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EXPOSURE TO MANIFESTATIONS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY: IMPACT ON WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN CHILDREN

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I hereby declare that this research project is my own work and that I have not submitted it to any other university for any degree.



Elana Jacobs

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ABSTRACT

The impact of political violence on the psychological well-being of civilian populations has received much attention, both locally and internationally. In South Africa, the effects on black children of having witnessed or experienced violence has been extensively researched; however, the impact on white children, albeit that the majority of them are removed from the immediacy of the violence, has not been investigated. It was hypothesised that significant correlations would emerge between exposure to political instability, political fear and anxiety, but that these relationships would be moderated by subjects' confidence in the ability of the state to maintain order. Subjects were 257 white, English-speaking, male and female, 13 and 14 year old children. A cross-sectional correlational design was employed and in addition to the main study, two pilot studies were executed to develop two of the necessary instruments. Statistical procedures included the calculation of correlation coefficients, multiple regression with interaction terms, and t-tests. Results failed to corroborate firstly, that greater exposure correlates with increased anxiety and political fear, and secondly that confidence in the state security apparatus serves as a buffer between exposure and negative affect. Possible explanations are offered.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The impact of political violence on the mental health of the civilian population has become a concern for many researchers and the focus of many studies (e.g. Lyons, 1979; Punamäki, 1989; Zwi & Ugalde, 1989). Great contention surrounds this debate, with many researchers claiming that those not directly involved in combat are nevertheless negatively affected by politically violent contexts (Hobfoll, Lomranz, Eyal, Bridges, & Tzemach, 1989) and others alleging that political violence does not have a considerable impact on the mental health of the general population (Curran, 1988).

Raviv and Klingman (1983) state that because of the situation in Israel, adults living there are continuously exposed to threat. They assert that Israeli children are not generally exposed to danger, but that the politically-violent context does represent a source of stress. The present author contends that in certain respects, the experience of white children in South Africa is analogous to that of Israeli children insofar as the majority of them are not involved directly in violence and confrontation, but that they are nevertheless exposed to indices of the political instability in this country. Evidence of the political instability, it is argued, range from atrocities like 'necklace' murders, torture in detention, bomb blasts and riots, to more subtle manifestations like bag searches at shopping centres, bomb drills at schools and large-scale emigration.

The effects of both witnessing and experiencing war and violence, have been written about extensively. It is hardly surprising that many of those who have been directly involved frequently manifest psychological symptoms, many of which are consistent with post-traumatic stress disorder (Aptekar & Boore, 1990; Manson, 1986; Solomons, 1988; Straker, 1987). However, it is apparent that the psychological health of those who are removed from the immediacy of the violence may also suffer the effects. Gibson (1988) states that children are affected by political violence even if they themselves are not detained or assaulted. Schefer and Hofmeyr (1988) found that irrespective of whether students were the victims or the witnesses of violent confrontations between police and students, this impacted on their psychological well-being.

In South Africa, much attention has been directed towards the effects of political violence on black children (Dawes, 1987; Gibson, 1989; Lab & Shmukler, 1989). Some attention has also been paid to the plight of South African soldiers who fought in the war in Angola and Namibia, and parallels have been drawn between the emotional sequelae apparent in South African soldiers and Vietnam veterans (Barron, 1989). However, the impact of political instability--as evidenced by violent confrontation as well as by subtle manifestations--on the white civilian population in South Africa, appears not to have been researched. It will be argued that white South African children are also affected, albeit more subtly than those directly involved, by the current political context and that they too, are bearing the consequences of living in a country in turmoil.

More specifically, it will be postulated that exposure to the manifestations of political instability will correlate with both anxiety and political fear, but that these relationships will be buffered by a moderator variable namely, confidence in the state security apparatus. (These concepts are defined and described in Chapter 2.)

CHAPTER 2. HISTORY AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1. Effects of War and Violence on Society

The psychological sequelae of living through a war and of witnessing or experiencing violence, have received much attention in the literature. Research has focussed both on those who have been directly involved (Manson, 1986; Mercer, Bunting & Snook, 1980) as well as the civilian population which is generally removed from the immediacy of the violence (Hobfoll, Lomranz, Eyal, Bridges & Tzemach, 1989).

One of the foci, internationally and locally, has been the effect that war has on children. Palestinian and Israeli children have been extensively investigated and written about in this regard (Punamäki, 1983; Ziv, Kruglanski & Shulman, 1974) as have Northern Irish children (Fraser, 1983; McWhirter, 1983) and the growing body of South African literature in this field is also beginning to make important contributions (Swartz & Levett, 1989). Swartz (1986) asserts that in times of crises, be they wars, civil unrest or natural disasters, caregivers should be concerned not only with the physical safety of children, but also with the psychological effects of violence. Fraser (1983) notes that many children living in a society experiencing a civil war often manifest stress in physical symptoms e.g. vomiting, asthma, rashes, epileptic fits, and fainting.

Lyons (1979) has studied psychological reactions to severe stress in Northern Ireland and has concluded that while civil disturbance does not lead to an increase in psychiatric illness, an anxiety reaction is apparent in people who are exposed to acute danger or who are victims of a terrorist attack. Curran (1988) suggests that "the campaign of terrorist violence" (p. 473) in Northern Ireland appears not to have resulted in an increase in psychiatric morbidity; however he notes that the evidence regarding outpatient referrals is contradictory. Hobfoll et al. (1988), using depression as an index of psychological distress, found that the outbreak of war in Israel corresponds with an increase in the occurrence of depression, but that the incidence of depression decreases after the most intensive period of the war. They conclude that "...despite Israel's constant confrontation with war, terrorism, and economic upheaval, people do not become insensitive to these events" (p. 1010). This sensitivity to violence and hardship in the environment was not replicated in the Cairns and Wilson (1984) study which compared residents of two Northern Ireland towns which were experiencing differing levels of violence. Here they found that the majority of the population copes effectively with the stress caused by the political violence, but appear to do so by denying the presence of the surrounding violence.

Children's responses to war situations have also been examined. Klingman and Wiesner (1982) investigated the relationship between proximity to tension areas, size of community and fear levels in Israeli children. They found that those children who lived closer to the conflict areas experienced greater fear, as did children living in smaller settlements. They suggest that the social isolation

experienced by children in smaller settlements makes them more sensitive to fear-provoking stimuli and that larger settlements serve to buffer the negative effects of being close to conflict areas. Also in Israel, Milgram and Milgram (1976) measured anxiety levels in fifth- and sixth-grade pupils prior to the Yom Kippur War in 1973 and again six months later during the war. The general anxiety levels were found to have nearly doubled.

Contrary to these findings, Ziv and Israeli (1973) discerned no significant differences in children's anxiety between shelled versus non-shelled kibbutzim. Saigh (1985) compared fear and anxiety levels of war school students in Lebanon, some of whom had been evacuated during a siege in West Beirut and some of whom had remained in the city. No significant differences were found to exist when comparing anxiety and fear levels of evacuated versus non-evacuated children. Lorenc and Branthwaite (1986) compared English and Northern Irish schoolchildren's attitudes to violence and concluded that their attitudes were similar.

It is therefore apparent that the evidence pertaining to the effects of war and violence, particularly on the civilian population, is inconclusive.

2.2. The Impact of Exposure to Stimuli on Behaviour

Various studies have been executed in order to gauge the relationship between exposure to stimuli and behavioural correlates. Much of this research has focussed on the effects of television on children's behaviour. Eron, Huesmann, Lefkowitz and Walder (1972) attempted to appraise the relationship between television viewing habits and overt aggression. They conclude that watching violent television programmes in formative years is one of the major causes of later aggression. In a later study, Eron (1982) notes that the interplay between aggressive behaviour and watching violence on television is circular in causality--not only does increased exposure to television violence foster aggression, but aggressive children watch an increased amount of violence. In an experiment in which the researchers were operating from the premise that observation of violence caused increased aggression, it was found that a single exposure to filmed violence did not affect the aggressive tendencies in men or women (Gustafson, Hemlin & Söderberg, 1987).

A report released in 1982 by The National Institute of Mental Health in the United States of America states that "...the consensus among most of the research community...[is] that violence on television does lead to aggressive behaviour by children and teenagers who watch the programs" (cited in Stipp and Milavsky, 1988, p. 77). Stipp and Milavsky are critical of this report and of many of the studies on which the report is based. They believe that there are serious

limitations in many of the studies, and are concerned that correlational data was interpreted as causational.

There is however, some evidence to suggest that witnessing violence in sports in the media does have some bearing on viewers' behaviour (Russell, Di Lullo & Di Lullo, 1988-89; Young & Smith, 1988-89).

Other studies have focussed on the effects of seeing suicide on television, and subsequent suicidal behaviour in the general population. Steede and Range (1989) note that there have been a number of "adolescent suicide 'epidemics'" which may be accounted for by "behavioural contagion" (p. 166). Their results are stated tentatively and they found that simply knowing about a previous suicide may not be sufficient to influence suicidal behaviour of adolescents. These findings were not corroborated in the study by Schmidtke and Häfner (1988). Here, a television series which depicted the railway suicide of a 19-year old male was followed by an increase in the number of suicides in the population. The size of the increase was most marked in people who were similar in age and gender to the model.

Linz, Donnerstein and Penrod (1988) expressed a concern that continual exposure to violence against women in the media may result in viewers becoming desensitised to actual victims. Their study found that sexually violent material initially provoked anxiety and depression amongst subjects, but that prolonged exposure decreased negative affective responses.

In considering the effects of exposure to stimuli on behaviour, it is important to review some of the material dealing with children's knowledge of violence in their political contexts. Two studies have investigated children's awareness of violence in Northern Ireland. Cairns (1984) explored the power of television news as a source of knowing about violence and found that its impact on children was the same, irrespective of whether the children lived in a "quiet" or "violent" area. Cairns, Hunter and Herring (1980) compared children living in Northern Ireland and two areas in Scotland: one area where only Northern Irish television reception is possible, and one area where Northern Ireland television news cannot be received. Children exposed to Northern Ireland television news were shown to be more aware of violence.

