and languages) are undermining their own.

The between-group differences on this item explain the regression analysis results. In the first regression model, the item about cultural threat lost its significance as a predictor when ethnicity was entered into the equation, suggesting that scores varied by ethnicity. But the item retained its significance as a predictor where ethnicity was dichotomised into African-culture versus Western-culture (political majority versus political minority) groups. The significant ethnic difference clearly lies not along majority versus minority lines, but *between* minority groups.

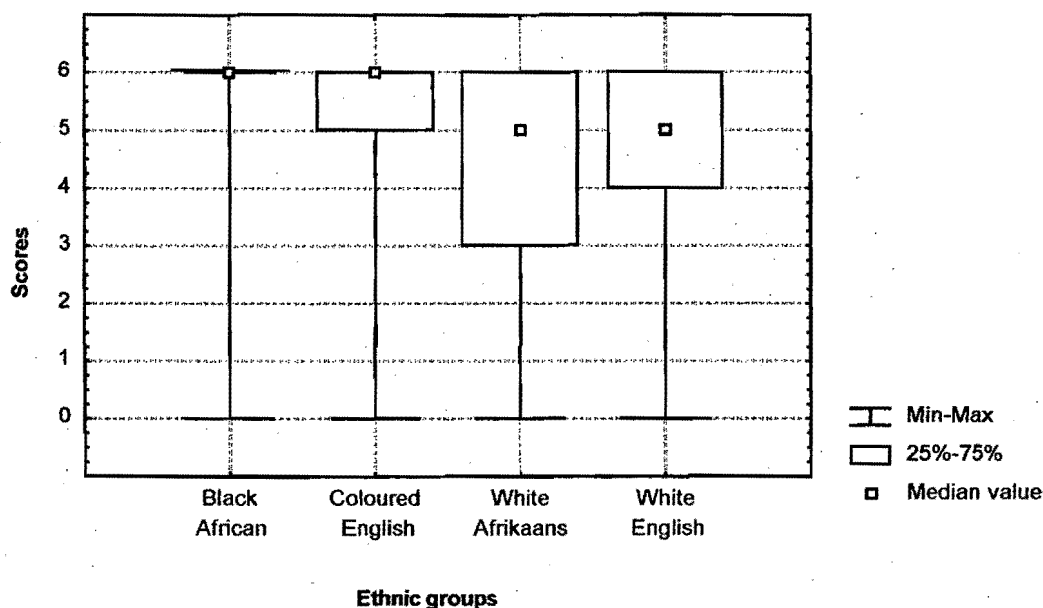
Social and work contact helps one learn to appreciate those who are different (positive attitude towards inter-group contact)

As with the previous item, Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA was conducted to determine whether ethnic groups differed in their median responses to this item. Table D11 (Appendix D) summarises the frequencies on which this analysis was based. A significant difference was found between ethnic groups (Chi-Square = 49.84152, $df = 3$, $p < .01$).

The Mann-Whitney U-test was used to make post-hoc comparisons between pairs of groups. The α level was again set at .008, to control for the increased risk of Type 1 error resulting from multiple t-tests on the same data set. Table D12 (Appendix D) summarises the results of the post-hoc comparisons.) The Mann-Whitney U-test showed that the White Afrikaans-speakers and White English-speakers scored significantly lower than the Black African-language speakers and Coloured English-speakers. The difference between the two White groups was not significant. (The difference between the Black African language and Coloured English-speakers was significant at $p < .05$, but, because of the number of comparisons made, Type 1 error risk is elevated beyond 5%, and we cannot reject the null hypothesis.)

Figure 16 (following page) illustrates these differences. The categorised boxplot shows how the majority of adolescents in all ethnic groups agreed that “the best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day”. This is an encouraging finding, in that it suggests that most young people understand the value of inter-group contact. But this item may not be as informative as it was intended to be. The wording may be confusing two different issues: whether one believes it is a good thing to learn to appreciate those who are different (a social attitude); and whether contact is the best way to achieve this goal (a belief). Nonetheless, we can see why this item lost its significance as a predictor in the multiple regression analysis when ethnicity was entered into the model. Responses on this item are clearly linked to ethnic group membership. The strongest difference is that between the Black African-language speakers and the White Afrikaans-speakers. Seventy-five percent of the Black African language group chose the highest (‘strongly agree’) response option for this item, showing a remarkable degree of consensus.

Figure 16: Boxplot of positive attitude towards inter-group contact, categorised by ethnicity



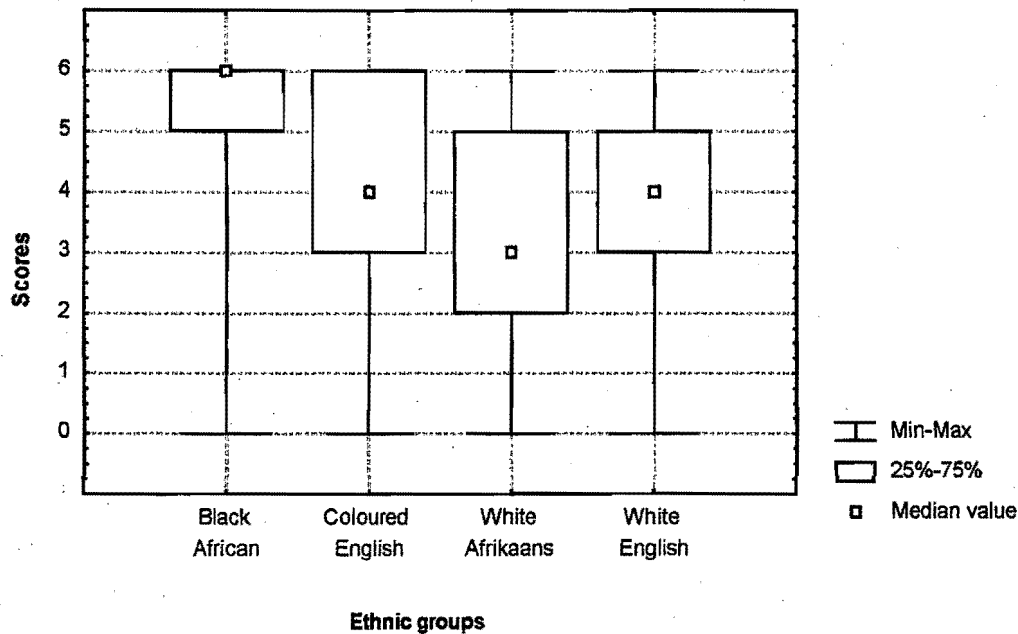
The White Afrikaans-speakers showed more variance, with 75% of respondents scoring from 3 (the scale midpoint) to 6 (the maximum). The fact that the Black African language group scored significantly higher than two out of the other three ethnic groups, also explains why this item was not significant in the second version of the multiple regression. The African versus non-African distinction accounted for a substantial amount of the variance in these scores, thus reducing the unique partial variance of this item with SA Identification scores.

Liking South Africa's cultural diversity

Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA was again conducted. Table D13 (Appendix D) summarises the frequencies on which this analysis was based.) A significant difference was found between ethnic groups on this item (Chi-Square = 61.34192, $df = 3$, $p < .01$).

The Mann-Whitney U-test was used to investigate where the differences lay. As for the previous analyses, the α level was set at .008. Table D14 (Appendix D) summarises the results of the post-hoc comparisons.) Using the stringent significance level of $p < .008$, the Black African-language group was found to score significantly higher than all other groups. The White Afrikaans-speaking group scored lower than all other groups. The only comparison that did not reach significance at the .008 level, was that between the Coloured and White English-speaking groups. (The difference between these groups was significant at $p < .05$, but did not attain significance at the more stringent, adjusted .008 rejection level.) Thus on this item the groups can be ranked as follows: Black African language > Coloured and White English > White Afrikaans. The categorised boxplot for scores on this item (Figure 17) clearly illustrates these differences.

Figure 17: Boxplot for liking South Africa's diversity, categorised by ethnicity



The distributions of scores suggest that all groups show a generally positive attitude towards South Africa's cultural diversity. This is heartening finding. But the differences between ethnic groups are noticeable, particularly in comparing the Black African-language and White Afrikaans groups. Three-quarters of the Black African-language speaking adolescents in this study expressed strong agreement that they "like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages". The median score for this group was 6, the highest possible score on the seven-point scale. This group appears to be very positive towards multicultural diversity in South Africa. The White Afrikaans-speakers, however, were less enthusiastic, with the median score being on the scale midpoint (indicating uncertainty or a lukewarm response).

These inter-group differences are interesting, since the multiple regression analysis found this item to retain its predictive power even when ethnicity was entered into the model. This item shows that one's orientation towards cultural diversity is linked to ethnic group identity and within-group discourses, and may be constrained or moulded to a certain extent by membership in these groups. But this orientation is definitely not entirely explained by ethnicity, and people from all ethnic groups show enough variation in this attitude for it to be a unique predictor of identification with South Africa. Liking the cultural diversity that characterises South African society predicts stronger identification with the country, regardless of which ethnic group one belongs to.

The ethnic group differences on this item follow a similar pattern to those observed on the item about inter-group contact. Broadly, the Black African-language group shows the most positive attitude towards diversity and inter-group contact, followed by the Coloured English-speakers, then the White English-speakers, and lastly, the White Afrikaans-speakers. (This pattern is further born out in the item that reads, "I like the idea of

hearing many languages being spoken in the playground at school.” This item is not analysed in full because it was not a significant predictor of identification with South Africa. See Appendix D, Figure D1 for a categorised boxplot of scores on this item.) These results suggest that Apartheid and resistance ideologies have a lingering effect on today’s adolescents. The participants whose responses have been analysed here, were aged 5 to 7 when the political transition began in 1990, and were all between 9 and 11 years old at the time of South Africa’s first democratic election. They reached adolescence well after Apartheid’s official demise. And yet their attitudes towards social diversity and inter-group contact still show the traces of the ideological divisions of the past.

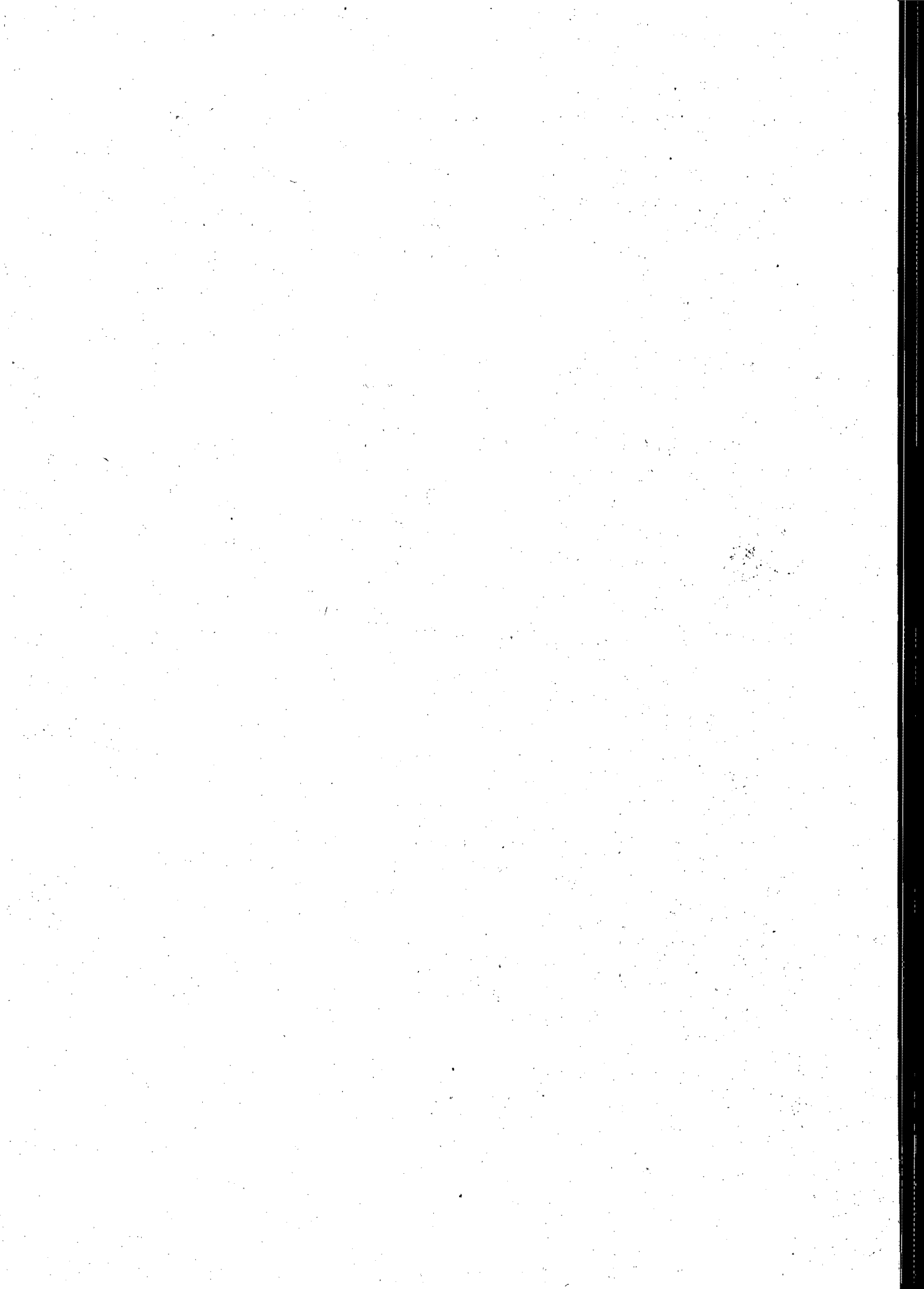
Black African-language youth, many of whose whose parents suffered under Apartheid and in whose name the political resistance was carried out, evidence allegiance to a non-racial world view, showing strong and consensual support for South Africa as a multicultural, mixed society. White Afrikaans-speaking youth, some of whose parents would have supported the Afrikaner Nationalist regime and Apartheid ideology, do accept social diversity and the value of inter-group contact. But these adolescents show the least enthusiasm for diversity in South Africa and inter-group contact. On the item about inter-group contact, the White Afrikaans-speaking participants also showed more variation in their responses, suggesting that this group is characterised by competing (and changing?) beliefs about contact with social “others”.

