This report presents a contextualization of violence in the lives of South African black children, as well as the theoretical foundations, methodology and preliminary results of the first and second part of a longitudinal study to investigate the influence of violent television images on the behavior of these children. This influence is analyzed in the context of various other factors that can contribute to the development of an aggressive lifestyle among young black children. These factors include: inadequate education; poverty; political system; the replacement of the extended family in mass urban black communities; poor housing; and a lack of essential facilities. Subjects were 348 children in grades 2 and 3. Data were collected from four sources— the child, the child's peers, the child's parents, and school personnel—by means of individual, face-to-face interviews in which questionnaires and structured interview schedules were used. It was found that exposure to television violence was low and played an insignificant part in the lives of these children and their parents, while exposure to community violence seems to have played a significant part in the lives of both children and parents. Parents' level of aggression and child-rearing practices showed significant correspondence with a high exposure to violence in real life. There was also a relationship between the number of violent incidents that the child had observed in the community and parental victimization during both years of the study. (A 184-item bibliography is included, and an appendix contains the study questionnaires.) (HTH)
PREFERENCE FOR TELEVISION VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION AMONG CHILDREN FROM VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS: A FOLLOW-UP STUDY OVER TWO YEARS

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MEMORANDUM TO THE SABC
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE  
CONTEXTUALISATION: THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION VIOLENCE WITHIN A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE  

CHAPTER TWO  
LITERATURE SURVEY: FACTORS PLAYING A MAJOR PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AGGRESSIVE LIFESTYLE AMONG CHILDREN  
2.1 Poverty and other social stressors in the life of township children  
2.2 Experiences of violence in the lives of children in war zones  
2.2.1 Mozambique  
2.2.2 Cambodia  
2.2.3 Israel and Palestine  
2.2.4 American inner-city war zones  
2.2.5 South Africa  
2.2.6 Developmental toll in war zones  
2.3 Conclusion  

CHAPTER THREE  
TELEVISION VIOLENCE IN CONTEXT  
3.1 Introduction to the debate on television violence  
3.2 South African investigations  
3.3 The cross-cultural investigations of Huesmann, Eron and colleagues  
3.4 Huesmann’s theory of information processing  
3.4.1 Introduction to Huesmann’s theory  
3.4.2 The theory of information processing  
3.4.3 Conclusion  

CHAPTER FOUR  
The Current Study: Defining Concepts  
4.1 Violence
CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUALISATION: THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION VIOLENCE WITHIN A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

Martin P. Botha

The introduction of television on 5 January 1976 was the real spur in South Africa for research on the mass media. The emergence of a new communication technology implied more available information, more interpretations of reality and the probability of change of the social order. It was also, sadly, the year of the Soweto uprising, in which nearly 700 people lost their lives. Thereafter violence became a disconcerting and pervasive factor in the struggle for and against apartheid: an estimated 11 000 people lost their lives in political violence between 1984 and 1991. In the 15 months prior to February 1991, 3 000 people had died in unrest incidents and 22 000 in crime-related incidents. At least 800 people died between January 1991 and August 1991 in Natal unrest alone, according to figures released by the Human Rights Commission. By September 1991 crime in this country was at its highest level ever according to official statistics. Thus a culture of violence was established.

The reasons for this culture of violence are multiple and complex, and are not fully understood. How this and other violence is portrayed on television and to what extent it influences young children are of more than merely academic interest, especially since the lifting of media restrictions on the reporting of violence in 1990. Moreover, the hypothesis of the 1985 HSRC report on intergroup relations, namely that rapid socio-political change in South Africa would increase the media’s influence, proved true (see Human Sciences Research Council, 1985).

In an environment in which exposure to visual media is relatively new (or has not yet occurred) and in which real-life violence is endemic and approved by some social groups, the effect of violence in the mass media may even be intensified. On the basis of existing theory (see for example Huesmann & Eron, 1986) one would expect dramatic media presentations of violence to have significant short- and long-term effects on the interpersonal violence perpetrated by South Africa’s youth. According to the information-processing theory of Rowell Huesmann (see Chapter Three) young children exposed to dramatic films and videos with extensive interpersonal violence will
1. learn scripts for social behaviour that emphasize aggressive solutions to individual problems;
2. learn self-regulating norms that are more accepting of violence; and
3. become desensitised to violence, making it more acceptable for them.
These effects will be exacerbated if
1. media exposure is relatively new and the viewers identify with the
aggressive characters, distance themselves from the victims, and perceive the aggressors' behaviour as realistic;
2. the current culture, both at community and peer levels, supports the legitimacy of violence; and
3. the potential targets of the violence are dehumanised as a group in the media or in the culture.

Aggression must be seen in the context of the specific social system in which it occurs. Numerous antecedent and consequent factors are related to aggressiveness (Botha, 1990). Although television violence has been identified as one factor that increases the likelihood of aggressive behaviour, the exposure to television violence does not produce a simple, unidirectional causal effect on aggressive behaviour.

The effect of television violence on children should be seen in terms of multiple interactions between the young viewer, television and other socialising agents. The effects of socializing agents such as parents, schools, community leaders, the peer group and churches will vary with the individual child's developmental level and exposure to violence.

The mass media, television in particular, are thus only one of many sources of ideas. Furthermore, these ideas exist in the context of ideas and meanings which are inherent to the individual's social circumstances, that is to the viewer's immediate circumstances and broad cultural context (Botha, 1990). With regard to black children in South Africa, several socio-political and economic factors contribute to the development of a culture of violence: the effects of apartheid which have resulted in large-scale poverty and the destruction of family structures are but some of these factors (see Chapter Two). The complex nature of aggression and violence leads one to conclude that no single theory can account for all types of aggressive and violent behaviour (Botha, 1990).