While there is controversy regarding the conclusions drawn from some of the studies done on the effect of exposure to stimuli on subsequent behaviour, it is apparent that the majority of the research suggests that a correlation does exist.

2.3. The Context of the Current Study

Punamäki (1988) is concerned that despite general acceptance of the fact that psychological processes are inextricably bound to context, few studies have actually investigated the influence that social, political and historical factors have on individual psychological well-being. In this study, she found that both individualistic and historical-political factors have a bearing on the way in which children cope with stress.

Political violence has become an integral aspect of life in South Africa. The nature of the violence varies "from those which are extensive such as civil unrest...to those which are intensive, such as assassinations, disappearances and torture" (Zwi & Ugalde, 1989). They emphasise that individuals, communities and nations suffer the effects of violence, both directly e.g. deaths and psychological stress, and indirectly e.g. increased military expenditure at the expense of allocating money to health services, education, or fostering economic growth. The imposition of the State of Emergency in 1986 resulted in the detention without trial of 26 000 people, many of whom were tortured (Zwi & Ugalde, 1989). It is the opinion of Zwi and Ugalde that "if such a thing as general community well-being exists, then it too may suffer markedly from political violence and repression" (p. 637).

The South African context is an apartheid context. This implies families being separated by the migrant labour system, the displacement of thousands of families as a result of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950, the blatant discrimination in education policies (where R476.95 was spent on each black child per annum in white-designated areas compared to R2 508.00 spent on each white child, Race Relations Survey, 1987/88), housing shortages (at the end of 1987, there was a shortage of between 700 000 - 1 400 000 units, Race Relations Survey, 1987/88), overcrowded living conditions and high unemployment (an estimate of the total unemployment for South Africa in 1988 was between 5.5 million and 6.1 million, Race Relations Survey, 1987/88). According to the Weekly Mail (December 23, 1988 - January 12, 1989, p. 38) in 1988 it was reported that 73 000 people had been detained under South Africa's security and Emergency laws since 1960--over

50 000 of these since 1985 and since 1977, 15 000 children aged 17 or under had been detained. According to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, at 31 December 1988, 645 children aged 17 or under and 3 183 youths aged 18 to 20 were being held in custody (Weekly Mail, March 23 - March 30, 1989, p. 34). By the end of 1989, seven people were being held in detention without trial and 577 people were restricted under the Emergency regulations (Weekly Mail, December 15 - December 20, 1989, p. 12). Turton, Straker and Moosa (in press) assessed (black) township youths' experiences of violence and found that the levels of crime and violence reported by their subjects are so high that their levels of psychological distress are more elevated than in a 'normal' population.

Clearly, living in a political context such as this, has psychological sequelae. Straker (1987) asserts that people living in black townships are constantly subjected to extreme stress and she suggests that the trauma experienced by many South Africans is continuous. These traumatic stress conditions include the witnessing of, or the participating in, violence between residents and police and/or army, violence between anti-apartheid forces and right-wing vigilantes, and the violence between rival anti-apartheid groups. Dawes (1987) addresses the question of children growing up in South Africa. He cites evidence for the psychologically damaging effects of being detained and believes that "children's psychological vulnerability is likely to increase in inverse proportion to their age" (p. 33). Another study concerning itself with the psychological effects of unrest conditions on children in South African townships, showed that black children are extremely concerned and anxious about aspects of political violence, police

presence and civil unrest in the townships--indeed, their spontaneous references to political unrest were more marked than children in Northern Ireland (Lab & Shmukler, 1989).

Apartheid legislation has led to a disproportionate number of black children coming into contact with the criminal justice system (McLachlan, 1986). Chikane (1986) notes that black children have participated in the struggle against the apartheid regime. Many, even as young as eight years old, have been detained. He depicts the conditions in which many South African children are growing up as follows:

> The world of the township child is extremely violent. It is a world made up of teargas, bullets, whippings, detention, and death on the streets. It is an experience of military operations and night raids, of roadblocks and body searches. It is a world where parents and friends get carried away in the night to be interrogated. It is a world where people simply disappear, where parents are assassinated and homes are petrol bombed. Such is the environment of the township child today. (p. 342-3)

Thus it is clear that many black South Africans endure enormous suffering, both physical and psychological, as a direct result of the political context. However it is postulated that white South Africans cannot be unaffected by the violence being perpetrated in the country. Ayalon (1983) says that although terrorism is so widespread, the experience of the terrorized has largely been neglected. While it is undoubtedly true that far fewer whites are directly involved in violent confrontations, it is likely that the majority are affected indirectly by the dominating ethos and what Koornhof (1989) refers to as "the turbulence manifest in present-day South African society" (p. 282). According to Vogelman (1986), white South Africans have the highest rate of coronary disease in the world, and evidence high incidences of suicide and family murders. He offers as a possible explanation for these

phenomena, the psycho-social stresses of apartheid. Lambley (1980) has found evidence of anxiety and fear in English-speaking South Africans. In his research with white English-speaking nurses, apart from finding them very anxious and hostile, he discerned significant disturbances in hypochondria, psychopathy and obsessive-compulsive tendencies and concluded that their fear and general discomfort manifested as confused and disorganised personalities. He attributes this to the effects of apartheid.

The area of family murders has received little attention in the literature (Van Arkel, 1985). Pretorius (1987) notes that until recently, family murder occurred extremely infrequently in South Africa, but since 1983, there has been a spate of such events. They have occurred almost exclusively in the white population, mostly in the Afrikaans-speaking sector. Graser (1987) studied press reports of family murders between 1983 and 1985. It was found that in 1983, 10 family murders were reported and in 1985, 17. This represents an increase of 70% over a three year period. The number of victims increased from 15 in 1983 to 28 in 1985, which is an increase of 87%. Du Toit (1990) chooses to refer to family murders as "familicide" which is defined as a parent killing the whole family and then attempting to commit, or committing, suicide. According to Du Toit (1990), the media reported 13 cases of familicide for 1988 while the actual number is 40. Du Toit calls attention to the fact that the particular type of familicide that occurs in South Africa is extremely rare in other parts of the world. Elsewhere, if family murders do occur, they tend to be the result of escalating family violence or serious pathology. However, this type of pathology is generally absent in the familicides of South

Africans. Pretorius (1987) writes that victims appear not to have been murdered in rage or to seek revenge, but rather "the offender acted out of some positive interpretation of death" (p. 135).

Various explanations have been offered for the relatively high incidence of family murders in this country. Some of these include "uncontrollable aggression, unstable behaviour, and alcohol abuse" (Shapiro, The Star, 17 November 1986, cited in Du Toit, 1990, p. 289); "uncontrollable jealousy...violent family relations, psychotic behaviour...immaturity" (Lang & Shepperd Smith, Sunday Times, 25 April 1982, cited in Du Toit, 1990, p. 289); "despair and emotional build-up concerning the loss of a loved one" (Erasmus, 1988, cited in Du Toit, 1990, p. 289); "escalation of political unrest and violence...which leads to desperation" (Shapiro, The Star, 17 November 1986, cited in Du Toit, 1998, p. 289); "the romanticizing of death by certain religious groups who seek solutions in the hereafter" (Kruger, Sarie Marais, 22 May 1985, cited in Du Toit, 1990, p. 290); "the political isolation and economic sanctions which create a feeling of helplessness and desperation" (Schmidt, Die Beeld, 26 August 1987, cited in Du Toit, 1990, p. 290).

Pretorius (1987) hypothesises that some of the family murderers wished to rescue their entire families through death and this wish emerged from a misguided notion of the rights and duties of the head of the family. He asserts that some of the factors influencing the head of a family's belief that he/she has the right to decide the fate of the other family members, may be the legitimation of violence by our society and religious doctrine regarding eternal life. Du Toit has a different

understanding of the causative factors in South African familicide. He observes that unlike other colonised states in which the colonisers massacred the indigenous population, the colonisers of South Africa assumed guardianship over the native inhabitants which was underpinned by a belief that the local population was incompetent to govern itself. Du Toit postulates that "this right to determine the lives of people, which has been legitimated in the national life, has filtered through to the family life patterns of some families" (p. 297).

Thus there appears to be a strong case for a socio-historical explanation of the familicides in South Africa. This socio-politico-historical context may also explain many other psychological responses that are evident in the general population. The present author submits that living in a society characterised by a militarised existence, a 'war mentality' is prevalent and is being propagated by the government. For example, security issues are given high priority by the Nationalist government: the 1989 budget for South Africa's security services rose by more than 22% to an official total of R14,92 billion, which represents 23% of the R65 billion budget (Weekly Mail, April 7 - April 13, 1989, p. 30). This disproportionate figure is supposedly justified because of the increase in opposition to the ruling regime. According to Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok, in 1988 this opposition took the form of 5 208 incidents of 'unrest and violence' and 281 incidents of 'terrorism' (Weekly Mail, March 23 - March 30, 1989, p. 34). It was also reported that guerrilla attacks increased 640% between 1984 and 1988 with 44 occurring in 1984 and 281 in 1988 (Weekly Mail, December 23, 1988 - January 12, 1989, p. 38).

The war mentality is also evident in a number of other areas. All white South African males are conscripted into the army and (at the time of this study) were required to spend two years full-time service and approximately 730 days doing camps, soldiers and army vehicles are often seen in the towns and cities and, periodically, extensive army parades are held in urban centres. These serve as a 'flexing of military muscle' and appear to provide the white population with some security as to the extent and strength of the military and police. Jochelson and Buntman (1989) claim that war and violence are glorified in South Africa through the extensive marketing of war games, war videos and war toys. Evans (1989) contends that white South African schooling is extremely militarised and is designed to make pupils acquiesce to the increasing militarisation of the state. He writes that once a week, in excess of 300 000 white South African youths go to school wearing military browns in compliance with the school cadet programme in which they learn army drill, how to shoot and other aspects of preparing for military service. The syllabus of the cadet programme includes imparting information about 'the enemy' and encouraging the youth to report any information about the enemy to their superiors, and telling that the "enemy is desperate and 'aims to overthrow the present government and create a black majority government....the enemy is collecting information years before direct attack'" (cited in Evans, 1989, p. 286). It seems that such programmes are designed to inculcate racial prejudice and they employ fear as the mechanism in order to achieve it.