Study 2: Test of alternative measures of identification

This study was a smaller piece of research carried out simultaneously with the main study (Study 1). It was designed to investigate a methodological question, namely, how alternative measures of identification would respond to the experimental manipulation, in comparison with the multi-item measure used in Study 1. Study 2 provided a degree of methodological triangulation for Study 1 by applying different measures of identification within the same experimental context.

A further motivation for Study 2 was related to the South African literature on national identity. As discussed in Chapter 2, South African research has seldom used identification scales, relying mostly on single-item measures, or multiple-group rating or ranking on single dimension. The methods used in Study 2 to measure identification with South Africa therefore reflected the kind of measures that have mostly been used on national identity research in this country. In both cases, multiple social groups were considered (not just South Africa and Africa). These groups were all rated on a single dimension (importance to self-concept), and were then ranked relative to each other, in order of importance to the self (see Appendix C).

The results from the two types of measure (rating and ranking) were analysed and compared. This allowed for an additional aspect of Study 1 to be considered: the relative strength of identification with South Africa and Africa. Would different identity measures replicate the finding from Study 1 that Coloured English-speaking adolescents identify more strongly with South Africa than with Africa?



The analysis of the data from Study 2 proceeded as follows:

1. Ratings of South Africa and Africa (vis à vis importance to one's sense of self)
 - described separately
 - compared between experimental conditions, to test for the effect of the identity salience manipulation
 - compared to each other (within participants)

2. Rankings of South Africa and Africa (relative to 9 other social groups, in terms of importance to personal identity)
 - compared between experimental conditions, to test for the effect of the identity salience manipulation
 - compared to each other (within participants)
 - compared informally with the order of rating scores

1. Ratings of South Africa and Africa in terms of identity importance

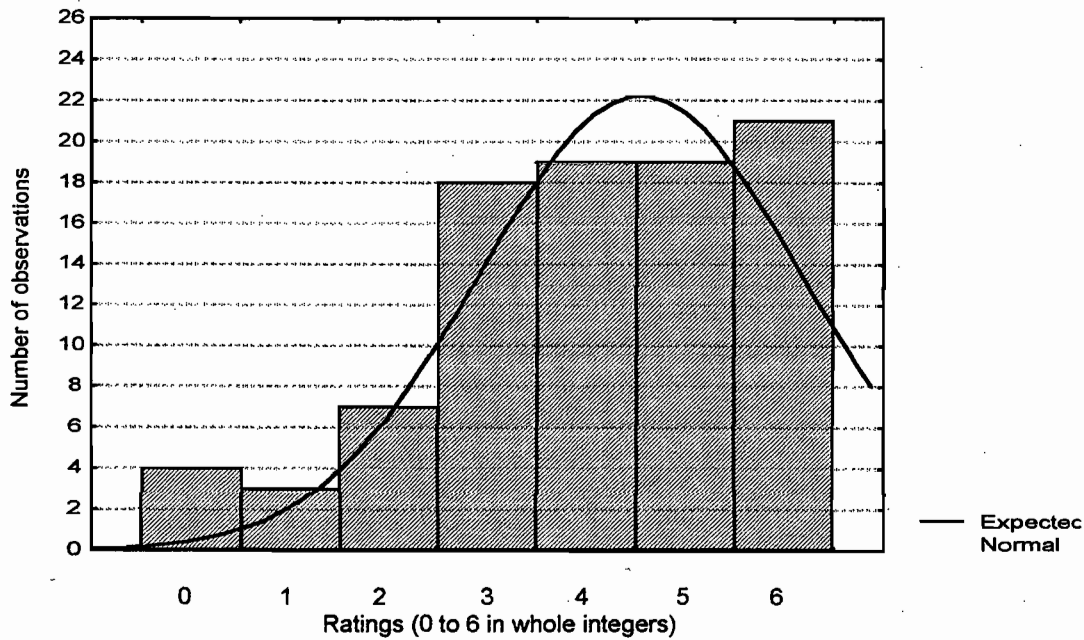
Participants were asked to rate each of eleven social groups in terms of the groups' "importance to your sense of who you are". The response format was a 7-point bipolar scale ranging from "not at all important" to "extremely important". The ratings given to each of the eleven groups are summarised in Table 23.

Table 23: Ratings of social identities (in descending order)

Social group rated	Ratings		N
	Mean	SD	
Family	5.80	0.70	91
Religion	5.21	1.40	89
Friends	4.87	1.37	91
School	4.82	1.43	91
Gender	4.71	1.92	91
Language	4.56	1.65	91
South Africa	4.04	1.63	91
Sports teams	3.52	2.09	91
Other clubs	3.49	1.81	91
Race	3.44	2.23	91
Africa	3.27	1.81	91
<i>All groups</i>	<i>4.33</i>	<i>0.85</i>	<i>89</i>

The ratings of interest in the present study are those given to South Africa and to Africa. The ratings for South Africa ranged from 0 to 6, with a mean of 4.04 and standard deviation of 1.63. Because of the limited number of possible ratings (7 possible scores on the Likert-scale), it makes more sense to observe the median and modal ratings. The median was 4. The modal rating was 6 (21 endorsements), but ratings of 3, 4 and 5 were also frequently given (18, 19 and 19 endorsements, respectively). Figure 18 illustrates the distribution of ratings given to South Africa.

Figure 18: Histogram of ratings for SA, on importance to one's sense of self.

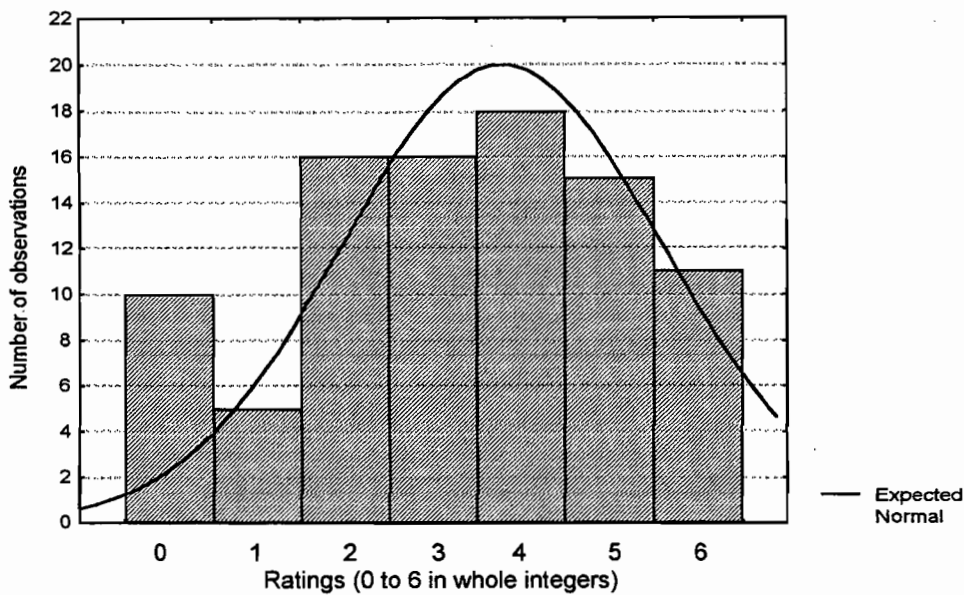


As Figure 18 shows, South Africa was mostly rated as being moderately to extremely important. Relatively few respondents indicated that South Africa was not important to their sense of self. On this measure, it appears that South African identity is accorded considerable importance by this group of adolescents.

The ratings for Africa also ranged from 0 to 6, with a mean of 3.27 and a standard deviation of 1.81. The median was 3. The modal rating was 4 (18 endorsements), with 2 and 3 (16 endorsements) and 5 (15 endorsements) also being selected frequently. The distribution of ratings for Africa is shown in Figure 19 on the following page.

The ratings for Africa were more varied than the ratings for South Africa. Responses in the middle of the rating scale were slightly more popular than responses at either extreme. It is interesting to note that the “not at all important” and “extremely important” response options received almost the same number of endorsements. There appears to be a wide range of identification with Africa in this sample group, with the median response lying on the midpoint of the scale. Unlike South Africa, Africa is seen by a substantial minority of this sample as being unimportant to their identity.

Figure 19: Histogram of ratings for Africa, on importance to one's sense of self.



Effect of experimental manipulation on ratings

As in Study 1, a central aim of Study 2 was to examine the effect of identity salience on ratings and rankings of South Africa and Africa. Thus these two ratings were compared across the three experimental conditions.

1. Ratings of South Africa

The ratings for South Africa violated the assumption of a normal distribution. These ratings also violated the assumption of homogeneity of variances. Levene's test found $F [2, 91] = 3.27, p > .05$. It was decided to err on the side of caution, and use non-parametric statistics to investigate the effect of the experimental manipulation on the ratings given to South Africa. A Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA was performed on the medians of the ratings. Table 24 summarises the frequencies that were compared. The comparison of medians showed that the experimental manipulation of identity salience had no effect on ratings of South Africa (Chi-Square = .29, $df = 2, p > .05$).

Table 24: Ratings of SA by experimental condition
Overall median = 4

		<i>Experimental condition</i>			
		National	Ethnic	Personal	Total
<= Median:	observed	15	18	18	51
	expected	14.01	17.93	19.05	
	obs.-exp.	.99	.07	-1.05	
> Median:	observed	10	14	16	40
	expected	10.99	14.07	14.95	
	obs.-exp.	-.99	-.07	1.055	
Total:	observed	25	32	34	91

2. Ratings of Africa

Ratings given to Africa did not violate the assumptions of normality or homogeneity of variances ($F[2, 91] = .61, p < .05$). It was thus feasible to use Analysis of Variance based on means, for this variable. Table 25 summarises the means that were compared.

Table 25: Means and standard deviations for African ratings by experimental condition

Experimental condition	Ratings for Africa		Valid N
	Mean	SD	
National identity	3.32	1.97	25
Ethnic identity	3.38	1.68	32
Personal identity	3.15	1.86	34
<i>All Groups</i>	<i>3.27</i>	<i>1.81</i>	<i>91</i>

As with ratings of South Africa, ratings of Africa were unaffected by the identity salience manipulation ($F[2, 91] = .14, p > .05$). Thus, as in Study 1, having national sub-national or personal identity primed did not affect identification with either South Africa or Africa (expressed in this case by absolute ratings of importance to personal identity).

It is, however, possible that these two ratings could have been affected *relative to* the others. It is conceivable that, while SA and / or African ratings stayed the same across experimental conditions, the other identities increased or decreased in importance. Simply measuring the absolute change in the SA and African ratings would not show the change in their relative position.

In order to assess the possibility of such a relative shift, three additional scores were calculated for each participant. First all the ratings given by a participant were summed. (If a participant omitted one rating, a sum was not calculated for that participant.) Next, the ratings given to South Africa and to Africa were transformed into proportions of this sum total, expressed as percentages. 'SA Percentage' refers to the percentage of the summed ratings made up by the rating given to South Africa. 'African Percentage' refers to the percentage of the summed ratings made up by the rating given to Africa.

The SA Percentage ranged from 0 to 17.14, with a mean of 8.32 and a standard deviation of 3.16. The African Percentage ranged from 0 to 13.33, with a mean of 6.70 and a standard deviation of 3.45. Neither the SA Percentages nor the African Percentages violated the assumption of homogeneity of variances. For the SA Percentage, Levene's test found $F[2, 86] = 1.98, p > .05$. For the African Percentage, $F[2, 86] = .45, p > .05$. Both percentages also had a distribution that did not differ significantly from the normal distribution. For the SA Percentage, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test found $d = .07, p > .05$. For the African Percentage, $d = .09, p < .05$. It was thus possible to carry out analysis of variance of means on these two percentages. In both cases, the independent variable was the experimental condition to which a subject had been randomly assigned.