The aim of this report is thus to present a contextualisation of violence in the lives of black children, as well as the theoretical foundations, methodology and preliminary results of the first and second part of an intended longitudinal study among young black children from various South African townships (rural as well as urban) in order to investigate the influence of violent television images on the behaviour of these children. These effects will be analysed in the context of various other factors that can contribute to the development of an aggressive lifestyle among young black children. These factors can include the following: inadequate education; poverty; a political system resulting in a disadvantageous position for the majority of the population and very limited room for social mobilisation and upward mobility, effecting a high level of frustration and normlessness; the replacement of the extended family in most urban black communities with families characterised by disharmony and inconsistent discipline; poor housing; and a lack of essential facilities. (These factors are discussed in Chapter Two of this report.)

Chapter Two consists of a literature survey as well as the results of previous studies on factors contributing to the culture of violence in South Africa. Chapter Three deals with the role of media violence exposure within this culture of violence.
The most important concepts regarding aggression and violence are defined in Chapter Four. Chapter Five describes the methodology and sample of the first and second part of the longitudinal study, and Chapter Six concludes the report with a discussion of the preliminary results.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE SURVEY: FACTORS PLAYING A MAJOR PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AGGRESSIVE LIFESTYLE AMONG CHILDREN

Louise Maré and Linda Botha

2.1 Poverty and other social stressors in the life of township children

Violence has become a pervasive problem in South Africa. Various factors have contributed to this, for instance the portrayal of violence on television, various socio-economic factors in the lives of township children, the lifting of media restrictions on reporting (particularly issues relating to violence) in 1990, and the unbanning of the liberation movements or, rather, the rapid socio-political change in this country. Because the culture of violence in South Africa has such grave consequences for the fabric of our society, an investigation into violence has become imperative.

Berkowitz (1993) outlines social conditions that cause distress and suffering and termed them "social stressors". According to Berkowitz, violence in America can be reduced if family and community life in the cities is improved: "The demographic characteristics of the city areas with the greatest numbers of killings also point to the criminogenic effects of poverty" (1993:289). It was discovered that people with low average incomes, low educational levels and dilapidated and overcrowded housing committed the most crimes.

Violence tends to mount when the socio-economic situation is desperate: Blau & Blau in Berkowitz (1993:289) conclude that communities with the most poor people as well as the greatest concentrations of blacks tend to have the greatest numbers of killings relative to the population size. They suggest that this is caused

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1 This section was written by a former employee of the HSRC, Tlaks Mahlabe.
by racial and economic inequalities. Socio-economic inequalities between races are positively related to high rates of violent crime. These inequalities tend to provoke people's aggressive behaviour.

Social disorganisation is identified as another social stressor. According to Berkowitz (1993), social disorganisation tends to lessen inhibitions against aggression, and the influence of social control agents (i.e. law enforcement agencies, etc.) is weakened by economic and social stressors. Some people become confused when they are told to abide by the norms and values of the society, such as working hard for a better living, when others gain money and social status through criminal activities. Other indicators of social disorganisation include the rates of drop-outs from universities, pregnant unwed mothers and divorce. It is believed that communities with broken families have weak societal rules, against aggression. From Berkowitz’s analysis of violence in America, it is clear that the weakening of social influences tends to aggravate unrestrained aggression.

Landau and Raveh (1987) write about a similar situation in Israel. Unemployment, inflation and per capita income are identified as social stressors. Landau and Raveh (1987: 68) contend that violence in Israel during the 1970s was characterised by an unprecedented increase of inflation rates and a decline in the role of the family as a natural support system (i.e. a decline in marriage rates, and an increase in divorce rates and in births to unwed mothers). The family plays a crucial role in the life of a child. The weakening of this support system may therefore negatively affect the behaviour of the child. As Landau and Raveh (1987) put it, social indicators of stress and support mechanisms within society affect certain aspects of social pathology, such as anti-social behaviour.

Another study (Like & Elder in Berkowitz, 1993) associates economic hardship with children’s behaviour such as aggression. In some cases a family’s hardship, creates negativity between husband and wife which destroys the family fabric. Irritable parents usually limit their monitoring and controlling of a child’s behaviour (sometimes aggressive behaviour in particular). Some parents resort to erratic punitive parenting because they cannot handle the discord in their marriages. This kind of irritable parenting has a direct impact on the child and his/her behaviour. Pressures associated with income loss promote marital discord through the negative behaviour of a distressed husband, creating marital tension which increases the likelihood of irritable parenting.

The above-mentioned studies are based mostly on the theory of a direct connection between cause and effect. Consequently, it is believed that social stressors affect the behaviour of the parents and the children in a family.

The situation of black South Africans is not different from that of Americans studied by Berkowitz (1993), especially with regard to economic hardships. The difference might be that the situation in South Africa was basically aggravated by apartheid. It is therefore imperative to look briefly at what apartheid did to this country - socially, economically and politically.
The land acts passed by the South African government left black people economically disempowered. The Natives Land Act of 1913 divided the Union of South Africa into separate areas for blacks and whites. In terms of the act, areas that were traditionally occupied by blacks were segregated from the rest of South Africa (Letsoale, 1987:19). Blacks were also prohibited from acquiring land outside the areas reserved for them. Furthermore, land was unequally distributed as the area of the white minority was ten times larger than the area of the black majority. Although the land act of 1936 released additional land to blacks, the distribution of land remained unequal. Because of the scarcity of land for blacks, many had to seek another means of income. They were therefore drawn into the mining industry and became separated from their former means of production, which is land. Moreover tax laws resulted in blacks having to work for wages in order to pay taxes. Migration thus, became a way of life in the black community. Their situation became hopeless. This was reinforced by other apartheid laws which dealt with influx control, group areas, etc.