In addition to overt militarisation such as conscription, the civilian population is constantly reminded of the political instability that characterises the country as the indices of this instability are manifest in many aspects of daily living. Schools are required to carry out 'bomb drills' and many schools are surrounded by barbed wire fences; shopping centres have bag searches; posters in public buildings depict limpet mines; the media sensationalises bomb blasts and 'terrorist' attacks; many families are separated because of emigration. All these factors, it is submitted, serve to create an atmosphere of insecurity.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) state that experiences which are perceived as threatening to one's well-being, generate stress. It is argued that being exposed to this evidence of militarisation (which is supposedly a response to the political instability in South Africa) generates stress, and stress is often associated with anxiety (Thoits, 1983). Threats to well-being are also associated with fear (Klingman & Wiesner, 1982). It is therefore postulated that exposure to these factors which reflect the political instability, generate anxiety and fear.

The present author suggests that one of the consequences of propagating the war mentality is the generation of anxiety in the white population. The state creates this fear by coining phrases, for example, like 'total onslaught'. This onslaught is reputedly wide-ranging as it is "international, psychological, economic and emotional--and its agents [are] ubiquitous...the scope of the 'onslaught' is said to be a 'communist' assault on 'democratic Western values'" (Posel, 1989, p. 273). The "'total onslaught'...required a 'total strategy' capable of combining effective

security measures with reformist policies aimed at removing the grievances that revolutionaries could exploit" (Swilling & Phillips, 1989, p. 136). Thus by supplying a solution to a created problem, the state was able to decrease anxiety and so woo the voting public.

Yet another consequence of apartheid, and surely another contributor to the general instability, is the dire economic plight of so many of South Africa's citizens. It has recently been reported that South Africa's crime rate in 1990 was at least 30% more than the 1989 figure (The Star, November 26, 1990, p. 1). In addition, the number of murders per 100 000 of the population is currently 49, compared to that in the United States of nine per 100 000 (The Star, January 28, 1991, p. 3). It is argued that living in a crime-ridden society also contributes to a general sense of insecurity in the population.

It must be noted that since the data for this study was collected, some changes have occurred in the country. With the election of the new president (F. W. de Klerk), "the logjam seemed to break. Good intentions twinkled round the country" (Weekly Mail, December 21, 1989 to January 18, 1990, p. 1). Since then, the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan African Congress (PAC) and various other organisations have been unbanned, the Rivonia trialists have been freed, Namibia obtained its independence, talks have occurred between the government and the ANC, the Separate Amenities Act has been lifted, the Group Areas Act has been repealed, the Population Registration Act has been abolished, national service has been decreased to one

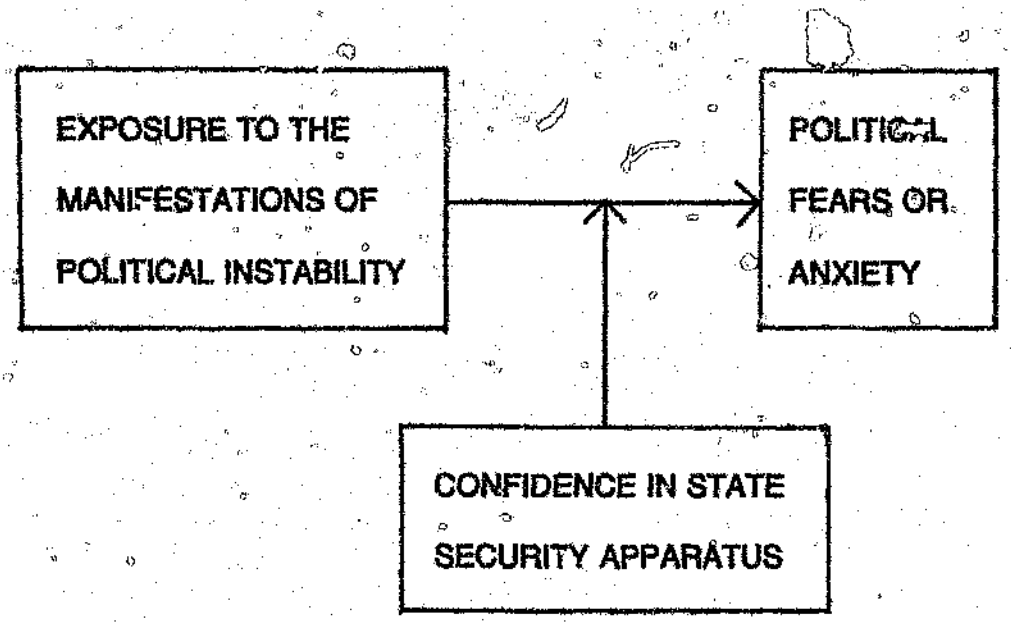
year, and there has been some relaxing of international sanctions against South Africa. It must be stressed that this study was executed before these changes occurred.

The research issues that arise from this discussion pertain to the effects of living in a politically unstable, politically violent society. There has been a dearth of research in South Africa on those who are generally removed from direct confrontations with the violence, and it is postulated that the overt and subtle processes inherent in the South African context cannot fail to have an impact on the white population. Gibson (1988) suggests that it would be of interest to study the more subtle processes operating in, and having an effect on, children living in our country. This study addresses itself to some of these subtle processes--it aims to investigate the experiences of white South African children and how they are affected by growing up in our society.

It is believed that an understanding of Negative Affectivity (NA) as proposed by Watson and Clark (1984) may be applicable to, and serve to illuminate, some of these experiences. They posit that people high in NA tend to experience emotional discomfort at all times and in various situations, even if overt stress is not present. Thus it is hypothesised that subjects in this study who score high on the one index of NA (viz. anxiety) will also score high on the other NA-type index (political fear).

In summary, this study will attempt to assess the relationships between exposure to the manifestations of political instability (e.g. knowledge or awareness of bomb blasts, war casualties, political assassinations, emigration etc.), political fear (e.g. concerns regarding being personally involved in a limpet mine incident or a 'terrorist' attack on their home or school, feeling fearful of the possibility of a brother or family member dying in the 'bush war', fear of national service, fear of the 'revolution', 'swart gevaar' etc.), and anxiety (which has been selected as an index of psychological distress). It is believed however, that the degree of confidence in the state's ability to protect the status quo will modify the expected relationships. Thus this has been incorporated into the study in the form of what has been termed, confidence in the state security apparatus (i.e. extent of the belief of the ability of the state security forces to protect the subject's world).

The model of the study is represented below:



Specifically, the hypotheses are:

1. Exposure to manifestations of political instability, political fear and anxiety are positively correlated; and political fear and anxiety are negatively correlated with confidence in the state security apparatus.

2. The relationships between exposure to manifestations of political instability, and both political fear and anxiety are modified by the degree of confidence in the state security apparatus.

3. The anxiety levels of white, English-speaking South African children are higher than those of American children.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Design

A cross-sectional correlational design is employed in this study. Relationships between exposure to political instability, political fears, anxiety, and confidence in the state security apparatus were examined by means of correlations.

3.2. Subjects

The subjects who participated in this study were 322 white pupils attending a government school in Johannesburg. However, a number of the subjects had to be excluded on the basis of a lie scale in the anxiety measure (pupils were excluded if they obtained a lie score of greater than or equal to five--out of a possible nine lie items), and check items in another scale (and here they were excluded if they obtained a score of two or more--out of a possible four check items). 54 pupils were excluded on the basis of the lie scale, six on the basis of the check items, and five whose scores on the lie scale and the check items exceeded the outlined limits. Thus the number of subjects whose responses were employed in the data analyses, is 257. The sample consisted of the following children (the first figure is

the number of children who were included in the data analyses, while the number in brackets represents the number of children to whom the scales were administered): 81 (96) girls in Standard six (mean age 13.54 years; standard deviation 0.63); 55 (64) boys in Standard six (mean age 13.64 years; standard deviation 0.68); 78 (93) girls in Standard seven (mean age 14.49 years; standard deviation 0.73); 43 (69) boys in Standard seven (mean age 14.49 years; standard deviation 0.70).

The first of the pilot studies which was required for the purposes of this research employed the Standard six pupils who live in the hostel at the same school and the second pilot study used the Standard seven pupils living in the hostel. There was a total of 34 pupils in the first pilot study (22 girls and 12 boys) and 33 pupils in the second (22 girls and 11 boys).

This particular school was chosen as its pupils are believed to represent a range of socio-economic echelons and it is possible that socio-economic status may be a confounding variable in a study such as this. Information regarding their social class was gleaned by obtaining the nature of their parents' employment and referring to the classification of occupational groupings in South Africa (Stopforth & Schlemmer, 1979).

Some of the children failed to describe their parents' jobs accurately and so the following was based on available information only. As regards 'Father's work' (and this may have referred to pupils' stepfathers in the absence of information about

their biological fathers), the scores ranged from 11 (which corresponds to 'Semi-skilled manual' e.g. prison warder, carpenter, joiner) to 75 (which corresponds to 'Professional' e.g. architect, medical practitioner). There was a bimodal distribution peaking at 18 (corresponding to 'Artisan/Craft--Manufacturing and Other') and 49 (corresponding to 'High and Lower Managers, Executives and Administrators'). The median was 38 (corresponding to 'Senior Clerical' e.g. bookkeeper, accountant--not chartered).

The Stopforth and Schlemmer study (1979) is based on the economically active white male population in South Africa and no equivalent norms are available for the white female population. Consequently in order to glean information regarding the pupils' mothers' socio-economic status, the Stopforth and Schlemmer criteria were applied to the mothers' occupations where available. These scores ranged from 3 (corresponding to 'Unskilled Manual') to 75. The mode was 36 (corresponding to 'Less Senior Clerical' e.g. typist, clerk) as was the median.

3.3. Test Instruments

Four test instruments were required for this study to measure the four variables that the author identified viz. 'Anxiety', 'Political Fear', 'Exposure to the Manifestations of Political Instability', 'Confidence in the State Security Apparatus'. Each of the test instruments is described below.

1. What I Think and Feel: Revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale (R-CMAS)

The function of this scale is to measure the aspect that the author chose to use as an index of how white children are affected by the current political context (i.e. anxiety). Their scores are later compared with those of American children.