SA Percentage

Mean SA Percentages were compared between experimental conditions. Table 26 summarises the means that were compared.

Table 26: Means and standard deviations of SA Percentage by experimental condition.

Experimental condition	SA Percentage		Valid N
	Mean	SD	
National identity	8.77	2.30	25
Ethnic identity	8.38	3.06	30
Personal identity	7.94	3.77	34
<i>All Groups</i>	8.32	3.16	89

This test showed that SA Percentage did not vary systematically according to which level of identification had been primed (national identity, ethnic identity or personal identity) ($F[2, 89] = .50, p > .05$). Thus the identity salience manipulation did not result in any shift in ratings of South Africa relative to the other social group ratings.

African percentage

The same calculation was performed for the percentage of the total ratings made up by the rating given to Africa. Table 27 summarises the means that were compared.

Table 27: Means and standard deviations of African Percentage by experimental condition

Experimental condition	African Percentage		Valid N
	Mean	SD	
National identity	6.54	3.50	25
Ethnic identity	7.10	3.18	30
Personal identity	6.46	3.45	34
<i>All Groups</i>	6.70	3.45	89

As for the SA Percentage, no significant effect for the experimental manipulation was found for the African Percentage ($F[2, 89] = .45, p > .05$). Ratings of Africa did not shift relative to other ratings given, as a result of the experimental manipulation.

Thus, the experimental manipulation of identity salience did not affect the ratings given to South Africa and to Africa, either absolutely or in relation to the other social identities that were presented.

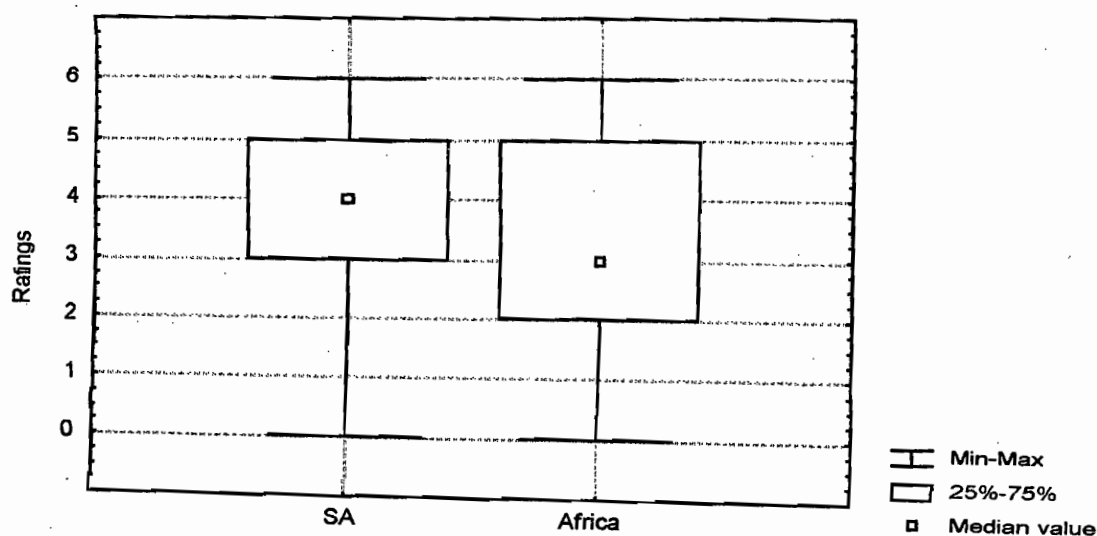
Comparing ratings for SA and Africa

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed that the distribution of ratings for Africa was not significantly different from normal ($d = .14, p > .05$). But the ratings for South Africa were not normally distributed ($d = .16,$

$p < .05$). As can be seen from Figure 18 above, they were skewed in favour of higher scores. It was therefore not appropriate to carry out a t-test based on means. Non-parametric statistics were used.

The Wilcoxon Matched Pairs test was used, as this is a within-subjects comparison method. There were 91 valid pairs of ratings. The test found a significant difference between the ratings given to South Africa and to Africa ($T=404.00$, $Z=3.63$, $p < .01$). In this sample, there was a statistically significant tendency to rate South Africa as being more important than Africa to one's sense of self. The categorised boxplot in Figure 20 shows that this difference was not large, but more ratings of Africa fell below the scale mid-point of 3 than did ratings of South Africa.

Figure 20: Boxplot of ratings for SA and Africa



2. Rankings of SA and Africa relative to other social groups

Participants were asked to rank the same eleven social groups, "in order of how important they are to **your sense of who you are.**" Each group had to be located on the same ranking 'ladder' from 1 (the most important) to 11 (the least important), with all eleven 'steps' filled. The mean and median ranks accorded to each of the eleven social identities is presented in Table 28. They are listed in order of the median ranks, from most to least important.

Table 28: Mean and median rankings for eleven social identity groups

Social group	Mean	SD	Median	Valid N
Family	1.58	0.93	1	91
Religion	2.60	1.76	2	91
School	4.04	2.39	3	91
Friends	5.10	2.50	5	91
Language	5.85	2.05	6	91
Gender	6.08	2.22	6	91
Race	7.38	2.82	7	91
South Africa	7.53	1.85	8	91
Sports teams	7.92	2.42	8	90
Other clubs	8.69	2.06	9	91
Africa	9.17	1.76	10	90

None of the groups had a median rank of 4, although School had a *mean* rank of 4.04. According to the median ranks, Language and Gender tied for sixth rank, and South Africa tied for eighth rank with Sports Teams.

Effect of the experimental manipulation on rankings

Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA and median tests were conducted on the rankings of South Africa and Africa, to investigate whether these rankings were influenced by the experimental manipulation of identity salience.

1. Ranking South Africa

Table 29 displays the ranking frequencies that were used in the ANOVA of medians, for the SA rankings.

Table 29: Median rankings for SA by experimental condition

Overall Median = 8

		<i>Experimental condition</i>			
		National	Ethnic	Personal	Total
<= Median:	observed	18	25	19	62
	expected	17.03	21.80	23.16	
	obs.-exp.	.97	3.20	-4.16	
> Median:	observed	7	7	15	29
	expected	7.97	10.20	10.84	
	obs.-exp.	-.97	-3.20	4.16	
Total:	observed	25	32	34	91

No significant differences were found between experimental groups (Chi-Square = 3.99, df = 2, p >.05). The priming of national, ethnic or personal identity made no difference to the ranking given to South Africa.

2. Ranking Africa

The same analysis was performed on the rankings of Africa. Table 30 displays the frequencies of ranks for Africa.

Table 30: Median rankings for Africa by experimental condition

Overall Median = 10

		<i>Experimental condition</i>			
		National	Ethnic	Personal	Total
<= Median:	observed	12	16	19	47
	expected	12.91	16.52	17.56	
	obs.-exp.	-.91	-.52	1.44	
> Median:	observed	13	16	15	44
	expected	12.09	15.47	16.44	
	obs.-exp.	.91	.53	-1.44	
Total:	observed	25	32	34	91

As for rankings of South Africa, rankings of Africa showed no response to the experimental manipulation of identity salience (Chi-Square = 4.05, df = 2, p<.05).

Comparing SA and African rankings

Friedman’s ANOVA by ranks test was used to investigate whether the apparent difference between ranking of South Africa and Africa was statistically significant. Table 31 shows the ranks that were compared.

Table 31: Average and summed ranks for SA and Africa

	Average Rank	Sum of Ranks	Mean	SD
South Africa	1.14	103	7.53	1.86
Africa	1.86	167	9.17	1.76

Friedman’s test has a similar interpretation to repeated measures (within subjects) ANOVA. The test found a statistically significant difference between the ranks accorded to South Africa and Africa (ANOVA Chi Square [1, 90] = 45.51 p < .01). Africa was ranked significantly lower than South Africa. On this measure, as on the rating task, it appears that the participants considered South Africa to be more important than Africa with regards to their sense of self.

Comparing ratings and rankings

It is interesting to compare the order of importance that emerges from the two methods of measurement (rating versus ranking) used in Study 2. Table 32 summarises the order, from most to least important, based on the mean ratings and rankings. **This is an informal, non-statistical comparison**, since the differences between adjacent means are not necessarily statistically significant.

Table 32: Rating versus rank orders for social identities (in descending order of importance)

Ratings	Rankings
Family	Family
Religion	Religion
Friends	School
School	Friends
Gender	Language
Language	Gender
South Africa	Race
Sports teams	South Africa
Other clubs	Sports teams
Race	Other clubs
Africa	Africa

Family and Religion come out first and second, respectively, in both measures. (It is interesting to note how small the standard deviations are for the Family identity, in both rating and ranking tasks. The respondents were very consistent in their evaluation of this identity as the most important.) Friends and School, a pair that seem to represent day-to-day, lived connections, come either second or third. Next are Gender and Language, two large-scale social groups that influence personal identity. South Africa comes 6th and 7th on the rating and ranking tasks, respectively, followed in each case by Sports Teams and Other Clubs. Africa is accorded the least importance in both rating and ranking measures.

For these ten identities, the two types of identity measure seem to produce similar results. For the eleventh identity, however, the ratings and rankings tell a slightly different story. In the rating task Race received the second-lowest mean rating. In the ranking task it ranked 7th, above South Africa. It should be noted, however, that both ratings and rankings for Race showed the highest variance out of all the identities. Thus this can be seen as an unstable identity that is sensitive to the manner in which it is assessed.

Implications of Study 2

The findings of Study 2 support those of Study 1. Both studies found that the priming of particular identities (with national, ethnic or personal identity) had no effect on expressed identification with either South Africa or Africa. This was the case whether identification was measured for one target at a time (South Africa, then Africa) with a multi-item scale, or in a multi-group comparative context on a single dimension of identification (importance to one's sense of self). We can therefore be reasonably sure that the lack of an effect for the experimental manipulation found in the main study, is not an artefact of the type of measure used.

Participants in Study 2 indicated that they considered South Africa to be more important than Africa to their sense of self. This difference in perceived importance was statistically significant. As discussed in the previous chapter, the perceived importance of an identity is one aspect of identification. Thus in this respect, the participants identified more strongly with South Africa than with Africa. This concurs with the finding in Study 1 that the Coloured English-speaking participants identified more strongly with South Africa than with Africa.

Several aspects of the main study were not covered in Study 2, such as inter-ethnic comparisons, and the relationships between identification, future commitment and attitudes towards diversity. We cannot assume that the results of Study 2 would have been in agreement with Study 1 in all four ethnic groups, or that different patterns of identification may not have emerged in other ethnic groups on the measures used in Study 2. However, it is encouraging that the results for the Coloured English-speaking group are so congruent between the two studies, on those issues that are addressed by both. By triangulating some results of Study 1 with alternative measures of identification, Study 2 contributes to the validity of the results of the main study. The convergent results produced by the second study, allow us to feel more certain that the findings of the main study are not an artefact of the type of measure used.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

The most important hypotheses tested by the two studies related to the effects of identity salience on expressed identification with South Africa and with Africa. The experimental design of the study tried to make one of three possible levels of identity salient for each participant: national, sub-national, or personal. It was hypothesised that the particular level of identity made salient would have an effect on the degree to which participants would express identification at the national and supra-national levels. General effects were hypothesised, as well as specific interactions between the level of identity made salient and the participants' ethnic group membership. The predictions were based on the principle of 'functional antagonism' proposed by Self-Categorisation Theory, as well as on literature suggesting that social representations and historical identity constructions inform the ways in which identities relate to each other.

It is clear from both Study 1 and Study 2 that the experimental manipulation had no effect on the various dependent variables considered. With regards to identification with South Africa and Africa, it did not matter whether identification was gauged by means of a multi-item measure of identification, a one-item rating measure, or a ranking measure. There simply were no systematic differences between participants allocated to the three identity salience conditions. We can be sure that this lack of an effect was not due to other systematic differences within the sample, since allocation to the three experimental conditions was randomised. We are therefore left having to explain why no effects were observed.

Why did the experimental manipulation not have any effect?

The experimental manipulation was designed to follow a causal sequence. Participants completed identity priming tasks. This was supposed to make national, sub-national or ethnic identity salient in participants' cognitions. This salience would, in turn, have an impact on the way in which participants responded to measures of identification with South Africa and with Africa. The fact that there was no observed connection between the first step (experimental condition) and the last step (expressed identification) means that the sequence could have broken down in one of two places, resulting in two possible explanations for the null findings.

Explanation 1: Identity salience was manipulated as planned, but did not affect expressed identification.

An optimistic explanation is that the priming tasks successfully created differences in identity salience between the three experimental groups; but that these differences had no impact on expressed identification with South Africa or Africa. In other words, national, sub-national or personal identity *was* salient for each participant as he or she completed the measures of identification, but this subjective condition did not influence the way the participant responded to the identification items. This would suggest that identification with country and continent is stable and trait-like, and is unresponsive to subtle changes in identity salience.