The system of influx control assaulted human dignity in various ways. Firstly, the authorities required the preferential treatment of blacks with section 10 permanent urban residence. A curfew was instituted to control people without a permit. Raids were frequently carried out and those without a permit were jailed. Secondly it was considered an offence to employ a black person in a specific area without permission from the labour office responsible for that area. This exacerbated the situation and contributed to a high rate of unemployment.

The homeland policy, the brainchild of Dr H.F. Verwoerd, reserved particular areas for particular ethnic groups. The state also cut back on funds for sub-economic housing. As a result, four-roomed houses, popularly known as "match-boxes", were built for blacks. Hostels were built to create "more accommodation" for blacks. The most unfortunate part was that blacks living in hostels were and are still not allowed to live there with their families. African male workers seldom saw their wives and children. This shattered the family structure as many children grew up without a father figure. In her study on the impact of labour migration on families, Mahlabe (1992) finds that African males tended to leave their families for more than three consecutive months without sending them money for subsistence. This created problems for family members remaining behind since they had no means of survival. In order to survive, mothers therefore worked in nearby towns for the "black middle-class". In most instances their children were left unattended. All these problems, especially the absence of role models, played a role in the development of aggression in most black children. Another problem was the exposure to real-life violence, the effect of which is dealt with in the next section by means of case studies in various countries.
2.2 Experiences of violence in the lives of children in war zones

Linda Tromp

The rising tide of violence in South African townships is alarming. Increasingly, violence is experienced in some townships as a nearly unremitting succession of random and threatening events. Existence within such townships has been described as surviving in a battle zone.

It is evident that we need to assess the impact of children's exposure to violence in such war zones. Towards this end, we turn to investigations into chronic violence abroad and the impact thereof on the child in order to compare these experiences with the South African experience.

By looking at children living in war zones around the world, we can gain a better perspective of the dynamics of injury and danger induced by exposure to chronic violence. This can put us in touch with the inner world of childhood trauma and show us something about children's coping and resilience strategies, their limitations and possibilities, as well as the consequences of violence.

We know turn to Mozambican, Cambodian, Israeli, Palestinian and American children, to search for points of contact with the South African problem of township violence. Work by Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny and Pardo (1992) offers valuable insights into the effects of violence on children in war zones.2

2.2.1 Mozambique

Mozambique has been at war for most of its independent years. The war between the government and the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) has devastated all hope of economic, social, and educational gains that were to follow independence in 1975.

The conflict has caused severe dislocation, left half of the population unable to feed itself and had a profound effect on the country's overall self-sufficiency. Furthermore, according to a 1989 UNICEF report, "out of the estimated 600 000 Mozambicans who have lost their lives as a direct or indirect consequence of the war, some 494 000 are children" (Garbarino et al., 1992).

Teachers have been attacked. Their schools have been destroyed. In 1987, the province of Gaza had 120 schools; by 1990; only three schools remained standing. In the Nampula province, 399 primary schools (first to fifth grade) were forced to close, affecting the education of 36 000 children. Here, as elsewhere, those intent on demolishing a community have targeted the schools for special attention.

The psychological cost remains largely unmeasured. UNICEF estimates that half a

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2 The following sections are primarily based on the publication by Garbarino et al. (1992).
A million children are at risk of severe psychological harm. In one study, 24 of the 35 children interviewed (aged between eight and seventeen) had witnessed at least one violent death. Children themselves were tortured. Other children were separated from their parents when their villages were attacked. The younger children were sent into the bush to look after themselves. These children were sometimes found by the military and brought to local orphanages or hospitals.

At the hospitals there was a constant battle for survival. Priorities were the basics: blood, food, water and electricity. Garbarino and others (1992) state that these child victims of war, showed little expression even when the hospital staff attempted to elicit a response.

The psychological effect of the war on professionals is also evident. When 80% of the new child admissions in one week died from war-induced causes, staff openly questioned their ability to help the children. They coped by becoming psychologically numb.

Many of the children that Garbarino and his colleagues interviewed in Mozambique were often quiet and sullen, particularly if they were separated from their family. Frequently these children stared beyond the interviewers as they talked. One boy who had spent three weeks with bandits said, "The bandits are bad; they kill, and they beat people." When asked what should be done to the bandits, he said, "They should be killed." This is a simple and direct form of revenge that was heard from children - particularly boys.

The children displayed no joy or laughter during the interviews. When asked to draw pictures, one boy drew a house and said, "No one lives in the house." Another child drew a picture of people walking and said, "They don't know where they are going." Yet another child drew a picture of an upside-down person. These pictures illustrate the empty, displaced, and confused world of these child victims.

There are no boundaries between the war zone and the most private domains of a child’s experience in Mozambique. For them, it is a total war. The combination of horrible experiences and disrupted relationships has set them adrift. Their aloneness is frightening - to them and to the people who are supposed to care for them.

One boy had fallen on a land mine and lost both his legs at the knee. He had no prosthesis and no wheelchair. Using his arms, he scooted around on the ground. He smiled often and participated with the other children in all the centre's activities. When asked to draw a picture, he drew a picture of the man who had helped him after he had been injured.