This test has a total of 37 items, 28 anxiety items and nine lie items. Answers require a 'yes' or 'no' response and subjects had to tick a box (either 'yes' or 'no') that corresponded with their experience. If subjects scored five or more on the lie items, they were excluded from the sample on the basis that their general responses would not have truly reflected their attitudes and experiences. Two phrases in two of the original items were changed as the language would have been unfamiliar to South African children (Item 9: 'mad' was changed to 'cross'; Item 26: 'fussed at' was changed to 'picked on').

This scale was devised by Reynolds and Richmond (1978) and is a measure of trait, as opposed to state, anxiety (Reynolds, 1981). It is based on the widely-used Children's Form of the Manifest Anxiety Scale (by Castaneda, McCandless & Palermo, 1956) which in turn was based on the Taylor Scale of Manifest Anxiety (1951) (Taylor, 1953). The Revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale has been used in a number of recent studies (Argulewicz & Miller, 1985; Reynolds & Paget, 1981; Richmond, Sukemune, Ohmoto,

Kawamoto & Hamazaki, 1984). Its construct validity has been verified (Reynolds & Richmond, 1979; Reynolds, 1980). The R-CMAS has been used with diverse groups, for example children with high intelligence (Reynolds, 1985; Scholwinski & Reynolds, 1985) and learning disabled children (Paget & Reynolds, 1984).

(See p. 67 in Appendix A for the R-CMAS.)

2. Israeli Fear Schedule Survey for Children (IFSSC)

This instrument consists of 99 items and assesses a wide variety of children's fears including fear of failure and criticism, medical fears, fear of the dark, home-school fears and political fears. The IFSSC was not used in its entirety for the purposes of this study--only the nine political fears items (items 21, 43, 46, 68, 89, 90, 91, 93, 98) and six general fear items were employed (items 5, 6, 25, 52, 78, 79). (However, only the political fears items were scored). Each item is rated on a scale of 'none', 'a little', 'some', 'much', 'very much'. There were five boxes corresponding to each possible response for each question and subjects were required to tick the box that was closest to their experience. Two different fear scores can be obtained: the total number of fear items checked as disturbing, and the total degree of fear calculated by scoring 'none' = 0...'very much' = 4. In this study, the latter scoring system was used.

Again some of the items had to be altered, either to make the language more accessible, or the examples more relevant, to South African children. (Item 25: 'before' was changed to 'in front of'; Item 43: 'or TV' was added; Item 46: 'air-raid siren' was changed to 'siren at school warning of a bomb'; Item 68: 'Arab' was changed to 'black person'; Item 89: 'from the air' was changed to 'going off'; Item 90: 'terrorist infiltration' was changed to 'terrorists attacking'; Item 93: 'Syria and Lebanon' was changed to 'Angola and Namibia'; Item 98: 'reserve duty' was changed to 'army duty'.)

This scale is based on the Wolpe and Lang Fear Schedule Survey (1964) which was developed for used with adults. It was later modified by Scherer and Nakamura (1968) for use with children. Goldberg, Yinon and Cohen (1975) altered the original scale to make it more relevant to Israeli adults, and Klingman and Wiesner (1982) further modified it to produce the Israeli Fear Schedule Survey for Children. The IFSSC was employed in the Klingman and Wiesner (1982) and (1983) studies.

Cronbach's alpha coefficient of internal consistency was computed for the modified version of the IFSSC using the final sample of 257 subjects. The alpha coefficient is 0.85 in this sample.

(See p. 71 in Appendix A for the version of the IFSSC that was used in this study.)

From this author's review of the literature, it appears that no research has been done on the effects of living in a politically unstable society on white people in South Africa. Consequently there were no scales available to assess some aspects that this study aimed to measure. This necessitated the development of two scales, a description of which follows, and the methodology of which is outlined later.

3. Exposure to the Manifestations of Political Instability Scale (EMPI Scale)

Exposure to the Manifestations of Political Instability (EMPI) refers to the extent to which the subject has come into contact with, or is aware of, evidence of the political instability of our society. Evidence of political instability refers to knowledge about bomb blasts, riots, soldiers being hurt or wounded etc. This awareness could have emanated from personal involvement in, knowledge of others' involvement in, or media coverage of, political violence, the 'bush war', emigration, issues of national security etc.

There are 19 items in this scale--15 items tapping awareness of political instability, and four check items. Each item has a 'yes' or 'no' response option and again subjects were required to tick their responses in a box. If subjects scored two or more out of the four check items, their protocols were excluded from the statistical analyses as it was presumed that they had not completed the questionnaires accurately.

Internal consistency coefficients are not computed for this scale as the logic of internal consistency does not apply to a measure of exposure to potentially independent circumstances (c.f. Thoits, 1983, for a discussion of this issue with regard to life events checklists).

(See p. 69 in Appendix A for EMPI scale.)

4. Confidence in the State Security Apparatus Scale (CSSA Scale)

Confidence in the State Security Apparatus (CSSA) is an index of the extent to which the subject has confidence in the ability of the formal security forces to protect him/her from harm. It reflects the degree to which he/she believes in the invincibility of the security mechanisms that currently exist in South Africa. These mechanisms include the South African Defence Force (SADF), the South African Police (SAP), and security personnel employed to safeguard the population at public venues e.g. shopping centres.

The CSSA scale has 14 items with one of three possible response options: 'Agree', 'Disagree', 'Maybe'. Once again, a box had to be ticked. Each subject obtains a score out of 14 and this reflects the amount of confidence he/she has, with a score of 14 representing optimal confidence in the state security apparatus. This scale was constructed so that certain of the 'Agree' and certain of the 'Disagree' options scored positively.

Cronbach's alpha coefficient of internal consistency was also computed for this scale. The alpha coefficient is 0.71 for this sample.

(See p 70 in Appendix A for CSSA scale.)

3.4. Procedure

As the EMPI and CSSA scales had to be developed, the study was executed in various phases--two pilot studies (Pilot 1 and Pilot 2) in which the scales were developed and tested, and the implementation of the actual study. The same methodology was employed in the development of both scales. However, it is important to note that the operationalisation of the new concepts can "yield only limited meanings of construct. No operational definition can ever express all of a variable" (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 32).

Dohrenwend, Krasnoff, Askenasy and Dohrenwend (1978) emphasise the importance of drawing on a sample of subjects in the pilot work which closely resembles the subjects in the final study. Consequently, the hostel children who attend the school which provided the subjects, became the pilot subjects. In the two pilot phases, each subject received a booklet with questions pertaining only to the two scales being developed (and they were asked their age and gender). When the main study was executed, each subject received a booklet (entitled 'Attitudes and Experiences of South African Teenagers') containing the four scales

and a page requesting demographic information (male/female; Standard six/seven; age; parents' jobs). The questionnaires were answered anonymously. The same tester administered the questionnaires in four group situations: once to the subjects in Pilot 1, once to the subjects in Pilot 2, once to the Standard six subjects and once to the Standard seven subjects.

Prior to participating in the study, a letter was sent to the parents of all Standard six and seven pupils at the school at which the study was to be executed, requesting permission for their children to participate in the study. Only pupils who were given permission became subjects. (See Appendix B for letters sent to parents.)

It was originally intended that each part of the study would employ different subjects: Standard six hostel pupils would participate in the first pilot, Standard seven hostel pupils in the second pilot and the non-hostel pupils in Standards six and seven in the main study. However, the main study was administered to all Standards six and seven pupils, hostel and non-hostel. It was thought that participating in the pilot studies may influence subjects' responses, so statistical analyses were conducted twice--once including the hostel pupils and once excluding them. As no significant differences were found to exist between the two analyses, all pupils, hostel and non-hostel, are included in the statistics that are reported.

Dohrenwend et al. (1978) constructed a life events scale, the methodology of which is a prototype for the construction of the scales for this study. Dohrenwend (1974) offers a similar methodology. Pilot 1 involved asking open-ended questions of the subjects. The aim of this was to elicit information regarding some of their experiences which pertained to four major categories viz. the army and conscription, security issues, violent episodes, and emigration. The type of questions that were asked were: "Are we living in violent times? If yes, what makes you think so? Give five reasons"; "Have you heard about any bomb blasts recently? If yes, how did you find out about them?"; "Are the army and the police protecting us? Yes/No. Give five reasons why you chose the answer you did"; "Why are our bags checked and bodies searched at shopping centres? List three reasons".

Each response that was generated in Pilot 1 was listed and categorised, and common types of responses were synthesised into a checklist by the author. Some of the responses related to ostensibly non-political violence e.g. crime rates, and the author excluded these from the checklist. This was done in order to confine the study to an investigation into the effects of political violence and the concomitant instability, on children. Oppenheim (1966) suggests that there be roughly equal numbers of positive and negative items which should be ordered randomly. This was done for the CSSA scale but was not done for the EMPI scale. However, check items were built into the EMPI scale instead. Care was taken in the construction of the statements and Kline's (1986) guidelines were heeded. These include: items must be clear and unambiguous; each item must

only ask one question; it is preferable to avoid terms of frequency. He also notes that the Yes/No format is easily comprehended by subjects, and this suggestion was utilised. The checklists generated from Pilot 1 became the questionnaires for Pilot 2.

The Pilot 2 version of the EMPI scale had 27 items, while the CSSA scale had 15 items. Subjects' answers were reviewed which led to the questionnaires being revised. This involved excluding some of these items and altering the language of other of the items. This revision rendered a final version of the EMPI scale (which has 19 items) and the CSSA scale (14 items).

Once the pilot phase was completed, the main study was executed on two different days, one week apart (as the school was not able to accommodate all Standard six and seven pupils together). The author scored all of the questionnaires, and each subject emerged with six scores, one for each of the following: Lie items (from the R-CMAS); Check items (from the EMPI scale); R-CMAS; EMPI; CSSA; political fears (PF). The author also scored the parents' occupations according to the Stopforth and Schlemmer (1978) criteria. Each subject's six scores and his/her demographic information represent the raw data on which the statistical analyses were executed. In addition, each subject's responses to each item in the CSSA and PF scales was also analysed statistically for the purpose of generating Cronbach's alpha coefficients.