This might at first appear to contradict the 'functional antagonism' hypothesis in Self-Categorisation Theory. As discussed in Chapter 1, SCT proposes that the salience of an identity at one level must *necessarily* reduce the possibility of an identity at an adjacent level being simultaneously salient. But the results may not actually contradict this principle. Firstly, it will be recalled that there is a difference between the purely cognitive phenomenon of identity salience, and the more stable subjective experience of identification (which is connected with affect and meaning as well as purely cognitive mechanics). The measures used in both Study 1 and Study 2 may have been tapping the more stable aspects of identification, rather than salience per se. To find that changes in *salience* do not necessarily create changes in *identification*, does not directly contradict the principle of functional antagonism. It does, however point to the need for further research to distinguish more clearly between these two psychological phenomena.

Secondly, the principle of functional antagonism proposes that two identity levels cannot be *simultaneously* salient. The present research did not actually involve simultaneous cognitions at different levels of identification. The priming tasks were followed sequentially by the measures of the dependent variables. If only one level of identity can be salient at a given time, the salience of ethnic or personal identity created by the priming tasks could simply have been *replaced* by salience of South African, and then African, identity.

This does not address the problem that prior research *has* found a causal connection between identity salience and identification. As in the present study, previous research has found national identification to be unaffected by the manipulation of identity salience (Cinnirella, 1998; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). But both these British studies found that supra-national (European) identification *was* significantly affected. Rutland and Cinnirella (2000) went on to show that European identity was more fragile and embryonic than well-established sub-national and national identities, and suggested that this might be the reason for the greater sensitivity of supra-national identification to context effects. This alternative explanation implies that sequential rather than simultaneous processing of identities can still lead to salience effects. It now becomes the perceived relationship between identities and ideas associated with them, rather than (or perhaps in addition to) cognitive processing capacity, that leads identification at one level to be influenced by the prior presentation of identities at another level. Identification with well-defined and personally relevant social identities is too stable to be influenced by changes in temporary identity salience. Thus perhaps we should not expect national identity to be influenced by a subtle experimental manipulation. More weakly-held and vaguely-construed identities should, however, respond to the context. Supra-national identity may tend to be less robust than national identity in this respect.

The present research did not address the way in which South African and African identities are construed, and no prior research in South Africa provides any information that we could use to determine how 'strong' or 'well-defined' South African and African identities are perceived to be. It could conceivably be the case that African identity is more meaningful and 'real' to South Africans than European identity is to British people, making African identity less susceptible to context effects than European identity. Thus, if we assume that the

experimental manipulation did succeed in making national, sub-national or personal identity salient, the lack of an effect on identification could be suggesting that both South African and African identities are too strongly-held and well-defined to be influenced by minor variations in subjective context.

Explanation 2: The experiment failed to make national, sub-national or personal identity salient

A less optimistic explanation is that the predicted sequence broke down at the first step of the experimental process, and that the three experimental conditions did not succeed in making national, sub-national or personal identity salient as intended. This would mean that no differences between experimental groups were observed because there *were* none.

There are a number of possible reasons for this. The research literature demonstrates that questionnaire items are sufficient to produce salience effects (e.g.; Haslam et al., 1999; Hopkins & Murdoch, 1999; Hopkins et al., 1997; Mummendey et al., 2001; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). It is, however, likely that certain kinds of priming tasks are more effective than others. It could be that the particular tasks given at the start of the present questionnaire were not as effective as those featured in successful studies. But it is hard to see why this would be the case. The studies cited above use a diverse range of methods to stimulate identity salience, suggesting that there is no one 'correct' method. The present research nonetheless tried to stay within precedent. The stereotype ranking method used on the first page has not been used elsewhere, but applies the same logic used in the design of other stereotyping priming tasks (i.e., that if a person can be induced to think about a group in terms of its defining characteristics, that group will become salient as a social identity within the cognitions of the person. See for example Cinnirella, 1998, Mummendey et al., 2001, and Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000). The open-ended questions in the present study were based almost directly on Haslam et al.'s (1999) task. Thus we have no reason to believe that the manipulation itself was defective. It could conceivably be that these two sets of tasks somehow contradicted each other, or that the second page created a counter-effect for the first page by activating a different kind of identity, but this seems unlikely.

There is a more obvious and plausible reason for the failure of the manipulation. Many of the participants did not take seriously the instructions they were given for completing the questionnaire. In certain schools the questionnaire administration occurred under less-than-ideal circumstances, with participants sitting very close together under minimal teacher supervision. Many participants took the opportunity to confer with friends and compare different versions of the questionnaire, despite having been asked to work in silence. When participants looked at the versions of the questionnaire that their friends were completing, they would have been exposed to the priming tasks of more than one level of identity. Some participants also ignored the instruction to complete questions strictly in the order in which they appeared in the questionnaire. Participants were seen flipping backwards and forwards through the questionnaire, leaving out certain parts and returning to them later. This would have disrupted the necessary progression from independent variable manipulation to dependent variable measure, nullifying the experiment.

It is highly likely that these practical problems caused the experiment to fail.

It should be noted that the international research that has demonstrated significant salience effects, has all been conducted with university student samples. It has not yet been established whether such procedures can be used with different age groups in different circumstances. The present study suggests that questionnaire tasks may not be a sufficiently powerful method for eliciting identity salience in adolescents, particularly when the setting offers many distractions. Further research should try to establish whether more controlled and psychologically compelling conditions can create salience effects on identification with adolescents.

Apart from the effects of identity salience, the research addressed a number of other hypotheses and questions. The nature of the relationship between South African and African identity was probed. Future commitment to the country was studied as an aspect of identification that could also have concrete behavioural consequences. And the relationship between national identification on the one hand, and certain cognitions on the other hand (attitudes towards diversity and beliefs about the security of sub-national identities) were investigated.

It should be stressed that inter-ethnic comparisons were not the primary focus of this study. Ethnicity was included as a variable because it was expected to play a role in mediating the effect of the experimental manipulation. While the experimental manipulation had no effect, significant effects for ethnicity were observed in almost every analysis. Ethnicity also proved to be a significant predictor of identification with South Africa when included in multiple regression analysis. Because of its prominence in the results, it is worth considering the differences between ethnic groups in some detail. The section on the limitations of the study will, however, point to important caveats in interpreting these inter-group differences.

The relationship between national and supra-national identity

South African and African identity found to be consonant

Study 1 found that identification with South Africa (as measured by the SA Identification scale) was significantly positively correlated with identification with Africa (as measured by the African Identification scale). This applied in all ethnic groups. We can thus conclude that, in the conditions of this study, South African national identity was consonant with African supra-national identity.

The Pearson's correlations observed between South African and African identification (.34 to .58 across ethnic groups) are of a similar magnitude to those observed between British and European identification in the study by Cinnirella and Rutland (2000). That study reported correlations of .39 to .55, depending on experimental condition. But we know from Cinnirella's earlier work (1997, 1998) that British identity is not always seen as compatible with European identity. With participants from a different part of Britain, and under different research conditions, identification with Europe had previously been found to be significantly negatively correlated with British identification (Cinnirella, 1997). Thus we should be wary of generalising the results of this study. Acknowledging the likelihood of situational variation, as well the effect of socio-demographic differences between this sample and other sections of the population, we can still draw a useful

conclusion. The results show that national and supra-national identity in South Africa *can* be construed as consonant by young South Africans. Not only can South Africans of different ethnic groups identify simultaneously with the country and with the continent, but these identities can actually be mutually reinforcing. Further research is required to establish how robust this relationship is, and whether there are conditions under which South African identification is perceived to be incompatible with African identification.

Absolute levels of identification with South Africa

All four ethnic groups identified moderately strongly with South Africa. Coloured English-speakers, White Afrikaans-speakers and White English-speakers showed equivalent levels of national identification. Black African-language-speakers showed slightly higher identification than the three ethnic minority groups.

This pattern of identification does not have a clear precedent in the South African literature from the last decade, except for a recent study comparing only White Afrikaner and Black participants (Heaven et al., 2000). The pattern in that study was similar to the present one: both groups gave South African identity a positive score, indicating that it was personally important, but the Black group's score was somewhat higher than the Afrikaner group's score. Heaven et al.'s (2000) study is, however, obviously not fully comparable to the present one because it did not include White or Coloured English-speakers, and only a one-item rating measure was used to gauge identification. Of the research that has compared multiple ethnic groups, none has reported the pattern found in the present study of equivalent levels of identification among White and Coloured groups, combined with slightly higher identification in Black respondents. As discussed in Chapter 2, either Black or White respondents have previously been found to show *lower* identification with South Africa than all other groups, depending on the sample and the measures used.

This may be related to the way the groups in the present study were defined. The exclusion of Afrikaans-speaking Coloured respondents, bilingual Coloured and White respondents, and primarily English-speaking Black respondents, could conceivably limit the comparability of the present study to those in which groups are defined purely racially, or taking linguistic variation into account only within the White group. It is more likely, however, that this new distribution of identification has to do with change over time, as well as the instrument used to measure identification with South Africa.

For example, using a simple self-categorisation method, Finchilescu and Dawes (1999) found a significant change between 1992 and 1996 in the percentage of Coloured, Indian and White Afrikaans adolescents endorsing South African identity, with increases in all three groups. One might speculate that the period 1992 to 1996 – the transition and 'honeymoon period' – featured political changes that mainly favoured *minority* ethnic groups. The Mandela-era discourse of reconciliation and national unity emphasised that minorities did indeed have a valued place in the new South Africa. Minority groups therefore moved from uncertainty and fear in 1992, to a sense of relief and pride in 1996. Black South Africans, however, still had to see the effects of the transition, and there may have been many in 1996 who felt the Black majority had not yet fully taken

power (e.g. Makgoba, 1998). The historical exclusion of Black people from constructions of South African identity probably also still had a lingering effect, as discussed in Chapter 2, reducing the identification of Black people with the category 'South African'.

Since the late 1990's however, there has been further change in the governance of South Africa. The government of national unity was officially replaced in 1999 with a 'winner-takes-all', ANC-dominated government. Power officially shifted into the hands of the Black majority. Although this 'second revolution' may not have speeded up delivery to the poor, it may well have encouraged Black South Africans to feel more concretely their equal citizenship and political empowerment than was the case five years ago.

Chapter 1 discussed how political and cultural majorities within countries tend to identify more strongly with the country than members of sub-national minorities. In a country that is dominated by an ethnic majority or a politically dominant group, the dominant group sees the nation as belonging to, and representing, itself. It has been argued that this was the case during Apartheid. White Afrikaners thought in terms of "Ons Staat... Ons Weermag, Ons Polisie, Ons Staatsdiens, Ons Republiek, Ons Volk... Ons Taal as Staatstaal" (Venter, 1999, 23), seeing the state as an extension of the in-group. But the dominance of the political majority does not have to involve oppression of others. Thus, for example, many English people tend to equate the terms 'English' and 'British' (Langlands, 1999). The cultural majority group in that case is subjectively appropriating the state, while Scots and Welsh people see a clear distinction between being sub-national and national identity. The present study suggests that this may be the case with regards to Black South Africans (or perhaps Black ANC-supporters?). The evidence certainly suggests that political empowerment has been associated with a rise in national identification to the point where Black South Africans now identify more strongly with South Africa than do other groups.

This study shows that the changes documented between 1992 and 1996 by other researchers, have continued to unfold. Based on their longitudinal research with adolescents in the 1990's, Finchilescu and Dawes expressed concern that Black adolescents showed less identification with South Africa than did other groups, and concluded that "efforts must be made to enhance national identity among the Black African adolescents" (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1999, 39). The results of the present study, taken together with the findings of Heaven et al (2000), suggest that this concern may no longer be warranted. It appears that Black African-language speaking South African adolescents are now showing just as strong, if not stronger, identification with South Africa than are other ethnic groups

It is very encouraging that ethnic minority groups identify with South Africa to only a slightly lesser extent than do the African-language majority. Coloured English-speakers, White Afrikaans-speakers and White English-speakers do not manifest any degree of *dis*identification with the country as a result of being ethnic minorities. One could interpret this as suggesting that these groups do not construe themselves as being oppressed or socially excluded within South African society to any significant degree, given that the perception of being oppressed by the majority undermines attachment to the country (Sidanius et al., 1997).

Further research is needed to investigate the connection between minority status, perceived marginalisation, and national identification in South Africa.

Relative strength of South African versus African identification

Although South African and African identity were found to be consonant, the two identities were not held equally strongly. As predicted, the English-speaking Coloured, English-speaking White and Afrikaans-speaking White adolescents identified more strongly with South Africa than with Africa. This difference was particularly noticeable in the Coloured and White English-speaking groups. There was no significant difference between these two groups either on South African or African identification: both showed moderate to high national identification, and low-to-middling African identification. But it is worth noting that the White English-speakers showed a mean level of identification with Africa just below the midpoint of the scale, the only time a mean score for a group fell below the midpoint on either South African or African identification.