This boy is managing. He is what developmental psychologists call a "resilient child". His strength in coping with catastrophic adversity indicates that he would have been a remarkable child had he been permitted to live whole, in peace. War however squanders the gifts of children on mere coping, gifts that should be the basis for creativity in times of peace.
Mozambique teaches us that there are no limits to human cruelty; that some children have a remarkable capacity to cope; that adults who care for victimised children are themselves in psychological peril; and that the children need to be reunited with their families. On a more sophisticated level, the children need to understand what life is all about; they need a positive identity; and they need faith in the future (Garbarino et al., 1992:23-30).

2.2.2 Cambodia

Cambodia has experienced catastrophic communal conflict for nearly three decades. At first a bystander in the war in Vietnam, Cambodia was eventually drawn into the conflict. As a result, there were massive bombings, and then the take-over by the Khmer Rouge in 1975 after which more than a million of Cambodia's eight million people (the Khmer) died. After the Vietnamese invasion in 1979 and the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge, many more Cambodians died in a civil war that continued into the 1990s. The legacy is a generation of children and youth killed and maimed - psychically as well as physically.

Yet there is an amazingly positive theme that many Cambodian youth embody: "Living well honours those who died and is the best revenge." Children at orphanages often speak of revenge - but revenge in terms of remembering, of determination to ensure that the Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge will never return to power. The orphans are drawn - and directed - to work for the government in various ministries, or in the army. Such work must offer a sense of active coping: building the country, making it strong in order to protect yourself, and honouring those who perished.

For children who managed to emigrate to other modernised countries, the dominant theme is deliverance. Children with or without parents appear almost messianic in their optimistic rebirth. They - and the parents - seem determined to make a success of their lives almost as an act of religious faith. They have survived, and have an obligation to make the best of their lives.

However, the children and adults who managed to reach other countries are not free of the horror. Nightmares and flashbacks are common. A study by Kinzie (in Garbarino et al., 1992) conclude that even four years after they had left Cambodia, half the children manifested symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (i.e. psychiatric consequences). But those with families were doing better than those without families.

Most Khmer children have triumphed over the madness one might expect to find among those who have been subjected to the terror of the Cambodian holocaust. But their very success reinforces the hypothesis about the crucial importance of a child's basic relationships as the foundation for resilience and recovery. "Unaccompanied" children are however doubly at risk not only because of their loss but because of the brutal way it came about.

A child can nevertheless reformulate the world without the aid of parents if other
things are held constant. A child can reformulate a world in which horror is a fact. At some centres, teenage girls who were orphaned as young children are hired as caregivers for abandoned and orphaned young children (from birth through age six). This particular form of "processing" traumatic experiences is linked to the concept of positive revenge: "Do unto this child as you would have had done unto the child you once were."

The teenage caregivers heal themselves through the active process of caring. There is a spiritual basis for collective responsibility. Their Buddhist religion places emphasis on remembering and honouring the spirits of those now dead. This concept provides a sense of connection that can help comfort an orphaned child.

In coping with trauma, the spiritual dimension probably determines the success of the process. From a psychological perspective, it gives the children a model of caring that enhances the coping process. It provides a positive model of revenge. It tells the children that the truest revenge lies in living well, taking care, and honouring the memory of those who have been lost (Garbarino et al., 1992: 30-36).

2.2.3 Israel and Palestine

The birth of Israel as a Jewish homeland in 1948 is inextricably linked to the history of the Palestinian people as "outsiders". Now, more than four decades later, as the political identity of Jewish Israelis (who number 3.5 million) has solidified, nearly four million people who identify themselves as Palestinians have no political homeland. This identity problem lies at the heart of the conflict that dominates the life of Israeli and Palestinian children.

While Palestinian children and youth have been part of communal conflict for four decades, since December 1987 they have lived with an intensification of that conflict - expressed in the movement known as "The Intifada" ("throwing off" in Arabic). Children and youth are active participants in this struggle, which pits them against the Israeli army and police.

In Cambodia the importance of a belief in human regeneration came to the forefront. Palestine reveals ideology as a double-edged sword: it strengthens day-to-day coping but in the long run may sabotage conflict resolution. Punamaki (in Garbarino et al., 1992) identifies ideology as an important psychological resource in her studies of Palestinian families. She finds that mothers who were committed nationalists articulated a clear ideological interpretation of the struggle that served a resource for their children. Ideology made the mothers strong, and their children could lean on that strength.

Palestinian children and youth are imbued with ideology. The drawings they made in response to requests for pictures of what their life is like almost invariably featured Palestinian flags. Some of the Jewish Israeli children living in West Bank settlements approached the task in a similar manner. For example, one Jewish child simply drew a map of "Greater Israel" and wrote on it "Israel is for the Israelis".
Dehumanising and extreme ideology flourishes in the absence of humanising relationships in which social categories are personalised. Forming humanising relationships requires sympathy, connection and dialogue. Some Israelis and Palestinians have the courage to be open to the complexity and ambiguity of their conflict. They struggle intellectually to find an approach that acknowledges the political rights and claims, as well as the human rights and dignity, of both groups. But the forces arrayed against those who appreciate the complexity are often intimidating.

An analysis of the dreams of 643 Israeli and Palestinian children between 11 and 13 years reveals that they often dream about the conflict between the two nations. In these dreams, they confront stereotypical images of "the other". Most of these dreams involve violent and aggressive confrontations "and often end in death" (see Garbarino et al., 1992).