(See Appendix C for the Pilot 1 and Pilot 2 questionnaires.)

3.5. Data Analysis

The raw data was statistically analysed by means of the following procedures:

For Hypothesis 1: zero-order correlation coefficients were employed.

For Hypothesis 2: multiple regression analysis with interaction terms was used.

a) PF = EMPI, CSSA, EMPI*CSSA

b) Anxiety = EMPI, CSSA, EMPI*CSSA

For Hypothesis 3: a t-test was employed to establish the sample's correspondence with the American standardisation sample mean.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

Means and standard deviations for the four variables (EMPI, anxiety, PF, and CSSA) were determined for each group and are reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for EMPI, anxiety, PF, and CSSA for All Groups

Group	Statistic	EMPI	Anxiety	PF	CSSA
Whole (N = 257)	mean s.d.	9.21 2.85	13.06 6.0	17.72 8.23	6.22 3.02
All Boys (N = 98)	mean s.d.	9.28 3.19	10.69 5.23	13.99 7.31	6.43 2.78
All Girls (N = 159)	mean s.d.	9.17 2.63	14.52 5.99	20.02 7.94	6.09 3.15
All Std 6 (N = 136)	mean s.d.	9.13 2.98	13.04 5.82	19.01 8.18	6.43 3.01
All Std 7 (N = 121)	mean s.d.	9.30 2.71	13.07 6.21	16.27 8.09	5.99 3.03
Std 6 Boys (N = 55)	mean s.d.	9.09 3.26	11.09 5.27	16.15 6.88	6.51 2.73
Std 6 Girls (N = 81)	mean s.d.	9.16 2.80	14.37 5.83	20.95 8.45	6.37 3.20
Std 7 Boys (N = 43)	mean s.d.	9.51 3.12	10.19 5.18	11.23 6.97	6.33 2.88
Std 7 Girls (N = 78)	mean s.d.	9.18 2.46	14.67 6.18	19.05 7.31	5.81 3.10

The mean age for the Standard six boys is 13.6 years, for the Standard six girls it is 13.5 years, for the Standard seven boys it is 14.5 years, and for the Standard seven girls it is 14.5 years. The Reynolds and Paget (1983) study established normative data for the R-CMAS on American children. Their results reveal that the mean score for white 13 year old males is 11.11 (standard deviation 6.23) and for white 13 year old females is 12.02 (standard deviation 6.10). In the present study, the mean anxiety for the 13 year old males (i.e. Standard six boys) is 11.09 (standard deviation 5.27) and for the 13 year old females it is 14.37 (standard deviation 5.83). As regards the mean anxiety scores for 14 year old children, Reynolds and Paget (1983) report figures of 10.94 (standard deviation 6.19) for 14 year old males, and 12.76 (standard deviation 6.12) for 14 year old females. The anxiety scores in this study for 14 year old males were 10.19 (standard deviation 5.18) and for 14 year old females, 14.67 (standard deviation 6.18).

Thus the differences between means of the two studies are as follows: 13 year old males--American sample 0.02 greater than South African sample; 13 year old females--South African sample 2.35 greater than American sample; 14 year old males--American sample 0.75 greater than South African sample; 14 year old females--South African sample 1.91 greater than American sample. T-tests were done in order to assess whether these differences are significant. The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

T-Tests Comparing R-CMAS Scores of South African Sample to R-CMAS Scores of White American Sample

Group	t-value
13 year old males d.f. = 151	-0.020
13 year old females d.f. = 159	2.499*
14 year old males d.f. = 121	-0.677
14 year old females d.f. = 151	1.920*

Note. For all four groups, the critical value of t is 1.645 at the .05 level of significance on one-tailed tests. (* $p < .05$.)

From these figures, it is possible to conclude that on the R-CMAS, American boys score marginally (but not significantly) higher than South African boys, and that South African girls score significantly higher than their American counterparts. While South African norms are not available for the R-CMAS, these results would suggest that South African 13 and 14 year old girls are more anxious than American girls comparable in age.

A t-test was also employed to compare the boys' and girls' scores on the R-CMAS in this study. Girls scored significantly higher than boys ($t = 5.220$, d.f. = 255. The critical value of t is 3.291 at the .0005 level of significance on one-tailed tests.) These results confirm the findings of other researchers that girls experience greater

anxiety than their male counterparts (e.g. Castaneda, McCandless & Palermo, 1956; Reynolds & Richmond, 1978).

As the other instruments utilised are either significantly abridged (i.e. PF scale) or are original (i.e. EMPI and CSSA scales), their usefulness cannot be determined by comparisons with other studies. Instead, the scales are evaluated purely by distribution parameters; the ranges, means and standard deviations are considered in relation to the variation regions. A range more or less equivalent to the variation region, a mean near the midpoint of the range, and a standard deviation more or less equal to one quarter of the range are collectively considered to indicate an acceptable distribution of scores and an appropriately sensitive measure.

For the PF scale, the variation region extends from 0 to 36. The minimum score in the actual range (for the total group) was 0, and the maximum score was 35. The mean for the whole group was 17.72, the standard deviation 8.23 and the alpha coefficient 0.85. Thus the PF scale is an adequately sensitive measure. As mentioned, the PF scale intends only to tap one area of children's fears. However, it is noteworthy that the boys in this study scored significantly lower than the girls on this variable. A t-test was done to assess the significance of the difference between boys' and girls' PF scores. This procedure yielded a t of 6.093 (d.f. = 255) and the critical value of t at the .0005 level of significance is 3.291. These results demonstrate higher levels of fear in girls which is consistent with findings in other studies (e.g. Klingman & Wiesner, 1983; Punamäki, 1988).

As regards the EMPI scale, the variation region is 0 to 15, and the actual range (for the whole group) was 0 to 15. The mean was 9.21 and the standard deviation 2.85. The median was 9 and the mode, 10. These figures show that the data is slightly skewed towards the upper range. The lower range of the scale was therefore under-utilised.

In terms of the CSSA scale, the variation region extends from 0 to 14; the minimum score achieved was 0 while the maximum score was 13. The total group mean was 6.22, the standard deviation was 3.02 and the alpha coefficient 0.71. The CSSA scale is therefore also an adequately sensitive measure.

The correlations between EMPI, anxiety, PF, CSSA, age, and gender were calculated. A correlation matrix for the total group is presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Correlation Matrix--Whole Group

N = 257	Gender	Age	Anxiety	EMPI	CSSA	PF
Gender	-	0.00	.31**	-0.02	-0.05	.36**
Age		-	.02	-0.07	.01	-0.22**
Anxiety			-	.08	-0.12	.33**
EMPI				-	-0.04	.09
CSSA					-	-0.02
PF						-

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

A number of significant correlations emerged. Age correlated negatively with PF ($p < .01$) and gender correlated significantly with both anxiety and PF ($p < .01$) with females scoring higher on these two variables. (Females have scored significantly higher on anxiety in many other studies e.g. Reynolds & Richmond, 1978, while in other studies, no significant differences between the degree of anxiety that males and females experience, have been found e.g. Taylor, 1953.) Anxiety correlated significantly with political fear ($p < .01$).

It was expected that EMPI would correlate with both anxiety and PF, depending on the moderating effect of CSSA, but neither of these correlations emerged as significant. It was also predicted that anxiety and PF would be negatively correlated with CSSA, and although the correlations were negative, they failed to reach significance.

Correlation matrices for the sub-groups are presented in Tables 4 through 7.

Table 4

Correlation Matrix--All Boys and All Girls

	Age	Anxiety	EMPI	CSSA	PF
Age	-	-0.03	-0.07	-0.00	-0.23*
Anxiety	.05	-	.23*	-0.01	.23*
EMPI	-0.08	.00	-	-0.08	.03
CSSA	.01	-0.15	-0.02	-	-0.03
PF	-0.25**	.26**	.15	.01	-

Note. The data above the main diagonal refers to All Boys (Stds 6 and 7) and below the diagonal to All Girls (Stds 6 and 7). * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 5

Correlation Matrix--All Standard 6's and All Standard 7's

	Gender	Age	Anxiety	EMPI	CSSA	PF
Gender	-	-0.07	.28**	.01	-0.02	.29**
Age	0.00	-	.06	-0.01	-0.03	-0.08
Anxiety	.35**	-0.01	-	.04	-0.03	.37**
EMPI	-0.06	-0.22*	.13	-	.01	.13
CSSA	-0.08	.14	-0.20*	-0.11	-	-0.04
PF	.47**	-0.24**	.30**	.05	-0.04	-

Note. The data above the main diagonal refers to All Standard 6's (i.e. boys and girls combined) and below the main diagonal, to All Standard 7's (i.e. boys and girls combined). * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 6

Correlation Matrix--Standard 6 Boys and Standard 6 Girls

	Age	Anxiety	EMPI	CSSA	PF
Age	-	.13	.04	.08	.04
Anxiety	.05	-	.23	.03	.33*
EMPI	-0.04	-0.10	-	.06	.09
CSSA	-0.10	-0.06	-0.02	-	-0.25
PF	-0.13	.31**	.17	.08	-

Note. The data above the main diagonal refers to Standard 6 Boys and below the main diagonal, to Standard 6 Girls. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 7

Correlation Matrix--Standard 7 Boys and Standard 7 Girls

	Age	Anxiety	EMPI	CSSA	PF
Age	-	-0.12	-0.32*	-0.06	-0.19
Anxiety	.04	-	.24	-0.07	.07
EMPI	-0.15	.12	-	-0.25	-0.01
CSSA	.23*	-0.24*	-0.03	-	.21
PF	-0.32**	.22	.14	-0.10	-

Note. The data above the main diagonal refers to Standard 7 Boys and below the main diagonal, to Standard 7 Girls. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

It is evident from these tables that once again, where gender was a variable, gender correlated significantly with both anxiety and PF with females scoring higher. As in the whole group matrix, anxiety was correlated positively with PF in most sub-groups. However, in Standard 7 Boys and Standard 7 Girls, this relationship was not significant.