This result supports the interpretation that White and Coloured English-speakers have little in their identity discourses to connect them with Africa. Coloured people no longer identify themselves with the political term 'Black', which was used the Struggle years to refer to all the oppressed people of South Africa (Caliguire, 1996; Jung, 2000). Those who mobilise their identity around being descendants of indigenous peoples are in the minority (Jung, 2000). As for White English-speakers, this group has historically never made any claim to being 'African' or 'Black', whether politically or otherwise.

In marked contrast to these two groups, the Black African-language speaking adolescents showed a high level of identification with Africa. African identification was not significantly lower than South Africa identification in this group. For the Black African-language-speakers in this study, South African and African identities were not only mutually compatible but were held *equally strongly*. Inter-group comparisons also supported the research hypothesis that Black African-language speakers would identify more strongly with Africa than would adolescents from other ethnic groups.

Previous research has seldom explicitly addressed the relative strength of South African and African identification. Studies asking respondents to select their primary identity have found Black respondents slightly (Bornman, 1999) to extremely (Gibson & Gouws, 1998) more likely than other ethnic groups to select 'African' as their primary identity. In the one study that asked respondents to rate the importance of various identities including 'African', Black respondents gave the 'African' identity a much higher rating than did White Afrikaans respondents (Heaven et al., 2000), supporting the present results.

There are, however, two important discrepancies between the present study and Heaven et al. (2000). In the latter it appears that Black respondents rated the African identity somewhat lower than South African identity (although the statistical significance of the comparison was not reported.) In the current study, there was no difference between strength of identification with South Africa and with Africa among Black African-language

speakers. The Heaven et al. (2000) study also found White Afrikaans-speakers giving African identity an extremely low rating: a mean of 0.75 out of a possible 5 (where the Black group's mean was 3.17). This suggests almost complete rejection of the African identity among the White Afrikaners in Heaven et al.'s sample. The present research found that White Afrikaans-speakers identified positively with Africa, with a mean score well above the scale midpoint (see below). These incongruities could be due to differences between the sample groups in the two studies (adolescents versus university students; location, socio-economic level, etc); historical effects of the time gap between the studies; or the effect of different types of measurement.

The White Afrikaans-speaking group produced a surprise. This group showed the same level of South African national identification as did the two English-speaking groups, and also showed lower African than South African identification, as had been predicted. But this group's identification with Africa was in between the African-language and English-speakers, significantly lower than the former, but significantly higher than the latter. Why would White Afrikaans adolescents show stronger identification with Africa than their White and Coloured English-speaking peers?

The answer may lie in discourses of indigeneity. Connor (1990) points out that some Afrikaners claim to be just as indigenous to South Africa as Black African-language speakers, if not more so. (The claim is that Black tribes moved into the Southernmost regions of the country well after the original Dutch settlers had begun to colonise the land). It has also been argued that the Afrikaans language is indigenous to South Africa, and therefore locates its speakers on the African, rather than European, continent (e.g. du Plessis, 1992). As one writer has put it:

*Die taal wat 'n Afrikaner praat en die belewenis van 'n groepsverlede wat die taal hom bied,
maak die Afrikaner net so 'n inboorling van Afrika as enige ander Afrika-volk."*

Muller, 1984, 231

(The language that an Afrikaner speaks and the experience of a collective history that this gives him, makes him just as much a native of Africa as any other African tribe or people.)

This discourse of Afrikaners being a 'White tribe of Africa' existed during Apartheid in odd juxtaposition with the 'anti-African' stance mentioned in Chapter 2. While there may have existed a sense of being indigenous to South Africa, it is not clear how many White Afrikaans-speakers during Apartheid actually perceived themselves to be African. It has been argued that although the word 'Afrikaans' includes the word 'Afrika', this *linguistic* internalisation has not generally been accompanied by *psychological* internalisation of African identity (du Plessis, 1992). The results of the current study suggest that the liberal calls to redefine Afrikanerdom within Africa, and for Afrikaners to shed their anti-Africa prejudices (e.g. du Preez, 2000), may have been bearing some fruit. The White Afrikaans-speaking adolescents in this study certainly showed a smaller difference between their national and supra-national identification than did the Coloured and White English-speakers.

Study 2 supports the results of Study 1

The secondary study involved only Coloured English-speaking participants. It therefore cannot provide us with information relating to the inter-ethnic differences observed. But it does lend support to one of the central findings of the main study. As discussed above, the main study found that, on six-item measures of strength of identification, Coloured English-speakers scored significantly lower for African than for South African identification. Both the measures used in Study 2 replicated this finding. South Africa was **rated** as being significantly more important than Africa to the participants' sense of who they are. South Africa was also **ranked** significantly higher than Africa when eleven social groups were ranked according to their perceived personal importance. These additional findings give us reason to be confident in the results from the main study.

Future commitment and South African identification

The perceived personal importance of making a contribution to South Africa, as well as the desire to emigrate, were each assessed with one item. Responses to both these items were positively skewed: while most participants felt it was important to them to make a contribution to South Africa in the future, the majority also tended towards leaving the country. This may reflect the difference between sentimental and instrumental attachment identified by Kelman (1997). People can feel attached to their country for 'non-rational', emotional reasons, or for practical reasons relating to the perceived advantages of citizenship of that country. It is possible that in the South African context, these two identity motives have a 'push-pull' effect on young people. The participants in this study identified positively with South Africa, and indicated a desire to contribute towards the country. This could reflect an emotional attachment and 'patriotic' sentiment. But at the same time, instrumental cost-benefit analyses may be leading many young people to see their future as being elsewhere. (It is interesting to note that Black African-language speakers, who showed the highest identification levels and the highest perceived personal importance of making a personal contribution to South Africa, were not lower than the other groups on the desire to emigrate.) Scores on the contribution and emigration items had at most a moderate inverse relationship for the sample as a whole. This suggests that, while instrumental and affective attachment are convergent for some, they act independently in others, making the desire to leave the country only *somewhat* incompatible with the desire to contribute to the country in the future.

These issues clearly require further research. The two Future Commitment items were included on an exploratory basis, and cannot tell us that much on their own. This point is brought home by the variable pattern of correlations between these two items and identification with South Africa. The correlations were all in the expected direction: higher identification with South Africa was linked to greater perceived importance of making a contribution, and lower desire to emigrate. But the strength of the relationships varied considerably in magnitude between the four ethnic groups. This could conceivably be an artefact of the language in which the questionnaire was completed (to be discussed later). But if the results are reflective of differences between the ethnic groups, they suggest the existence of more than one set of norms and

discourses linking national identity, the personal obligation to make a contribution to the country, and the desire to leave the country.

For example, for White English-speaking youth, the perceived importance of making a personal contribution to the country is strongly linked to identification with the country. One could speculate that those in this group who don't see themselves as South African, do not feel obliged to make a personal contribution, and have a higher chance of wanting to leave the country. Positive identification is clearly linked with attachment to the country and feelings of obligation. Thus there exists a conventional 'patriotic' attitude set, in which feeling South African, wanting to stay here, and wanting to help the country are linked. Among Black African-language speakers, however, these attitudes are not strongly linked. Identifying with the country does not imply the desire to stay or to make a personal contribution, and vice versa. The observed, but somewhat puzzling, differences suggest the need for qualitative studies of young people's talk about national identity, attachment to the country, and future commitment to it.

It is also debatable whether the Future Commitment should be seen as an aspect of identification, or as a consequence. Further research should investigate whether increased identification with South Africa leads to a greater desire to make a contribution to the country, or to less desire to emigrate. The sentimental / instrumental distinction might be useful here. One might hypothesise, for example, that increasing people's level of sentimental attachment would have a greater effect on the desire to make a contribution to the country, than on the desire to emigrate. Conversely, increasing instrumental attachment could be more effective at decreasing the desire to leave the country. These are speculations that would require experimental research.

Overall, perhaps the most important finding from this section of the research is the fact that over half of all the respondents indicated that they would strongly prefer to leave South Africa (a score of 5 or 6 on the 6-point scale). If this is indeed a reflection of the desire to emigrate, it is cause for great concern. It suggests that identification with, and affective attachment to, South Africa is not enough to prevent the continued 'brain drain' that plagues the country. But it is possible that participants did not actually have permanent departure in mind when they responded to this question. Working holidays and 'gap years' abroad are becoming increasingly popular with young South Africans. It could be that some participants meant that they would like to go overseas for a *while*. Further research on the connection between national identification and future commitment to the country should try to develop a multi-item, internally reliable and valid scale to assess intention to emigrate, rather than using a single item as was done in the present study. And of course, the connection between attitudes and intentions on the one hand, and behaviour on the other, cannot be taken for granted. The extent to which the desire to emigrate actually predicts leaving the country, should be tested empirically.

Attitudes, beliefs, and national identification

International research on category assimilation (Sanchez-Mazas et al., 1994; Sanchez-Mazas, 1996) suggests that individual differences in attitudes and beliefs (such as the difference between xenophobics and xenophilics) can play an important role in determining people's willingness to identify with a super-ordinate category that will include members of out-groups at lower levels of categorisation. Thus we would expect people who hold negative attitudes towards out-groups at the sub-national level, to find it hard to identify with the national category. People who enjoy contact with out-groupers, however, should find it easier to identify with a super-ordinate national category. Research by IDASA (Mattes et al, 1997) suggested that this is indeed the case in South Africa. Attitudes towards social diversity (in the general sense of differences between people, not necessarily cultural difference) were shown to be significantly correlated with identification with South Africa. The present study hypothesised that attitudes towards diversity (in the sense of multiculturalism), as well as perceived security of sub-national identities, would be related to strength of identification with South Africa.

The research found only weak support for this hypothesis. Simple correlations showed that positive attitudes towards diversity, as well as perceived protection for sub-national identities, were slightly associated with stronger identification with South Africa. Multiple regression analysis showed that in some cases, even this weak relationship was accounted for by other factors, particularly ethnic group membership. Two cognitions did, however, retain their statistical significance as predictors of national identification when age, gender and ethnicity were included in the equation. Liking South Africa's cultural and linguistic diversity, and believing that all religions are equally respected and protected in South Africa, both appeared to predict identification with South Africa to at least the same extent as ethnicity.

The significance of perceived religious group security in the multiple regression analysis came as a surprise. Study 2 cast some light on this by showing that religious identity was accorded high absolute *and* relative importance in the group who participated in the secondary study. Although the results of Study 2 refer only to Coloured English-speakers, they do suggest that religious identity is extremely important to many South African youth. Other research supports this contention. For example, Heaven et al. (2000) found that, among White Afrikaans and Black university students who endorsed the identity 'Religious', this identity was also given an absolutely and relatively high rating. Perceptions relating to religious group identity would thus be particularly significant in the South African context.

The present research was based on the premise that positive attitudes and perceived sub-national group security contribute to stronger national identification in the context of a multi-cultural, diverse country such as South Africa. But the study did not attempt to demonstrate this causal link, only the existence of a connection. We cannot be sure of the direction of causality when linking attitudes, beliefs or feelings. It is possible that the observed correlation reflects the opposite causality from what is hypothesised. It could conceivably be that

stronger identification with South Africa contributes to more positive attitudes towards social diversity¹. Or a third variable could be influencing both. Likewise, we cannot be sure that perceived protection for religious groups *causes* greater identification with the country² (although it makes sense that it should contribute to, rather than detract from, identification with the country). This caveat about causal inferences also applies to the multiple regression analysis.

Future research should attempt to investigate a wider range of beliefs and attitudes than were included in the present study. Using different items, the 1997 IDASA survey (Mattes et al., 1997) did find a strong relationship between attitudes towards diversity and national identification. Thus the specific items used to operationalise attitudes and beliefs, clearly have an impact on the results. Further research should also set out to test the hypothesis that attitudes and beliefs affect national identification. This is not just a theoretical question. It has practical implications for the country if such attitudes and beliefs are shown to affect national identification. For example, do initiatives that aim to create positive attitudes towards diversity and multiculturalism – such as diversity workshops, and the Cape Town ‘One City, Many Cultures’ festival – have the effect of increasing people’s identification with South Africa? What circumstances moderate such an effect?

Methodological issues

Study 1 demonstrated that the multi-item measure of identification based on work in the UK (Cinnirella, 1997, 1998; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000) had reasonable internal reliability in the South African context. Particularly when applied to African identification, the six items showed good internal cohesion. The successful application of this measure allows us to compare the findings of the present study in a meaningful way with the other studies that have used it. For example, the significant positive correlations between South African and African identification can be compared and contrasted with the correlations calculated between British and European identification (Cinnirella, 1997; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000) and Italian and European identification (Cinnirella, 1997). Results pertaining to the relative strength of national and supra-national identification can also be compared. Both the international and local research suggests that national identification is not always stronger than supra-national identification. This relationship varies between

¹ Multiculturalism is an undeniable aspect of South African society. It can be seen as neutral; as a problem; or as a national asset, as in the ‘rainbow nation’ discourse. Social Identity Theory posits that people will strive to enhance their self-esteem through their social identities. Thus, the self-esteem of somebody who is strongly identified with South Africa, can be enhanced by perceiving multiculturalism to be a strength that the country possesses. Stronger identification with the country might also lead such a person to be more receptive to information that casts the country in a positive light. Thus, the person will be more likely to attend to and remember information in favour of multiculturalism (which is an undeniable feature of the country), thereby promoting positive self-esteem, than to remember information that is negative about multiculturalism. In this way, identification with the country could predict attitudes towards diversity.