Children have a strong need to "process" their experience. The Israeli and Palestinian children’s ability to process their experiences can be increased via the democratisation of family, school, and community. But as the Intifada grew through the late 1980s and into the 1990s, many observers saw a hardening, associated with the failure to achieve a political solution, an accumulation of trauma, and a concomitant rise of religious fundamentalism and fanaticism that promoted a simplistic and dehumanising ideology.

As years have passed without clear political progress, the ideology of the Intifada has suffered. More and more intra-group conflicts occur. In 1990, for example, Palestinians killed nearly as many fellow Palestinians (for "disloyalty" and "collaboration") as were killed by the Israelis.

Exposure to pervasive violence may leave children with tentative senses of basic trust which could be overcome by feelings of inferiority (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993: 56). Gilligan (in Garbarino et al., 1992) argues that shame, diminished self-esteem, and negative identity play a crucial role in generating violence. Racism and economic inequality are engines of violence. Without a compelling ideology to counter the psychological effects of inferior social position (the rage, shame, low self-esteem, and negative identity), only violence and destructiveness remain to give a sense of satisfaction.

Perhaps American inner-city war zones is an example of what happens when ideological struggle fails. Perhaps turning on itself is the next step for an oppressed community once the struggle against "the other" is lost (Garbarino, et al., 1992: 36-42).

2.2.4 American inner-city war zones

The 1980s witnessed an extraordinary increase in community violence in most major cities across the United States. In 1990, the homicide rate in Boston increased by 45% over the previous year; in Denver, by 29%; in Chicago, Dallas and New Orleans, by more than 20%; in Los Angeles, by 16%; in New York by
11%. In Washington D.C., the 1990 murder rate set an all-time record high (Escobar, in Richters & Martinez, 1993).

According to Richters and Martinez (1993) the murder rate itself represents only a crude index of the day-to-day community violence that characterises many neighbourhoods throughout American cities. Increasingly, children have been involved both as victims of, and eyewitnesses to, episodes of community violence.

Inner-city neighbourhoods in the United States have shown a steady increase in the number of parents and their young children living in poverty. Unemployment and welfare dependency have reached new heights; violent crime and serious drug abuse are rampant.

Furthermore, an exodus of the middle and working class from these inner-city neighbourhoods has taken place, leaving behind an underclass that has become increasingly isolated from mainstream patterns and norms of behaviour. In the past, the middle and working class provided mainstream role models for impoverished children, youth and parents.

All these conditions together conspire to transform poor neighbourhoods into urban war zones. The lack of legitimate opportunities, the rage, the violent models offered by the mass media, the marginal role of positive role models, the ready availability of lethal weapons, and the emergence of a powerful and lucrative drug economy exacerbate the problem of community violence.

What is more, the violence and stress in these communities exist inside as well as outside families. For example, in Washington D.C. (in a low-income neighbourhood) the prevalence of both minor and severe violence between adults within their homes was between five and six times the national average (Richters & Martinez, 1993). Rates of child abuse and neglect are as disproportionately high as the measure of crime and violence in these communities at large.

The rate at which children are exposed to violent crime in these neighbourhoods is alarming. In Washington D.C., 14 of the 19 children in an eighth-grade class indicated that they knew of somebody who had been killed. A survey by Chicago's Community Mental Health Council found that nearly 40% of 1,000 Chicago high school and elementary school pupils had witnessed a shooting, more than 33% had seen a stabbing, and 25% had seen a murder (Kotulak, in Garbarino et al., 1993).

In a sample of elementary school children in a violence-plagued area of Chicago, 26% had seen someone shot, and 29% had witnessed a stabbing (Bell & Jenkins, 1993). In New Orleans, Louisiana, over 70% of the children in one study had seen weapons being used, and nearly 40% had seen dead bodies (Osofsky, Wewers, Hann & Fick, 1993).
2.2.5 South Africa

Violence has become an alarming socio-political reality in South Africa's struggle for and against apartheid: thousands of people have lost their lives in political violence since the 1980s (Botha & Van Vuuren, 1992). One of South Africa's most serious problems is the large number of youths (according to Leavitt & Fox (1993:200, the term "youth" is commonly used in South Africa for children between 10 and 18 years old) in black townships who have been exposed to or involved in catastrophic levels of violence, both as victims and as perpetrators. Furthermore, half of all the deaths recorded during 1990-1991 occurred in the Natal region (Magwaza et al., 1993:795). Port Shepstone experienced the highest levels of violence and civil conflict during 1991. The number of deaths attributed to violence totalled 225. The youth were seen as the source of resistance and the cause of much violence. The violence took many forms, such as killing, burning, intimidation and scapegoating, especially of the youth (Magwaza et al., 1993:796).

The diaries of Soweto children, collected by Mtshali (1982) and analysed by Richter (1990), revealed a shocking level of violence in the everyday life of eight-year-old children. For average Soweto children, nearly every day of their lives is characterised by exposure to some episode of violence in their immediate surroundings (Straker, 1992).

Very little research in South Africa has focused primarily on young children's experiences of the violence which habitually occurs in many black townships. A noteworthy study, however, is that of Straker (1992) on the effects of violence on adolescents. Another noteworthy study was conducted by Dr. A.S. Magwaza of the Department of Psychology at the University of Durban-Westville (see Magwaza, Killian, Petersen & Pillay, 1993).

In the mid-1980s Gill Straker was part of a counselling team providing therapeutic services to a group of young blacks who had been driven out of their township by vigilantes. Their lives had been threatened, and many had participated in various forms of violence -stoning of vehicles, burning of houses, some even participating in "necklacing".