It was expected that EMPI would correlate significantly with anxiety and PF, and this did not occur in any of the groups except in the All Boys sub-group, where the relationship between EMPI and anxiety emerged as significant. It was also expected that there would be a negative correlation between CSSA and anxiety, and CSSA and PF. CSSA was correlated negatively with anxiety in all but one group (Standard 6 Boys), but the relationship was only significant in two of the groups: all Standard 7's and Standard 7 Girls.

In the present study, it was hypothesised that positive correlations would emerge between EMPI and anxiety, and EMPI and PF. It was further hypothesised that there would be an interaction effect--EMPI relates differently to both anxiety and PF depending on the amount of CSSA. Thus it was assumed that CSSA buffers the impact that EMPI has on anxiety and PF. Consequently it was necessary to assess both the main effects, as well as the interaction effect. In order to accomplish this, multiple regression analyses were executed. For each criterion variable--anxiety and PF--two analyses were done. In the first analysis, the criterion variable was regressed on EMPI and CSSA, and in the second analysis, the criterion variable was regressed on EMPI, CSSA, and the interaction. There are three approaches for estimating main effects in the presence of a significant interaction that Finney, Mitchell, Cronkite and Moos (1984) outline. The "Zero-Point Method" was chosen for the purposes of this study.

The multiple regression analyses are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 8

Multiple Regression Analysis: Anxiety Regressed onto EMPI and CSSA

Source	d.f.	f	p
EMPI	1/254	1.51	0.22
CSSA	1/254	3.24	0.07
EMPI	1/253	1.06	0.30
CSSA	1/253	0.00	1.00
EMPI*CSSA	1/253	0.31	0.58

Table 9

Multiple Regression Analysis: PF Regressed onto EMPI and CSSA

Source	d.f.	f	p
EMPI	1/254	1.92	0.17
CSSA	1/254	0.10	0.75
EMPI	1/253	0.56	0.46
CSSA	1/253	0.00	0.95
EMPI*CSSA	1/253	0.03	0.87

The multiplicative regression analyses did not generate any significant interaction effects and the constituent variables did not show significant main effects in either the simple additive models or the multiplicative interaction models.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

It was postulated in this study, that firstly, correlations between EMPI and both anxiety and PF would be significant, and secondly, that CSSA would have a moderating effect on these relationships. Neither of these hypotheses was verified. It was also posited that white, English-speaking South African children are more anxious than comparable American children. This was confirmed when comparing females, but no significant difference was found between the anxiety levels of South African and American male subjects. Various explanations for these findings are offered below.

5.2. Negative Affectivity

One of the significant correlations that emerged consistently in almost all of the sub-groups, was between anxiety and political fear. Watson and Clark (1984) propose that certain individuals are high in negative affectivity (NA) and they experience negative emotions pervasively. These include subjective feelings of nervousness, tension, anger, scorn, guilt, self-dissatisfaction and a sense of

rejection. Unsurprisingly, such individuals also have a negative view of themselves and the world. These authors stress that people high in NA do not merely report, but actually experience, negati[illegible]ct more consistently than others low in NA.

Watson and Clark (1984) imply that measures of trait anxiety, reflect NA. However, they suggest that measures of anxiety in specific situations, e.g. fear survey schedules, are not pure measures of NA. Nevertheless, they note that there is some commonality between such tests and pure measures of NA, and that correlations between these two types of measures, are generally in the .40s. Thus they have found that some relationship does exist, but that it is not large. In this study, correlations between anxiety and PF (which is a sub-category of a fear schedule survey) were significant in all but two sub-groups but were not very high (with significant correlations ranging between .23 and .37). Results therefore confirm the assertion of Watson and Clark (1984) that measures of situation-specific anxiety are related to, but are not pure measures of, NA.

5.3. Effects of Exposure to Stimuli on Behaviour

In the present study, only one of the sub-groups showed a significant correlation between EMPI and anxiety. Clearly this is not a generalisable relationship as neither the total group, nor the other sub-groups evidenced significance with regard to this correlation. There are a number of possible explanations for why increased exposure in this study generally did not correlate with increased affective discomfort (as assessed by anxiety and PF). These are outlined below.

Linz, Donnerstein and Penrod (1988) express the concern that watching movies which are violent and sexually degrading towards women may cause viewers to become callous or desensitised to women who are actual victims of violence. They conclude that sexually violent material initially induced anxiety and depression in their subjects, but that prolonged exposure led to a decrease in these negative emotions. It is possible that continual exposure to political instability in the media (e.g. reports of riots, bomb blasts etc.) may have reduced anxiety in the subjects in this study. Similarly, Curran (1988) suggests that one of the reasons for a lack of increase in psychiatric morbidity in Ireland, could be habituation to the civil disorder. He quotes a former Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling, who described the situation as having an "acceptable level of violence" (p. 470). This habituation to what has appallingly become an acceptable level of violence, could equally apply to South African children.

This argument is closely connected to the thesis proposed by Mercer, Bunting and Snook (1980) who suggest that living in 'the troubles' of Northern Ireland has prompted the local population to develop coping mechanisms over a number of years. Consequently, the civil disturbances do not precipitate the trauma that they might if they were less usual occurrences. Analogously in this study, bomb scares and blasts, riots, politically-related deaths and emigration are no longer unusual events in South Africa and they are frequently reported in the media. Perhaps the subjects in this study too, have developed coping mechanisms allowing them not to be traumatised by reports of such events.

In this regard, Ziv and Israeli (1973) cite Helson's (1964) adaptation level theory which proclaims that adaptation level is dependent on the actual stimulus, the context in which the stimulus is presented, and past experience residuals with similar stimuli. Further, the adaptation level changes according to the frequency with which the stimulus is presented, its power and emotional load, and the importance attributed to it by the individual. Ziv and Israeli are thereby able to explain the lack of significant differences in anxiety levels between children of shelled versus non-shelled kibbutzim: the shelling has become an integral aspect of the children's lives, the stimulus has therefore become less threatening and hence does not produce high levels of anxiety in the children. Similarly in this study, exposure to apparently anxiety-provoking stimuli fails to induce anxiety and PF because such stimuli have become part of South African children's lives, are thus no longer threatening and do not create high levels of anxiety and PF. Thus in terms of the stress theory as proposed by Lazarus and Folkman (1984), this phenomenon would be explained as follows: events which may objectively be perceived as threatening to the well-being of the population, is not perceived as such subjectively; and if it is not appraised as threatening, it will not generate stress and hence fail to create anxiety.

While the 13 and 14 year old female subjects did score higher on the R-CMAS than their American counterparts, results from this study indicate that it was not because of EMPI that this was so.

The importance of parents' influence and social support, has been stressed in a number of studies investigating the effects of disaster or trauma on children. Aptekar and Boore (1990) state that various factors have been postulated to explain children's differing responses to disasters. These include the developmental level of the child, premorbid mental health, whether or not the child was separated from his or her parents, and more pertinent to this study, the ability of the community to offer support and the reaction of significant adults. Fraser (1983) notes that what ameliorated the effects of exposure to stress on children in Northern Ireland was not specific types of therapy; rather, it was that the therapy served as a surrogate parent to the children. Klingman and Wiesner (1982) submit that size of population impacts on fear levels of Israeli children. Those living in smaller settlements experience more fear than those living in larger settlements, because the former are characterised by a sense of social isolation. Thus their research lends credence to the hypothesis that social support mediates the effects of negative stimuli on children. Punamäki (1983), working with Palestinian subjects, also postulated that mothers' stress reactions influence children's responses.

This study did not explore the parents' nor the community's mediation of events to the subjects. It was hypothesised that CSSA would provide a buffering effect, modifying the impact that EMPI has on anxiety and PF, but perhaps a more important buffer, is the reaction of the children's community and parents to EMPI. The mediation by parents of the political context to the subjects in this study, may be significantly influencing the children's responses to EMPI.

Yet another explanation for the lack of a significant relationship between EMPI, and anxiety and PF, is the proposal that violence is being legitimated in South Africa. Young and Smith (1988-89) assert that the media condone, and even glorify, violence in sport. The consequence of this, they continue, is that people come to believe that violence in sport is acceptable behaviour.

The present author submits that war and violence is legitimated in South Africa too, though the part that the media plays in this country is not at present being examined. The way in which this author proposes that war and violence in South Africa are condoned, and even encouraged, is through war toys, war-games and war comics, which are gaining popularity in an expanding military consumer market. War-games involve the physical participation of the players--they are required to dress up in camouflage uniforms and then stalk, shoot and 'kill' one another with modified weapons. Jochelson and Buntman (1989) suggest that such games glorify war and convert war into a recreational activity. Brewer (1980, cited by Jochelson and Buntman, 1989) believes that toys mirror prevailing cultures and it is therefore especially interesting to note that a toy company in the Transvaal is manufacturing replicas of army vehicles such as casspirs and buffels. War comics not only romanticise war, but foster bigoted views of the enemy. In video games, the purpose of, for example, Platoon or Rambo, is to kill as many of the 'enemy' as possible. It is submitted that by making war into a game, an enjoyment of war and violence is fostered, the real horrors of war are denied and militarist ideology is regarded as socially acceptable. Thus, if the subjects in this study participate in, or are exposed to, war-games, video games, war comics etc. they too would be

encouraged to regard violence as recreational and enjoyable and not reflective of the reality in this country. If this is true for these children, evidence of war and violence would certainly fail to provoke anxiety or fear, thereby explaining why EMPI is not significantly related to anxiety or PF.

The next explanation to consider, is that with two of the variables employed in this study, namely 'EMPI' and 'CSSA', there may well be threshold effects. In addition, it must be acknowledged that the scales developed in this study may not cover the full variation of these variables. If threshold effects are operative, it is postulated that firstly, the threshold effect of EMPI may be above the variation range of the scale i.e. the subjects might have to be exposed to more evidence of political instability than reflected in the scale for it to have an anxiety- or fear- provoking effect; and secondly, that the threshold effect of CSSA may be below the variation range of the scale i.e. subjects may require very little CSSA to buffer the negative effects of EMPI. CSSA would therefore not have a moderating effect on EMPI as everyone would be buffered. However, as the precise points of the postulated thresholds are not discernable, it is not possible to verify or refute this explanation.