² It seems plausible, for example, that adolescents who have been socialised to identify with South Africa and have patriotic feelings, may also have been socialised to believe strongly in the country’s Constitution and Bill of Rights. The process of socialisation for patriotism may have involved the development of a strong belief in the Constitution, and the faith that the rights it enshrined are indeed protected in practice. Thus identification with the country and perceived identity-group security may both result from a particular form of socialisation and political belief structure. Identification and beliefs about the country may be mutually reinforcing, rather than linearly causal.

countries (Cinnirella, 1997) and, as in the present study, between ethnic groups at the sub-national level. The statistical significance of these quantitative findings suggests real differences between groups, but does not provide the reason for these differences. The results from the present study, as from the earlier research cited above, call for further investigation to establish the reason for these differences.

Study 2 successfully demonstrated the value of methodological triangulation, albeit with regards to only two issues. As discussed above, the secondary study confirmed that the lack of an experimental effect in the main study was not due to the particular measure used to assess identification. It also confirmed that (in the Coloured English-speaking sample at least) South African identity is indeed accorded significantly higher importance than is African identity. Apart from these confirmatory results, however, Study 2 also contributed new information not contained in Study 1. The two measures of absolute strength of identification (the scale in Study 1 and the rating task in Study 2) showed moderate to high absolute identification with South Africa in Coloured English-speaking adolescents, compared to only lukewarm identification with Africa. The ranking measure in Study showed, however, that despite its positive ratings, South African identity is not very important *relative to* other social identities. South Africa is important to these young people, but is not as important as more immediate social groups such as family, religion, friends, school, and gender. This findings is supported by research elsewhere that has used multiple methods to establish the relative importance of a range of social identities. For example, a study of Northern Irish university students found that these young people accorded low salience and centrality to national identity compared with more personal identities, but that national identity nonetheless formed a “reservoir of identity commitment” (Cassidy & Trew, 1998, 735) that could be mobilised under the right circumstances.

The present research was designed to relate to a certain extent to the findings Finchilescu and Dawes (1999). Those authors deliberately included a measure of absolute as well as relative identification with South Africa in their study, presumably also to tap the complementary strengths of these two approaches. Their analysis did find different patterns of identification on the two measures. But, as mentioned earlier, Finchilescu and Dawes failed to calculate the ranking of national identity *relative to* other identities, treating the rankings as if they were ratings. They were thus unable to show the value added by including a ranking measure. The present study clearly demonstrates that rankings offer additional information to ratings that can add to the interpretation of results.

The present study illustrates the shortcomings of one of the methods used in the South African literature. Measures of ‘primary identity’ (e.g. Gibson & Gouws, 1998; Bornman, 1999) provide a quick overview of the single most preferred identity for different South Africans. This method is appropriate if we want to see how often South African identity is people’s *most preferred* identity, compared to sub-national or supra-national identity. But this method does not allow either absolute strength of the primary identity, or the relative positions of runner-up identities, to be assessed. A primary identity can be weakly-held if none of the social identities on the list presented are particularly important to a respondent. And the primary identity could be

only very marginally more important than other identities. This technique shares the main problem inherent in ranking measures (obscuring absolute values and the possibility that identities are very similar in strength), without offering the ranking-measure opportunity to assess relative strength or importance of a number of identities. In the present research, if we had asked the participants of Study 2 to indicate only their primary identity, almost all would have chosen either 'Family' or 'Religion'. The absence of South African and African identity as primary choices might have led us to believe that these two identities were *equally unimportant* for that sample, which is clearly nowhere near the mark.

Limitations of the research

The possible confounding effect of socio-economic status

It is unfortunate that the sampling strategy for this research did not work as intended. As discussed in Chapter 4, the original plan had been to control for socio-economic status (SES) by selecting schools with learner enrolment from lower-middle-class communities. It became clear as the study progressed, however, that it was not possible to do this and meet the criterion of ethnic diversity within schools. In the end some schools roughly met both criteria; some met the SES criterion but not the ethnic diversity criterion (i.e. the schools with almost entirely White Afrikaans-speaking enrolment); and some met neither (one mainly White English-speaking school was more affluent than anticipated, and the Township school was in a considerably poorer community than the other schools). In addition to this, it was also discovered that many Black African-language speakers going to school in lower-middle-class areas were commuting in from poorer areas. By the time all this became clear, however, the questionnaire had been designed and printed. It was too late to add in additional questions to assess SES. The result is that we are blind to the SES of the participants. All we can say is that they probably do not represent the *most* affluent adolescents in South African society, as no private or traditionally 'up-market' schools were included.

Socio-economic status presents a problem because it may be confounded with ethnicity. If SES has some bearing on identification with one's country, future commitment, attitudes towards diversity or perceived sub-national group security, we cannot be sure that the inter-ethnic differences observed on these variables are not an artefact of SES. We must therefore exercise caution in interpreting and generalising the findings. Further research is needed to expand the present study to a wider range of schools and to estimate each participant's SES, allowing this to be included as another independent variable.

Possible language effects

The questionnaire was translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa on the assumption that the majority of learners in the Western Cape speak at least one of these two languages or English as their first language. It was intended that most participants would be able to complete the questions in their language of highest proficiency. This assumption held true for the English-speakers and Afrikaans-speakers. But it proved to be flawed with regards to the Black participants in the study. Firstly, a sizeable proportion of the Black respondents did not speak Xhosa as a first language. These participants had no choice but to complete the questionnaire in English.

Secondly, the majority of the Xhosa-speaking participants at English-medium schools chose to complete the questionnaire in English. These learners and their teachers explained that they did all their schoolwork in English, and hardly had any cause to read or write Xhosa in the school context. They were therefore more used to responding to written questions in English than in their mother tongue.

This complicates the interpretation of the findings still further. With translation one can never be completely sure that the various versions are totally equivalent, despite back-translation. We must accept that the Afrikaans, Xhosa and English versions of the questionnaire could have had subtle differences that might have affected the results. But more significantly, the Coloured English-speaking, White Afrikaans-speaking and White English-speaking participants completed the questions in their home language, while the majority of the Black African-language speakers completed the questions in their second (or third) language. This could have affected not only the comprehensibility of the questions and their interpretation by participants, but could also have had a subtle psychological effect. It is possible that the language one uses carries certain associations with social identity. The experience of answering the questions in one's home language versus a second language could have varied in such a way as to affect participants' responses on the measures of dependent variables.

This difficulty has the same effect on the interpretation of the results as does the problem of socio-economic status. The language issue is also confounded with ethnicity, since it was only Black African-language participants who did not complete the questionnaire in their home language. We cannot be sure that the observed differences between this group and the others on the dependent variables are not partly due to linguistic effects.

Language could also potentially have interacted with the experimental manipulation. The experimental manipulation had no effect in any group, so we do not have to contend with this problem in the present situation. But if the research *had* found an interaction between ethnicity and experimental condition, we would not have been able to exclude the possibility that the manipulation itself was being understood differently by those in the different language groups. It should be noted that the research on which this study was based (Cinnirella, 1998; Rutland & Cinnirella, 2000) had English-speaking participants only. Language is arguably a complicating factor inherent in South African research.

Possible order effects

If Study 1 were to be conducted again, it would be advisable to vary the order in which the dependent variable measures were presented. In that study the six African identity items always appeared after the six items on South African identification and the future commitment items. It is possible that the observed relationship between these two identities, and their relative strength, was influenced by their order of presentation. One could argue that these items themselves could create identity salience. Completing the SA Identification scale first would have made national identity salient before participants went on to consider how they felt about Africa. Such an effect could only be ruled out by counterbalancing these two sets of items. It is also possible

that there was an order effect in Study 2, since South Africa was always listed before Africa in both the rating and ranking tasks. The effect of presenting South Africa before Africa in Study 2 would, however, have been less noticeable, because these two identities were embedded in a list including nine others.

Areas for further research

The research presented here suggests a number of avenues for further investigation. One such issue is suggested by the results of the multiple regression analysis. The regression equation had poor predictive power overall. This implies that the independent variables that were included (gender, age within a limited range, ethnicity, and responses to nine attitude and belief statements) did not encapsulate the main factors that predict national identification. We cannot assume that national identification *should* be predictable with any degree of certainty. But as a measurable psychological phenomenon that varies between individuals, national identification is the kind of dependent variable that we would expect to be able to relate to a set of predictors with some degree of success. The present study did not set out to generate a predictive model for national identification, so it would not be fair to criticise it on those grounds. But none of the variables included for analysis were able to predict strength of national identity particularly convincingly. Further research is clearly needed to investigate the role of factors such as socio-economic status, education, age (within a wider range), religious identity, political orientation and other social attitudes, and personal experiences (such as travel and study).

Perhaps the main line of investigation suggested by the present study, is analysis of the *content* of constructions of South African and African identity. The present study connected with a quantitative, experimental approach to the study of national identity. The numerical and statistical findings answer certain questions, but raise others. In order to understand the reasons for the inter-ethnic differences observed in identification and attitudes, it is necessary to explore how young South Africans construe national and supra-national identities, and their relationship with these social categories. What representations of South Africa or Africa are informing peoples' responses to identification items? What do young people see as South Africa's relationship with the rest of Africa? Who can claim to be South African or African, and how are these identity claims contested? What discourses are involved in young people's responses to items about future commitment to the country? What kinds of social influences and cost-benefit thinking are involved in the desire to emigrate? There is a great need for qualitative, discursively-oriented research to explore the social representations and personal meanings attributed to national and supra-national identity in South Africa.

As has already been suggested, further research should test the causal predictions implicit in the present study. Experimental research could attempt to establish whether attitudes towards diversity, and perceived sub-national group security, have a causal impact on national identification, and under what conditions this may occur. Research could also investigate a possible causal chain from identification with South Africa, to lowered desire to emigrate, to actual reduced probability of emigration. In terms of experimental research, however, the main topic suggested by the present study is further investigation of identity salience effects on

national identification. The present study failed to find such an effect, but it has been argued that this was most likely because the experiment was subverted by the way participants ignored instructions. Further research should perhaps return to university samples comparable to the international research and attempt more direct replication of successful studies. Conceptual variations could then be attempted. Three, rather than two, levels of identification should also be assessed as dependent variables: sub-national, national and supra-national.

Conclusion

The research reported here contributes new research questions and methods to the South African literature. In attempting an experimental manipulation of national and supra-national identification, the study applied a theoretical approach that ^{has} not been used before in South African national identity research. It is a pity that the experiment failed, and that we cannot be sure why it did. But the study successfully applied a previously-used measure of identification that allows for international comparability of findings. The study also showed how methodological triangulation can contribute to the validity and meaningfulness of the results. It is highly recommended that further research apply measures of *absolute* and of *relative* strength of identification, as was done here.

The research suggests that the nation-building process in South Africa has been partly successful (whether it is seen to be the results of conscious social engineering, or a result of spontaneous social shifts over time). Adolescents from all four ethnic groups in the study identified positively with South Africa. In contrast to research in the 1990's, Black African-language speaking adolescents identified slightly more strongly with South Africa than did their peers from other ethnic groups. This suggests that Black South Africans now feel a greater extent of belonging and 'ownership' of the country than they did in the transition years, a very positive finding. Further encouragement comes from the findings that most young people in this study saw it as being personally important for them to contribute to the country, and held positive attitudes towards multicultural diversity and inter-group contact. These findings bode well for social integration and the development of a sense of national consensus.

Potential problem areas were, however, also revealed. The desire to emigrate is very prevalent, suggesting that South Africa's 'brain drain' will continue for some years to come. The differences between ethnic groups on attitudinal items suggests that ethnicity is still a potentially divisive force in South Africa, with some groups being distinctly less enthusiastic about integration and diversity than others. Likewise, some groups (in particular White Afrikaans youth) feel that their culture is undermined by other cultures within South Africa. Such perceptions of threat can easily be mobilised to support illiberal, socially divisive political agendas.

African identity was accepted to a certain extent by all four ethnic groups in the study, with Black African-language speakers showing the highest identification with Africa. For non-African ethnic groups in South Africa, particularly Coloured and White English-speakers, African identity is currently not perceived to be

very relevant. It is likely that the current discourse of the 'African Renaissance', and attempts to locate South African identity within Africa, have more meaning for Black African-language speaking youth than others in South Africa. The evidence suggests, however, that South African and African identification are perceived to be compatible by young South Africans. This suggests that the two identity projects that have enjoyed prominence in South Africa over the last decade – South African nation-building and Pan-Africanism – may have the potential to be mutually reinforcing and collaborative.