Straker and her colleagues did a follow-up study of the same group three years later. The study was based on in-depth interviews with a group of 60 Leandra activists ranging in age from 12 to 22 years. Each individual case-study represents a classic example of one of the categories of activists, namely leader, conformist or follower, and psychological casualty or anti-social person.

Individuals were considered to be leaders if they occupied a leadership position (approximately 10% of the group). Individuals in the anti-social category indulged in petty crime, harassment or intimidation of the community. Individuals who did not qualify for any of the other categories were classified as followers or conformists (40% of the group fell into this category).
The findings of this study indicate that the impact of violence on the youth is mediated by the response of the adult community both at the time of the "disaster" and immediately thereafter. Individuals in the Leandra group who managed to retain strong family ties both in peaceful times and times of disaster were the most resilient.

The leaders more often had access to continuous support for their activities than those who were followers. Youths whose parents did not support their activities, or even actively opposed them, were much more vulnerable to dropping out and to becoming criminalised.

The leaders' participation in the struggle seemed to be guided by an identity that had already been formed. Followers desired to be directed by an idealised authority figure. They found security and comfort in this - a refuge from the ambiguities of the outer world and the complexities of their inner worlds.

Like the leaders, the followers were highly stress resistant. They used their own cognitive abilities to render their worlds comprehensible, manageable and meaningful. However, some individuals in the follower category were deeply anxious and fearful. They dealt with this vulnerability by engaging in danger and risk in an attempt to overcome their basic fear.

Their risk-taking was, however, particularly marked when an audience was present. Initially this risk-taking might produce the affirmation and approval that the community and the individual sought. However, the risk takers were often driven to socially disruptive behaviour in order to meet their exhibitionistic needs. They also frequently broke down when the affirmation they required was not forthcoming. Straker found that there were many "pseudo-heroes" in the follower group, particularly among the boys.

Some followers dealt with their trauma by insulating themselves from their emotional responses. Their capacity to engage intimately with their environment became blunted. They might go through the motions, but they never really established themselves within an intimate network of interrelationships. They adopted a passive mode of being in the world and allowed their identities to be moulded by others. This lack of involvement prompted the followers to take on the colours of the current environment. As a result, they became as contained and healthy or as uncontained and unhealthy as their outer world.

By definition, psychological casualties are individuals who have been so overwhelmed by their circumstances that they can no longer function in everyday life within the parameters and constraints of their own communities. In Leandra, some youths protested against their lot by acting out and becoming anti-social. Others attempted to anaesthetise their psychic pain through substance abuse. Yet others were unable to block out their pain totally, resulting in psychosomatic symptomatology, anxiety and depression.

Some casualties became angry and accusatory, further alienating people and
establishing a pattern of isolation and withdrawal superimposed upon a desire for affiliation and affirmation. In seeking to fulfil this desire in loose groupings of other misfits, thus marginalised the role of positive role models.

The profiles of these young people, moulded as they are by a violent culture and values, hold up a mirror of society with violence being an almost daily occurrence, what are the consequences for children’s development?

The study of Magwaza, et.al. (1993)

Louise Maré

The study centred on the psychological effects of conflict and violence on pre-school children. A combination of participatory and empirical methods was used. Five creche teachers, trained as fieldworkers and operating in the rural areas of Natal, took a sample of 148 children (73 girls and 75 boys) between two and seven years of age in their creches. The teachers/fieldworkers assisted in the collection of data, informing researchers about the nature and extent of the conflict and violence. They were trained to identify children who had been most severely traumatised and were given basic counselling skills that could be used within the creche situation and in the community. Sixty-eight children were from an area with relatively fewer incidents and less intense political violence. The remaining 80 children were from an area that experienced many incidents of severe violence.

The Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Questionnaire for Children was used. Eight open-ended questions about the occurrence of post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms were asked. According to the researchers the questionnaire has the advantage of having an open-ended question component, increasing the validity in terms of possible suggestibility. The responses were then coded for the presence or absence of 12 diagnostic criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder. A maximum score of 12 was rendered. The score was then categorised into three levels, namely normal, mild and severe.

The validity of the questionnaire was established by means of the diagnostic criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder contained in DSM III-R. The children had to draw a picture of something that had happened to them - this was done individually and not in a group situation. Underlying trauma could be revealed in this way. Statistical investigation, using a lambola coefficient of the drawings obtained in this study, revealed that 13 of the possible 31 emotional indicators were found to be statistically significant in predicting a post-traumatic stress disorder total score.

To increase the validity of the emotional indicators, certain content scores were weighed on the basis of the drawings. Five categories were created for scoring the content of the drawings. The drawings were scored by a clinical psychologist with 16 years of experience in assessing children’s drawings. Where there was some doubt whether or not to score an emotional indication, the opinion of two other experienced clinical psychologists was brought in to reach a consensus.
Of the 148 children, 39 fell in the normal range, 90 in the mild range and 18 in the severe range of PTSD. The frequency of PTSD symptoms was evenly distributed between boys and girls.

Of the 148 children 84% drew action figures associated with violence, 50 of the drawings depicted violence in progress (guns firing, spears, soldiers or police), 22 depicted multiple human figures running away, 63 drew soldiers and policemen, while 34 drew the aftermaths of violence in terms of such things as burning houses, putting the injured into ambulances, finding corpses etc. In the more violent area, children with many emotional indicators on their drawings, were less likely to exhibit symptoms of PTSD, while children with relatively fewer emotional indicators on their drawings were more likely to suffer from moderate PTSD.