5.4. Anxiety Levels of South African Children

In comparing anxiety levels of South African and American children, or rather, their respective scores on the R-CMAS, it emerged that there were no significant differences between the male samples but that there were significant differences

between both of the female samples (i.e. 13 and 14 year old girls). As EMPI was not related significantly to anxiety or PF, nothing in this study can account for this phenomenon. Again, parental mediation may account for this.

5.5. Limitations of the Present Study and Suggestions for Future Research

One of the major limitations of this study, is that the impact of parental intercession and social support in the mediation of political instability on children, was not assessed. It has been suggested that these factors, i.e. parental and community support may be more potent moderating variables than CSSA and may be more effective in buffering the negative effects of EMPI. Future research needs to take these factors into consideration when assessing the impact of the political context on children.

The second limitation of the study, is the issue of thresholds in the EMPI and CSSA scales. The inability to assess unequivocally both the presence of thresholds and the exact locations thereof, militate against conclusive statements being made about the buffering effects of CSSA and the effects of EMPI.

Thirdly, the school at which the study was executed was chosen specifically for its supposed representativeness of white English-speaking South African society. Despite there being a representative sample of social class, another limitation of

this study is that it did not tap various demographic or sufficiently diverse economic areas. There were also no Afrikaans-speaking subjects in this study. Thus this study should be regarded as pilot research because in order to assess adequately the impact of political instability on white South African children, a much broader study needs to be executed.

Fourthly, the indices used to assess the impact of EMPI on white South African children were anxiety and PF. It is possible that EMPI is affecting children negatively, but that this may not be reflected in their anxiety or PF levels.

5.6. Conclusions

The results of this study indicate that exposure to the manifestations of political instability as measured by the EMPI scale, does not correlate with either anxiety or political fear. Neither does CSSA as measured in this study, buffer the hypothesised negative effects of EMPI.

These findings thus do not lend support to the hypothesis that increased exposure to stimuli is correlated with significant increases in negative affect. Rather, results suggested that increased exposure does not influence anxiety and PF levels. It is surmised that it may even serve to desensitise the subjects from the realities of the South African context. It was proposed that continued reports of violence and political instability have possibly provided the population with a concept of an

acceptable level of violence. Further, the propagation of an enjoyment of war and violence through war-games, comics, toys and video games is functioning to legitimate violence. These processes that desensitise subjects, suggest that it is possible for there to be an acceptable level of violence and may facilitate a legitimation of violence. This may account for the absence of increases in anxiety and PF with increased EMPI.

The hypothesis proposing that CSSA serves as a buffer between EMPI and anxiety and PF, was not verified. It was suggested that social support and parental mediation of the political context are perhaps more potent moderating variables than CSSA. These factors however, were not examined in this study.

The present author submitted that white South Africans, albeit that the majority are predominantly removed from the immediacy of the violence in this country, cannot remain unaffected by the politically unstable ethos that characterises everyday life in South Africa. However, the present study failed to demonstrate significant correlations between EMPI, and anxiety and PF in 13 and 14 year old white, English-speaking male and female children. If white South African children are being affected by the political instability, it is not reflected in their anxiety or PF levels. Indeed, it may be that increased EMPI is actually serving to desensitise the subjects from the violent reality as reflected in the media and as experienced in their daily lives.

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APPENDIX A

ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF SOUTH AFRICAN TEENAGERS

N.B. 1. Your answers are absolutely confidential. The questionnaire is anonymous. You do not have to put your name.

2. Please answer ALL questions. There are no correct or incorrect answers.

3. For EVERY question, put a CROSS ☒ in the box that best fits what you believe.

ONLY PUT ONE CROSS FOR EACH QUESTION – EITHER YES OR NO, NOT BOTH.

Background Information

Remember: Put a cross in the box that is true for you.

1. Are you Male ☐ or Female ☐ ?

2. Are you in Std. 6 ☐ or Std. 7 ☐ ?

3. How old are you? _____ years.

4. Have you filled in a questionnaire for me before? Yes ☐ or No ☐

5. What kind of work does your father do?

_____

6. What kind of work does your mother do?

_____

PART 1

For each question, put a CROSS in the box that is truest for you.

		Yes	No
1.	I have trouble making up my mind.	1 ☐	☐
2.	I get nervous when things do not go the right way for me.	2 ☐	☐
3.	Others seem to do things easier than I can.	3 ☐	☐
4.	I like everyone I know.	4 ☐	☐
5.	Often I have trouble getting my breath.	5 ☐	☐
6.	I worry a lot of the time.	6 ☐	☐
7.	I am afraid of a lot of things.	7 ☐	☐
8.	I am always kind.	8 ☐	☐
9.	I get cross easily.	9 ☐	☐
10.	I worry about what my parents will say to me.	10 ☐	☐
11.	I feel that others do not like the way I do things.	11 ☐	☐
12.	I always have good manners.	12 ☐	☐
13.	It is hard for me to get to sleep at night.	13 ☐	☐
14.	I worry about what other people think about me.	14 ☐	☐
15.	I feel alone even when there are people with me.	15 ☐	☐
16.	I am always good.	16 ☐	☐
17.	Often I feel sick in my stomach.	17 ☐	☐
18.	My feelings get hurt easily.	18 ☐	☐
19.	My hands feel sweaty.	19 ☐	☐

20. I am always nice to everyone.	20 Yes ☐	No ☐
21. I am tired a lot.	21 Yes ☐	No ☐
22. I worry about what is going to happen.	22 Yes ☐	No ☐
23. Other children are happier than I.	23 Yes ☐	No ☐
24. I tell the truth every single time.	24 Yes ☐	No ☐
25. I have bad dreams.	25 Yes ☐	No ☐
26. My feelings get hurt easily when I am picked on.	26 Yes ☐	No ☐
27. I feel someone will tell me I do things the wrong way.	27 Yes ☐	No ☐
28. I never get angry.	28 Yes ☐	No ☐
29. I wake up scared some of the time.	29 Yes ☐	No ☐
30. I worry when I go to bed at night.	30 Yes ☐	No ☐
31. It is hard for me to keep my mind on my schoolwork.	31 Yes ☐	No ☐
32. I never say things I shouldn't.	32 Yes ☐	No ☐
33. I wriggle in my seat a lot.	33 Yes ☐	No ☐
34. I am nervous.	34 Yes ☐	No ☐
35. A lot of people are against me.	35 Yes ☐	No ☐
36. I never lie.	36 Yes ☐	No ☐
37. I often worry about something bad happening to me.	37 Yes ☐	No ☐

PART 2

Put a CROSS in the box that goes best with what you believe or what you have experienced.

1.	Political problems might make me want to leave South Africa to go and live in another country.	Yes ☐ No ☐
2.	I know bombs sometimes go off in town.	Yes ☐ No ☐
3.	In the last 6 months, I have read in the papers that the government censors (does not let the newspapers write what they like) reports to do with politics.	Yes ☐ No ☐
4.	Every single black person wants to fight for the ANC.	Yes ☐ No ☐
5.	In the last 6 months, I have heard about soldiers who are defending our borders being killed or wounded.	Yes ☐ No ☐
6.	In the last 6 months, I have read about or seen that the South African army fights black people.	Yes ☐ No ☐
7.	I have heard about riots that have taken place in South Africa in the last 6 months.	Yes ☐ No ☐
8.	In the last 6 months, I have read about bomb blasts in South Africa in the newspaper.	Yes ☐ No ☐
9.	Someone I know was at or near the scene of a bomb blast in the last 6 months and saw it or heard it.	Yes ☐ No ☐
10.	I know that some people leave South Africa and go to live in other countries because of economic factors (such as: the exchange rate is bad, the rand is not worth much etc.)	Yes ☐ No ☐
11.	I know that soldiers in wars might get wounded.	Yes ☐ No ☐
12.	I have heard that there is a State of Emergency in South Africa.	Yes ☐ No ☐
13.	I know from watching TV or reading the papers in the last 6 months, that South Africa is fighting a war.	Yes ☐ No ☐
14.	The police always catch every criminal.	Yes ☐ No ☐
15.	The number of bombs that go off in South Africa makes me think we are living in violent times.	Yes ☐ No ☐
16.	I have seen on TV or read in the papers in the last 6 months that people get killed or wounded in riots in South Africa.	Yes ☐ No ☐
17.	In the last 6 months, I have seen posters warning about bombs.	Yes ☐ No ☐
18.	I have seen that the hate between the blacks and the whites in South Africa causes riots.	Yes ☐ No ☐
19.	I have heard that people leave South Africa to go and live in other countries because they think it is safer in other countries.	Yes ☐ No ☐

PART 3

Put a CROSS in the box that goes best with what you believe.
ONLY PUT A CROSS IN THE "MAYBE" BOX IF YOU REALLY CANNOT CHOOSE BETWEEN THE "AGREE" AND "DISAGREE" BOXES.

		Agree	Disagree	Maybe
1.	The police are doing a good job keeping us safe.	☐	☐	☐
2.	The blacks are strong enough to take over South Africa.	☐	☐	☐
3.	Terrorists easily cross our borders to attack.	☐	☐	☐
4.	If someone phoned the school to warn that a bomb was placed at school, the police would find it before it went off.	☐	☐	☐
5.	Police find most of the guns and ammunition that the terrorists hide.	☐	☐	☐
6.	The police are able to stop riots.	☐	☐	☐
7.	The South African army can be beaten by another army from Africa.	☐	☐	☐
8.	If someone had a bomb in a parcel, the security guards at the shopping centre would catch them.	☐	☐	☐
9.	The South African army is strong.	☐	☐	☐
10.	The terrorists are cleverer than the police.	☐	☐	☐
11.	Security guards at shopping centres are good enough to keep people safe.	☐	☐	☐
12.	The army is protecting us by defending our borders.	☐	☐	☐
13.	Terrorists could easily come to our neighbourhood to attack us.	☐	☐	☐
14.	The police and the army are winning against the terrorists.	☐	☐	☐

PART 4

The statements in this section are about things and experiences that may cause fear or other unpleasant feelings. Put a CROSS in the box that best describes how much each thing would upset you if it were to happen to you.