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APPENDICES A AND B

Items used to measure identification by Cinnirella (1997)

Letter of permission to conduct research in schools, from the Western Cape Education Department

Multi-item identification measure from Cinnirella (1997)

Further used in Cinnirella (1998) and Rutland and Cinnirella (2000).

1. To what extent do you feel British? ('extremely British' – 'not at all British')
2. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other British people? ('extremely strong ties – 'no ties at all')
3. To what extent do you feel pleased to be British? ('extremely pleased' – 'not at all pleased')
4. How similar do you think you are to the average British person? ('extremely similar' – 'not at all similar')
5. How important to you is being British? ('extremely important' – 'not at all important')
6. How much are your views about Britain shared by other British people? ('shared by all' – 'not shared by any')
7. When you hear someone who is not British criticize the British, to what extent do you feel personally criticized? ('extremely criticized' – 'not at all criticized')

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Wes-Kaap Onderwysdepartement

Western Cape Education Department

ISebe leMfundo leNtshona Koloni

Ms Liberty Eaton

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: Adolescents' identification with South Africa: a questionnaire manipulation of social identity salience.

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, teachers and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, teachers, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. The investigation is not conducted during the fourth school term.
5. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of each school where the intended research is to be conducted.
6. The names of the schools where you will be conducting your research are to be provided to the Director: Research.
7. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research.
8. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Research
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag 9114
CAPE TOWN
8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.



PP HEAD: EDUCATION
DATE: 30 January 2001

APPENDIX C

Questionnaires

This Appendix provides examples of the questionnaires used in Study 1 and Study 2. The reader is referred to Figure 1 (page 42) to recap the research design, and to Figure 2 (page 52) for a summary of the questionnaire items that were considered for analysis in Study 1 and Study 2.

Both studies used the same experimental manipulation. The first two pages of the questionnaire primed the salience of one of three levels of identity: national, sub-national (ethnic), or personal. The two studies differed in the measures they used to assess identification with South Africa and with Africa (pages 3 and 4 of the questionnaire).

It would take up excessive space to present all 6 versions of the questionnaire. Thus one example questionnaire is given for each Study. To avoid confusion, both examples use the national identity priming tasks. The other versions (not presented) would have been identical to these two, except using sub-national or personal identity priming tasks instead of national identity tasks. The priming tasks for sub-national and personal identity salience are presented as loose pages after the two complete questionnaires in this Appendix.

Example questionnaire from Study 1

Study of the social orientations of high school learners University of Cape Town

We are interested in how high school learners in South Africa think about various social issues. We would greatly appreciate your help with our research.

Please could you answer the following questionnaire.

- There are no right or wrong answers.
- The questionnaire is totally anonymous. Your name does not appear anywhere and nobody will be able to identify you from the things you say. So please respond to the questions as honestly as you can.
- It is important that you complete all the pages in the order in which they appear.
- Please try to answer all the questions.

Below are six qualities or characteristics that describe people. For each characteristic, you have to rank nationalities in order of who has the most of that characteristic, to who has the least. **Read the example below to show you how.**

Example:

Let's say the characteristic is "**Honest**". We give you five nations, and you have to put them in order of who is most honest to who is least honest.

Decide which nation is the most honest and write a 1 next to that group. Then decide who is the next most honest nation, and give them a 2. The third most honest nation gets a 3. The fourth most honest gets a 4. The least honest nation gets a 5.

Each empty line must have a number, for example:

Honest

 2 South Africans

 5 Germans

 3 Italians

 1 Americans

 4 Nigerians

There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinion.

1. Hard working

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

2. Nature-loving

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

3. Generous

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

4. Scientifically-minded

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

5. Talkative

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

6. Loyal to family ties

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

The following questions ask your opinion about South Africans as a nation.

Please list three things that South Africans do **often**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that South Africans do **seldom**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that South Africans do **badly**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that South Africans do **well**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

For the following questions, the numbers go from 0 at the one end, up to 6 at the opposite end. Please circle the number that shows how you feel about each question.

How much do you feel South African?

(not at all South African) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely South African)

How much do you feel strong ties with other South Africans?

(no ties at all) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely strong ties)

How pleased do you feel to be South African?

(not at all pleased) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely pleased)

How similar do you think you are to the average South African?

(not at all similar) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely similar)

How important to you is being South African?

(not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

When you hear a foreigner criticising South Africa, how much do you feel personally criticised?

(not at all criticised) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely criticised)

When you think about your life and your future, how important is it for you personally to contribute to South Africa?

(not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

When you think about your life and your future, how important is it for you personally to do something to improve your community?

(not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

When you have finished your education and you are independent, would you prefer to stay in South Africa, or would you prefer to leave and go to live in another country (emigrate)?

(strongly prefer to stay) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly prefer to leave)

People from France might think of themselves as being French. They might also think of themselves as being European, because they live on the continent of Europe. Likewise, people in South Africa could think of themselves as being South African, and also as being African, because they live on the continent of Africa. The following questions are about the idea of being African in the sense of being part of the African continent.

How much do you feel African?

(not at all African) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely African)

How much do you feel strong ties with other Africans?

(no ties at all) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely strong ties)

How pleased do you feel to be African?

(not at all pleased) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely pleased)

How similar do you think you are to the average African?

(not at all similar) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely similar)

How important to you is being African?

(not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

When you hear a person from another continent criticising Africa, how much do you feel personally criticised?

(not at all criticised) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely criticised)

Please read the following statements, and show how much you agree or disagree with each one. Circle a number for each statement. The numbers go from 0 (meaning that you strongly disagree), up to 6 (meaning that you strongly agree).

I like the idea of hearing many different languages being spoken in the playground at school.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

Mixing people of different cultures and religions can actually do more harm than good.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

Countries where the people share one language and culture, have fewer problems than multicultural countries.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I think it is natural to want to be with people from your own culture, and to avoid people who are different.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I believe that in South Africa, everybody's culture and language are equally protected and respected.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

Example questionnaire from Study 2

Study of the social orientations of high school learners University of Cape Town

We are interested in how high school learners in South Africa think about various social issues. We would greatly appreciate your help with our research.

Please could you answer the following questionnaire.

- There are no right or wrong answers.
- The questionnaire is totally anonymous. Your name does not appear anywhere and nobody will be able to identify you from the things you say. So please respond to the questions as honestly as you can.
- It is important that you complete all the pages in the order in which they appear.
- Please try to answer all the questions.

Below are six qualities or characteristics that describe people. For each characteristic, you have to rank nationalities in order of who has the most of that characteristic, to who has the least. **Read the example below to show you how.**

Example:

Let's say the characteristic is "**Honest**". We give you five nations, and you have to put them in order of who is most honest to who is least honest.

Decide which nation is the most honest and write a 1 next to that group. Then decide who is the next most honest nation, and give them a 2. The third most honest nation gets a 3. The fourth most honest gets a 4. The least honest nation gets a 5.

Each empty line must have a number, for example:

Honest

 2 South Africans

 5 Germans

 3 Italians

 1 Americans

 4 Nigerians

There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinion.

1. Hard working

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

2. Nature-loving

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

3. Generous

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

4. Scientifically-minded

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

5. Talkative

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

6. Loyal to family ties

 South Africans

 Germans

 Italians

 Americans

 Nigerians

The following questions ask your opinion about South Africans as a nation.

Please list three things that South Africans do **often**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that South Africans do **seldom**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that South Africans do **badly**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that South Africans do **well**, compared to other nations:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

When you think about who you are as a person, your membership in some groups might be an important part of your identity. Please rate how important each of the following groups are to **your sense of who you are**. The numbers go from 0 (meaning that that group is **not important** at all) up to 6 (meaning that that group is **extremely important**). Circle a number for each group.

Your school (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your home language (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your religion (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your race / ethnicity (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your gender (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

South Africa (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your family (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your sports team(s) (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Other groups or clubs (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Africa (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Your group of friends (not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

Below is a list of eleven kinds of groups. When you think about who you are, some of these groups might be quite important to your identity. Other may be less important. Please rank these groups from one to eleven, in order of how important they are to **your sense of who you are**. Use the ladder below as a guide. Write the most important group on the top step of the ladder, the second most important one on the second step, and so on, until the least important group goes on the lowest step. All eleven steps must be filled.

- | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| school | home language | religion | race | gender | South Africa |
| family | sports teams | other groups / clubs | Africa | your group of friends | |

1.	_____ (most important)
2.	_____
3.	_____
4.	_____
5.	_____
6.	_____
7.	_____
8.	_____
9.	_____
10.	_____
11.	_____ (least important)

When you think about your life and your future, how important is it for you personally to contribute to South Africa?

(not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

When you think about your life and your future, how important is it for you personally to do something to improve your community?

(not at all important) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (extremely important)

When you have finished your education and you are independent, would you prefer to stay in South Africa, or would you prefer to leave and go to live in another country (emigrate)?

(strongly prefer to stay) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly prefer to leave)

Please read the following statements, and show how much you agree or disagree with each one.

Circle a number for each statement. The numbers go from 0 (meaning that you strongly **disagree**), up to 6 (meaning that you strongly **agree**).

I like the idea of hearing many different languages being spoken in the playground at school.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

Mixing people of different cultures and religions can actually do more harm than good.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

Countries where the people share one language and culture, have fewer problems than multicultural countries.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I think it is natural to want to be with people from your own culture, and to avoid people who are different.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I believe that in South Africa, everybody's culture and language are equally protected and respected.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

I believe that in South Africa, everybody's religion is equally protected and respected.

(strongly disagree) 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (strongly agree)

Saliency priming tasks for sub-national identity

Below are six characteristics (characteristics) that describe people. For each characteristic, you have to rank ethnic groups in order of who has the most of that characteristic, to who has the least. **Read the example below to show you how.**

Example:

Let's say the characteristic is "**Honest**". We give you five groups, and you have to put them in order of who is most honest to who is least honest.

Decide which group is the most honest and write a 1 next to that group. Then decide who is the next most honest group, and give them a 2. The third most honest group gets a 3. The fourth most honest gets a 4. The least honest group gets a 5.

Each empty line must have a number, for example:

Honest

- 2 Xhosa-speaking Black people
- 5 Afrikaans-speaking White people
- 1 Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- 3 English-speaking White people
- 4 English-speaking Indian people

There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinion.

1. Hard working

- Xhosa-speaking Black people
- Afrikaans-speaking White people
- Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- English-speaking White people
- English-speaking Indian people

3. Generous

- Xhosa-speaking Black people
- Afrikaans-speaking White people
- Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- English-speaking White people
- English-speaking Indian people

5. Talkative

- Xhosa-speaking Black people
- Afrikaans-speaking White people
- Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- English-speaking White people
- English-speaking Indian people

2. Nature-loving

- Xhosa-speaking Black people
- Afrikaans-speaking White people
- Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- English-speaking White people
- English-speaking Indian people

4. Scientifically-minded

- Xhosa-speaking Black people
- Afrikaans-speaking White people
- Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- English-speaking White people
- English-speaking Indian people

6. Loyal to family ties

- Xhosa-speaking Black people
- Afrikaans-speaking White people
- Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people
- English-speaking White people
- English-speaking Indian people

The following questions ask your opinion about the ethnic/cultural group that **you** belong to (e.g. amaXhosa; English-speaking White South Africans). If your religion is an important part of your ethnic/cultural identity, you can also think of that group, e.g. Jewish White South Africans; Muslim Indian South Africans.

Please list three things that members of your ethnic/cultural group do **often**, compared to members of other ethnic groups:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Three things that members of your ethnic/cultural group do **seldom**, compared to members of other ethnic groups:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Three things that members of your ethnic/cultural group do **badly**, compared to members of other ethnic groups:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Three things that members of your ethnic/cultural group do **well**, compared to members of other ethnic groups:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Salience priming tasks for personal identity

Please write down the initials of the following five people. **They must be five different people.**

- Your oldest friend _____ Your newest friend _____
Someone with whom you are no longer friends _____
A boy whom you would like to get to know better _____
A girl whom you would like to get to know better _____

Below is a list of six qualities or characteristics of people. For each characteristic, you have to rank ethnic groups in order of who has the most of that characteristic, to who has the least. **Read the example below to show you how.**

Example:

Let's say the characteristic is "**Honest**". You have to put the five people in order of who is most honest to who is least honest.

Decide which person is the most honest and write a 1 next to that person. Then decide who is the next most honest person, and give them a 2. The third most honest person gets a 3. The fourth most honest gets a 4. The least honest person gets a 5. Remember, you have to think of real people that you know.

Each empty line must have a number, for example:

Honest

- 2 My newest friend
 5 My oldest friend
 3 A person I have stopped being friends with
 1 The boy I would like to get to know better
 4 The girl I would like to know better

There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinion.