According to the researchers, the most significant finding of this study is that pre-school children exposed to violence are likely to suffer from PTSD, while a significant number of them suffer from severe forms of PTSD. Pre-school boys and girls are equally likely to suffer from PTSD. The more frequent the violence, and the greater the intensity thereof, the more likely it is that the child will be traumatised and suffer from PTSD. Another conclusion that might be reached is that children's drawings are not good indicators of PTSD. The more a child is able to express emotional trauma, the less likely he is to suffer from disorder (Magwaza et al., 1993: 797-803).

2.2.6 Developmental toll in war zones

Children who are exposed to chronic violence are significantly more likely than other children suffer from a wide range of social and emotional problems (Martinez & Richters, 1993:24). For some of these children, the consequences are devastating: developmental impairment, emotional trauma, fear, violence and hatred (Goleman & Rosenblatt, in Garbarino et al., 1993).

Experience with chronic violence does not inoculate children against a negative outcome: Instead, chronic violence tends to increase their susceptibility to developmental harm and post-traumatic stress. The longer the violence continues, the fewer sources of support children have to draw on. All this is compounded by poverty, family disruption and community disintegration.

For many children, violent experiences are powerful stressors that increase their vulnerability to developmental harm. These stressors tax their resources, endanger their well-being, pose new limitations and new threats in the current situation, and present new obstacles to learning.

(a) Factors determining responses to violence

How children respond to community violence depends on their own inner resources and on the social context established for them by their caregivers and the community. An ecological framework in which development is seen as the interaction of an active and adaptive organism with a set of social systems,
An ecological perspective on developmental outcomes looks at two kinds of interaction. The first is the interplay of the child as a biological organism with the immediate social environment of the family as a set of processes, events and relationships. The second is the interplay of social systems in the child’s social environment. The pervasive violence in our society affects all children, thus jeopardising their healthy development (NAEYC ..., 1993:80).

The child’s social context includes family, friends, neighbourhood, church and school, as well as less immediate forces such as laws, institutions and values. They all constitute the social geography and climate of the child’s physical environment. The child’s experiences can be viewed as subsystems within systems within larger systems. Thus one must look both inward to the day-to-day interaction of the child in the family and outward to the forces that shape the child’s social contexts (see also Chapter Three, section 3.5).

Significant contributors towards violence are poverty, racism, unemployment, abuse, increase in guns in civil society, incompetent or abusive parents, violent adult behaviour and frequent exposure to media violence through the media (NAEYC... 1993:80). Favourable environments help protect children from environmental risks. In their communities/environment children need to feel safe in order to explore and develop relationships with other people (NAEYC..., 1993:81). Longitudinal and epidemiological research has documented that economic stress, lack of social integration, an impaired or immature parent and a difficult infant interact, placing the child in jeopardy. Community violence must be added to this interaction (Garbarino et al., 1993).

Age and developmental level

Age and developmental level are important factors in children’s responses to community violence. This statement is confirmed by Dawes, Tredoux and Feinstein (p.31). The younger the child the greater the threat to healthy development (NAEYC..., 1993:81). Individuals who experienced trauma before the age of eleven were three times more likely than those who experienced their first trauma as teens to develop psychiatric symptoms. Preschool children tend to respond to violence with passive reactions and regressive symptoms, such as enuresis, decreased verbalisations and clinging behaviour.

According to a 1986/1987 study in the Crossroads squatter area it is even important to take into account developmental levels when comparing the incidence of stress symptoms in boys and girls. The greater the involvement of adolescent boys in active political activity/socialisation, the greater the stress symptoms (Dawes & Tredoux 1989:39). Boys appear more vulnerable in early childhood and girls in adolescence (Dawes, 1989:18). Middle childhood is a particularly vulnerable age for both sexes despite their identification with political heroes. It is important not to compare boys and girls but to divide them according to developmental levels. (Dawes, Tredoux. & Feinstein 1989: 27, 31).
School-age children display more aggression as well as more inhibition, and they develop somatic complaints, cognitive distortions and learning difficulties as a result of experiences with violence. Adolescent responses to violence are characterised by a premature entrance into adulthood or a premature closure in identity formation. Adolescents may also engage in acting-out and self-destructive behaviour, such as substance abuse, delinquency, promiscuity, life-threatening re-enactments and other aggressive acts (Garbarino et al., 1993).

According to a study by Pulkkinen and Ramirez (1989) adolescents who cannot control their behaviour are permanently aggressive and anxious. They differ from adolescents whose self-control is strong. Parents also play an important role in the rearing of their children. It was found that adolescents who could not control their behaviour had parents who were less consistent in child-rearing than the parents of adolescents who could control their behaviour control. A stable family environment is also very important for adolescents’ behaviour control. Those who could not control their behaviour were more exposed to an unstable lifestyle, e.g. divorce, shift work, moving home etc. (p.81).

**Multiple risks**

Permanent developmental damage is more likely to occur when multiple risks are present in a child’s environment. The risk of developmental harm from exposure to violence increases when that exposure is compounded by other biological, cultural, psychological and social risks. Developmental harm tends to occur when a child is subjected to cumulative stress throughout the course of development.

Pynoos et al. (in Martinez & Richters, 1993:24) report on elementary schoolchildren’s distress symptoms following a fatal sniper attack on their school playground. They found significant relationships between proximity to the violence and type and number of distress symptoms. These researchers report that children who had experienced other traumatic events during the previous year had renewed thoughts and images of those events and many of their stress symptoms were related to both events.