1.	Going to the dentist.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
2.	Sleeping in a house close to the border.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
3.	Speaking on a specific topic in front of the class.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
4.	Hearing the news on the radio or watching the news on TV.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
5.	Hearing the siren at school warning of a bomb.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
6.	Smelling the odour of medicine.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
7.	Approaching a black person.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
8.	Being in a place in which there is a danger of bombs going off.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
9.	Being in a place in which there is a danger of terrorists attacking.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
10.	Approaching a dog.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
11.	Passing a cemetry at night.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
12.	Being in a place in which there is a danger of war.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
13.	Knowing what is going on at the moment in Angola and Namibia.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
14.	Saying goodbye when your father or brother goes for army duty.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much
15.	Looking down from the top of a tall building.	None	A little	Some	Much	Very much

APPENDIX B

4 August 1989

Dear Parent(s) of Std 6 and 7 Hostel Pupils

Miss Elana Jacobs, who taught at High School last year, is currently engaged in a research project for her M.A. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. She is interested in assessing the attitudes and experiences of junior high school pupils growing up in South Africa.

In order to accomplish her goal, she needs to have a sample of pupils answer a questionnaire. She is hoping to include your child in this study which will involve one session of ± 1/2 hour. The questionnaire, which will be answered anonymously, will be administered during prep. time early in the third term when there are no exams or tests pending.

Miss Jacobs has discussed the whole project with me and it has been approved by a number of lecturers in her department. Should you object to your child answering this questionnaire, please indicate this on the tear-off slip attached and ensure that it is returned to me as soon as possible with your signature.

Should you wish to discuss the matter further, please feel free to phone me.

Thank you in anticipation of your kind co-operation,

_____

(Principal)

I do/do not grant permission for my child to answer the questionnaire.

Signed:_____

(The names of the school and the principal have been deleted as permission was only granted for the author to conduct this study if all references to the school were omitted.)

24 August 1989

Dear Parent(s) of Std 6 and 7 Pupils

As some of you know, Miss Elana Jacobs, who taught at High School last year, is currently engaged in a research project for her M. A. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. She is interested in assessing the attitudes and experiences of junior high school pupils growing up in South Africa.

In order to accomplish her goal, she needs to have a sample of pupils answer a questionnaire. She is hoping to include your child in this study which will involve one session of ± 1/2 hour. The questionnaire, which will be answered anonymously, will be administered during a non-academic period in the third term.

Miss Jacobs has discussed the whole project with me and it has been approved by a number of lecturers in her department. Should you object to your child answering this questionnaire, please indicate this on the tear-off slip attached and ensure that it is returned to me as soon as possible with your signature.

Should you wish to discuss the matter further, please feel free to phone me.

Thank you in anticipation of your kind co-operation,

_____

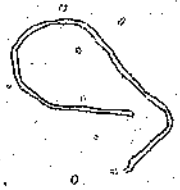
(Principal)

I do/do not grant permission for my child to answer the questionnaire.

Signed:_____

(The names of the school and the principal have been deleted as permission was only granted for the author to conduct this study if all references to the school were omitted.)

APPENDIX C



PILOT 1

MALE ☐ or FEMALE ☐ (Tick the correct box)
AGE: ___years___months

EMPI

1. Is South Africa fighting a war? Yes ☐ or No ☐ (Tick the box you agree with). If yes, list 3 things that make you think so.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____

2. Do you worry about people you know being harmed while they are in the army? Yes ☐ or No ☐ (Tick the box you agree with). Discuss.
   _____
   _____
   _____

3. Are we living in violent times? If yes, what makes you think so? Give 5 reasons.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____
   iv) _____
   v) _____

4. Have you ever seen/heard of a police or army or air force demonstration or parade? If yes,
   i)where was it?
   _____
   ii)if you heard about it, how did you hear about it? (friends, newspapers, TV etc.)
   _____
   iii)when was it?
   _____

5. Do you ever think about riots? List some things that make you think that riots could happen.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____

6. Do you worry about riots? Why?
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. Do you ever think about bombs going off? List 5 things that remind you that there is a chance that a bomb could explode.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____
   iv) _____
   v) _____

8. Have you heard about any bomb blasts recently? If yes, how did you find out about them?
   _____
   _____

9. Do you know anyone who has been at the scene of a bomb blast? If yes,
   i) what is your relationship to him/her?
   _____
   ii) how was that person involved? (eg. just heard the explosion, saw it, was injured etc.)
   _____
   _____

10. Do you ever think about other violent acts eg. people attacking with machine guns or land mines? If yes, give details.
    _____
    _____
    _____

11. List 5 reasons why people are emigrating from South Africa.
    i) _____
    ii) _____
    iii) _____
    iv) _____
    v) _____

12. Do you know people who have emigrated? If yes, what is their relationship to you?
    _____

13. Do you think you will always live in South Africa? Yes ☐ or No ☐ or Maybe ☐. Give 3 reasons why you chose the answer you did.
    i) _____
    ii) _____
    iii) _____

CSSA

1. Are the army and the police protecting us? Yes ☐ or No ☐.
   Give 5 reasons why you chose the answer you did.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____
   iv) _____
   v) _____

2. What is the government doing to look after us? List 4 things.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____
   iv) _____

3. What is the government doing to harm us? List 4 things.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____
   iv) _____

4. Why are your bags checked and bodies searched at shopping centres? List 3 reasons.
   i) _____
   ii) _____
   iii) _____

5. When bags are checked and bodies searched, from whom/what are we being protected? Give two answers.
   i) _____
   ii) _____

6. Is the army strong? Yes ☐ or No ☐.
   i) how do you know this?
   _____
   _____
   ii) how strong do you think it is?
   _____
   _____

7. If there was a revolution in South Africa (a revolution is when people inside the country fight against the government) what would be the outcome (ie. who would win)?
   _____
   _____

8. Do you think that security guards at shopping centres would discover a bomb before it went off? Yes ☐ or No ☐. Why did you choose the answer you did?
   _____
   _____
   _____

9. Has there ever been a bomb scare at a school that you have been at? If yes, what did you think and how did you feel?
   _____
   _____
   _____

PILOT 2

ATTITUDES OF SOUTH AFRICAN TEENAGERS

MALE ☐ or FEMALE ☐ (Tick the correct box)

Part One: EMPI

These questions are about things that happen to people, about things they have seen or heard. There are no right or wrong answers. If any of these questions have happened to you in the last 6 months, tick the box that says "Yes". If you have not had the experience in the last 6 months, tick the box that says "No".

		Yes	No
1.	I know from watching TV or reading the papers in the last 6 months, that South Africa is fighting a war.	☐	☐
2.	In the last 6 months, I have seen posters warning about bombs.	☐	☐
3.	In the last 6 months, I have heard a news report about a bomb blast in South Africa on the radio or seen one on TV.	☐	☐
4.	Political problems might make me want to leave South Africa to go and live in another country.	☐	☐
5.	I know that soldiers in wars might get wounded.	☐	☐
6.	I have heard that people leave South Africa to go and live in other countries because they think it is safer in other countries.	☐	☐
7.	I have heard about riots that have taken place in South Africa in the last 6 months.	☐	☐
8.	The police catch every criminal.	☐	☐
9.	I know that people leave South Africa and go to live in other countries because of economic factors (such as: the exchange rate is bad, the rand is not worth much etc.).	☐	☐
10.	In the last 6 months, I have read in the papers or seen on TV that soldiers who are defending our borders sometimes get injured.	☐	☐
11.	In the last 6 months, I have read about bomb blasts in South Africa in the newspaper.	☐	☐
12.	I know bombs sometimes go off in town.	☐	☐
13.	In the last 6 months, I have read about or seen on TV that bombs sometimes go off in shopping centres.	☐	☐

14. I have heard that there is a State of Emergency in South Africa.	Yes ☐	No ☐
15. In the last 6 months, I have read in the papers that the government censors (does not let the newspapers write what they like) reports to do with politics.	Yes ☐	No ☐
16. The number of bombs that go off in South Africa make me think we are living in violent times.	Yes ☐	No ☐
17. In the last 6 months, I have read about or seen that the South African army fights Black people.	Yes ☐	No ☐
18. I have heard that South African soldiers have been fighting in Angola or South West Africa in the last 6 months.	Yes ☐	No ☐
19. I see war reports on TV every night of the week.	Yes ☐	No ☐
20. In the last 6 months, I have heard that other countries have imposed sanctions on South Africa (other countries don't like South Africa).	Yes ☐	No ☐
21. Every single black person wants to fight for the ANC.	Yes ☐	No ☐
22. I have seen a South African police/army/air force demonstration or parade on TV in the last 6 months.	Yes ☐	No ☐
23. Someone I know was at or near the scene of a bomb blast in the last 6 months and saw it or heard it.	Yes ☐	No ☐
24. I have seen on TV or read in the papers in the last 6 months that people get killed or wounded in riots in South Africa.	Yes ☐	No ☐
25. I know people who have left South Africa to go and live in another country.	Yes ☐	No ☐
26. I have seen that the hate between the blacks and the whites in South Africa causes riots.	Yes ☐	No ☐
27. I have heard or seen on the news or read in the papers in the last 6 months, that there is a sports boycott against South Africa (other countries don't want to play sport against us).	Yes ☐	No ☐

Part II: CSSA

There are no right or wrong answers in this questionnaire. Just tick the box that goes best with what you believe.

1.	The police are doing a good job keeping us safe.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
2.	The blacks are strong enough to take over South Africa.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
3.	Terrorists easily cross our borders to attack.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
4.	Because it is compulsory for all boys to go to the army, the army is powerful.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
5.	If there was a bomb at school, the police would find it before it went off.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
6.	Police find most of the guns and ammunition that the terrorists hide.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
7.	The police are able to stop riots.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
8.	The South African army can be beaten.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
9.	If someone had a bomb in a parcel, the security guards at the shopping centre would catch them.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
10.	The South African army is strong.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
11.	The terrorists are more clever than the police.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
12.	Security guards at shopping centres are good enough to keep people safe.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
13.	The army is protecting us by defending our borders.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
14.	Terrorists could easily come to our neighbourhood to attack us.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐
15.	The police and the army are winning against the terrorists.	Agree ☐	Disagree ☐	Maybe ☐

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