1. Hard working

- ___ My newest friend
___ My oldest friend
___ A person I have stopped being friends with
___ The boy I would like to get to know better
___ The girl I would like to know better

2. Nature-loving

- ___ My newest friend
___ My oldest friend
___ A person I have stopped being friends with
___ The boy I would like to get to know better
___ The girl I would like to know better

3. Generous

- ___ My newest friend
___ My oldest friend
___ A person I have stopped being friends with
___ The boy I would like to get to know better
___ The girl I would like to know better

4. Scientifically-minded

- ___ My newest friend
___ My oldest friend
___ A person I have stopped being friends with
___ The boy I would like to get to know better
___ The girl I would like to know better

5. Talkative

- ___ My newest friend
___ My oldest friend
___ A person I have stopped being friends with
___ The boy I would like to get to know better
___ The girl I would like to know better

6. Loyal to family ties

- ___ My newest friend
___ My oldest friend
___ A person I have stopped being friends with
___ The boy I would like to get to know better
___ The girl I would like to know better

The following questions ask about you as an individual. We are interested in the way you see yourself.

Please list three things that you do **often**, compared to other people you know:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that you do **seldom**, compared to other people you know:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that you do **badly**, compared to other people you know:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Three things that you do **well**, compared to other people you know:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

APPENDIX D

Supplementary statistics and findings referred to in Chapters 4 and 5

Table D1: Full item analysis of items assessing identification with South Africa

	Mean if deleted	Var. if deleted	SD if deleted	Item-Total Correl.	Alpha if deleted
How much do you feel South African?	19.48	32.83	5.73	.58	.71
How much do you feel strong ties with other South Africans?	19.80	35.41	5.95	.42	.75
How pleased do you feel to be South African?	19.76	29.68	5.45	.62	.69
How similar do you think you are to the average South African?	20.28	35.22	5.93	.39	.75
How important to you is being South African?	19.93	29.10	5.39	.61	.70
When you hear a foreigner criticising South Africa, how much do you feel personally criticised?	19.83	31.65	5.63	.42	.76

Mean=23.82 SD=6.67 Valid N:555 Cronbach alpha: .76 Standardized alpha: .77
 Average inter-item correlation: .36

Table D2: Full item analysis of items assessing identification with Africa

	Mean if deleted	Var. if deleted	SD if deleted	Item-Total Correl.	Alpha if deleted
How much do you feel African?	15.45	55.05	7.42	.77	.86
How much do you feel strong ties with other Africans?	15.65	58.67	7.66	.70	.88
How pleased do you feel to be African?	15.06	54.98	7.41	.82	.86
How similar do you think you are to the average African?	15.70	60.60	7.78	.61	.89
How important to you is being African?	15.49	54.33	7.37	.79	.86
When you hear a person from another continent criticising Africa, how much do you feel personally criticised?	15.45	57.27	7.57	.60	.89

Mean=18.56 SD=8.96 Valid N:561 Cronbach alpha: .89 Standardized alpha: .89
 Average inter-item correlation: .59

Table D3: Factor analysis on items assessing attitudes towards diversity, for the whole sample.

Item loadings	Factor 1	Factor 2
Item 1	.80*	-.11
Item 2	-.00	.65*
Item 3	-.41	.63*
Item 4	.71*	.01
Item 5	-.01	.69*
Item 6	-.17	.62*
Item 7	.81*	-.25
Eigenvalue of factor	2.53	1.21
Proportion of total variance explained	.28	.25

Item loadings > .5 are marked with an asterisk

Results of factor analysis by ethnic group

In all cases, item loadings greater than .5 are marked with an asterisk.

Table D4: Principal Components factor analysis (varimax normalized) for Black African–language group .

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Item loadings			
Item 1	.06	-.78*	.31
Item 2	.77*	.08	.08
Item 3	.65*	-.20	-.51*
Item 4	.10	-.14	.88*
Item 5	.52*	.26	-.11
Item 6	.67*	.02	.14
Item 7	-.24	-.81*	-.16
Eigenvalues	1.92	1.36	1.12
Proportion of total variance explained	.26	.20	.17

Table D5: Principal Components factor analysis (varimax normalized) for Coloured English-speaking group

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Item loadings		
Item 1	.62*	-.25
Item 2	-.04	.62*
Item 3	-.53*	.47
Item 4	.71*	.26
Item 5	-.04	.75*
Item 6	-.31	.46
Item 7	.77*	-.25
Eigenvalues	2.35	1.09
Proportion of total variance explained	.27	.22

Table D6: Principal Components factor analysis (varimax normalized) for White Afrikaans-speaking group

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Item loadings			
Item 1	.82*	-.18	.18
Item 2	.02	.09	.93*
Item 3	-.34	.60*	.39
Item 4	.74*	.13	-.30
Item 5	-.00	.82*	-.13
Item 6	-.13	.67*	.15
Item 7	.82*	-.31	-.01
Eigenvalues	2.53	1.23	1.07
Proportion of total variance explained	.29	.23	.17

Table D7: Principal Components factor analysis (varimax normalized) for White English-speaking group

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Item loadings		
Item 1	.77*	-.07
Item 2	.01	.60*
Item 3	-.51*	.55*
Item 4	.67*	.07
Item 5	.15	.78*
Item 6	-.30	.54*
Item 7	.83*	-.13
Eigenvalues	2.36	1.36
Proportion of total variance explained	.30	.23

Table D8: Results of Mann-Whitney U-tests between pairs of ethnic groups, for variable "Contribution".
Variate values for z significant at $p < .008$ are marked with an asterisk.

Groups for comparison		Rank sums		U	z
Group 1	Group 2	Rank sum group 1	Rank sum group 2		
Black African-language	Coloured English	16289	20567	5689	4.55*
Black African-language	White Afrikaans	17541.5	19314.5	4436.5	6.56*
Black African-language	White English	14591	9940	2437	7.62*
Coloured English	White Afrikaans	31883	27457	23579	2.40
Coloured English	White English	28765	14600	7097	4.73*
White English	White Afrikaans	15889.5	27475.5	8386.5	-2.93*

Detailed analysis of attitude items

"When I think about South Africa, I worry that my culture is being undermined by other cultures"

Table D9: Concern about own culture being undermined by others: Observed and expected frequencies for Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA.

Overall median = 4

		<i>Ethnic groups</i>				
		Black African-language	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Total
<= Median:	observed	51	130	79	90	350
	expected	62.71	108.78	101.74	76.78	
	obs.-exp.	-11.71	21.22	-22.74	13.22	
> Median:	observed	47	40	80	30	197
	expected	35.29	61.22	57.26	43.22	
	obs.-exp.	11.71	-21.22	22.74	-13.22	
	Total observed	98	170	159	120	547

Table D10: Results of Mann-Whitney U-tests between pairs of ethnic groups: Item on perceived cultural threat.

Variate values for z significant at $p < .008$ are marked with an asterisk.

Groups for comparison		Rank sums		U	z
Group 1	Group 2	Rank sum group 1	Rank sum group 2		
Black African-language	Coloured English	14589	21457	6922	2.30
Black African-language	White Afrikaans	12055	21098	7204	-1.01
Black African-language	White English	11749	12122	4862	2.20
Coloured English	White Afrikaans	23491.5	30793.5	8956.5	-5.29*
Coloured English	White English	24877.5	17317.5	10057.5	.20
White English	White Afrikaans	13578	25482	6318	-4.83*

“The best way to learn to appreciate people who are different from you, is to work and socialise with them every day.”

Table D11: Positive attitude towards inter-group contact: Observed and expected frequencies for Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA.

Overall median = 5

		<i>Ethnic groups</i>				
		Black African-language	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Total
<= Median:	observed	24	73	102	76	275
	expected	49.09	85.66	79.64	60.61	
	obs.-exp.	-25.09	-12.66	22.36	15.39	
> Median:	observed	74.00	98.00	57.00	45.00	274
	expected	48.91	85.34	79.36	60.39	
	obs.-exp.	25.09	12.66	-22.36	-15.39	
Total observed		98	171	159	121	549

Table D12: Results of Mann-Whitney U-tests between pairs of ethnic groups: Positive attitude towards inter-group contact.

Variate values for z significant at $p < .008$ are marked with an asterisk.

Groups for comparison		Rank sums		U	z
Group 1	Group 2	Rank sum group 1	Rank sum group 2		
Black African-language	Coloured English	14661.5	21653.5	6947.5	2.33
Black African-language	White Afrikaans	15784	17369	4649	5.42*
Black African-language	White English	12931	11159	3778	4.61*
Coloured English	White Afrikaans	31858.5	22756.5	10036.5	4.11*
Coloured English	White English	27028.5	15749.5	8368.5	2.78*
White English	White Afrikaans	21413.5	17926.5	8693.5	-1.38

"I like the way South Africa has so many different cultures and languages."

Table D13: Liking SA's diversity: Observed and expected frequencies for Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA.

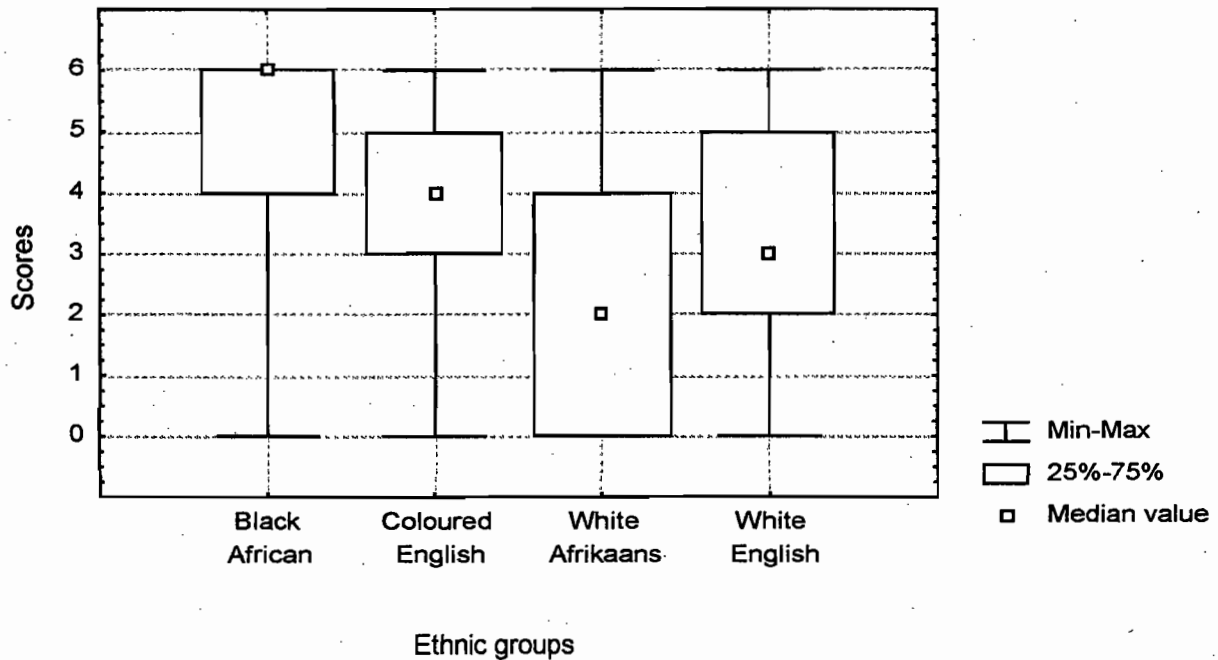
Overall median = 4

		<i>Ethnic groups</i>				
		Black African-language	Coloured English	White Afrikaans	White English	Total
<= Median:	observed	21	86	111	77	350
	expected	51.77	92.22	85.75	65.26	
	obs.-exp.	-30.77	-6.22	25.25	11.74	
> Median:	observed	75	85	48	44	197
	expected	44.23	78.78	73.25	55.74	
	obs.-exp.	30.77	6.22	-25.25	-11.74	
	Total observed	96	171	159	121	547

Table D14: Results of Mann-Whitney U-tests between pairs of ethnic groups: Liking SA's diversity. *Variate values for z significant at p < .008 are marked with an asterisk.*

Groups for comparison		Rank sums		U	z
Group 1	Group 2	Rank sum group 1	Rank sum group 2		
Black African-language	Coloured English	16026	19752	5046	5.22*
Black African-language	White Afrikaans	16963.5	1567.5	2956.5	8.19*
Black African-language	White English	13339.5	10313.5	2932.5	6.26*
Coloured English	White Afrikaans	32805.5	21809.5	9089.5	5.20*
Coloured English	White English	26515.5	16262.5	8881.5	2.06
White English	White Afrikaans	18980.5	20359.5	7639.5	2.95*

Figure D1: Categorized boxplot for the item that reads, "I like the idea of hearing many languages spoken in the playground at school".



Note how this item, which resembles the item on liking South Africa's cultural diversity, shows a similar pattern of inter-ethnic differences. The Black African language-speakers score the highest, showing a strongly positive attitude towards the idea of linguistic diversity among school peers. The Coloured English-speakers are mostly positive, although less so than the Black African language-speakers. The White English-speakers are split evenly above and below the scale midpoint, showing mixed feelings about the idea of many languages being spoken within the school environment. The White Afrikaans-speakers score the lowest, with half of them actually rejecting the idea of linguistic diversity outright (the median for this group is 2, which is below the scale midpoint).