The risks of living in the midst of violence are compounded by the risks of living in poverty - risks that include family disruption, family violence and maladaptive child-rearing patterns. Children who are already vulnerable from experiencing familial violence and are then exposed to community violence, are at increased risk of developing behavioural and personality problems (Osofsky et al., 1993).

**Parent-child relationship**

The characteristics of children’s families and family relationships seem to be major mediators of both their short- and long-term adaptation in the wake of violence (Martinez & Richters, 1993:24). It is important that children should feel safe and feel secure with their families in their homes to develop a positive sense of life and to grow into healthy, productive and caring adults (NAEYC ..., 1993:81).
A family’s nurturing and protective capacities may be incapacitated by a violent environment in which issues of safety and survival take precedence. The ability to nurture, protect and reassure a child may be stretched in a parent who is also at physical risk and therefore emotionally drained (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993:56).

One risk of living in stressful environments is that mothers (or caretakers) will be too overwhelmed to form a secure attachment with their children. A relationship characterised by a continuous threat of separation and lack of warmth and support jeopardises the child’s normal development. Children with multiple psychological symptoms are more likely to have mothers suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (Dawes, 1990:19).

Research on the mother-child relationship during war illuminates the mother-child relationship during community violence. According to this research, the level of emotional distress displayed by the child’s parents, not the war situation itself, was the most important predictor of the child’s response to the war. Parental buffering can be very powerful. Even the presence of one supportive parent can reduce the impact of stress (Dawes, 1989:14).

Most children are able to cope with dangerous environments and maintain reservoirs of resilience as long as their parents are not pushed beyond their stress absorption capacity. Pre-school children’s sleep disorders and nightmares declined, for example, once their detainee parents were released (Dawes, 1989:19). When parents are pushed beyond their stress absorption capacity, their reservoirs of resilience become depleted, day-to-day care breaks down, rates of exploitation and victimisation increase, and the development of young children deteriorates rapidly (Garbarino et al., 1993).

(b) Children’s responses to chronic violence

Children experiencing acute traumatic events lose interest in the external world, resulting in constricted affect, fewer interests and feelings of estrangement. Another symptom complex that has been observed in children is avoidance of traumatic reminders of the event and/or memory impairment, which can lead to phobic behaviour or constriction in cognition and daily activities (Osofsky et al., 1993:37-44).

Osofsky and her associates found a significant relationship between exposure to chronic community violence and stress reaction in a sample of elementary school children living in a high-violence community. The children reportedly became sad, angry, aggressive, tough and seemingly uncaring after exposure to continuous violence. The children also displayed affective disturbances, sleep disturbances, nightmares, difficulties in peer relationships and erratic behaviour.

According to these researchers, the following outcomes can be expected to occur more often in children living in situations of chronic community violence:

1. Difficulty in concentrating, because of both lack of sleep and intrusive imagery;
2. Memory impairment, because of avoidance or intrusive thoughts;
3. Anxious attachment with their mothers, witnessed in fear of leaving their or mothers or of sleeping alone;
4. Play may become more aggressive, imitating behaviours they have seen and indicating a desperate effort to protect themselves;
5. Tough actions to deal with their fear;
6. Uncaring behaviour resulting from hurt and loss; and
7. Severe constriction in activities, exploration and thinking, for fear of re-experiencing the traumatic event.

According to Liddell and Kemp (in Levitt & Fox, 1993:209) the effects of political violence on children in South Africa are very similar to those in other countries. Half of those exposed to violence appear to cope well with their experience, showing that it is not the event which is critically important, but the child's interpretation of the event.

**Psychological disorders**

Research studies suggest that the more children are exposed to violent events, the more psychological disorders they manifest. Punamaki (in Garbarino et al., 1992) found extreme anxiety, phobic reactions, aggressiveness, withdrawal and enuresis in Palestinian children exposed to violence as a result of the Israeli military occupation.

Repeated traumas may lead to anger, despair and severe psychic numbing, which in turn result in major personality changes. Some effects may become immediately evident, while others may not appear until years later. For example, children exposed to the stress of extreme violence under the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia did not reveal mental health disturbances until years after their horrendous experiences were over (Kinzie and others, in Garbarino et al., 1992).

Children living in constant danger may display regressive behaviour as well as fear and anxiety, ranging from excessive clinging to continuous crying. Another reaction to long-term violence may be denial and numbing. Research findings suggest that children begin to deny reality when "disasters" continually occur. When extreme situations become unpredictable, these "battle-weary" children attempt to insulate themselves from external stimuli by ignoring reality (Garbarino et al., 1992; Fitzpatrick, 1993:531).

**Grief and loss reactions**

Young children living in high-crime and high-violence areas must deal with death more frequently and at younger ages than other children. They frequently do not understand their fantasies and nightmares about the dead person. They are reluctant to talk with others about their experience and, thus, often receive little support (Osofsky et al., 1993:38).

Noteworthy psychological consequences of exposure to pervasive urban violence
are the following:
1. proximity to the occurrence of violence relates to its potential harmfulness;
2. familiarity with a victim of violence represents one avenue through which violence can have indirect effects; and
3. repeated exposure to traumatic events serves to increase one’s vulnerability to psychological and developmental sequelae rather than to inoculate one against further harm (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993:58).

Studies of children whose parents have died report that these children experience emotional reactions of hopelessness and despair, along with suicidal thoughts. For example, Cambodian children who witnessed the violent death of a parent experienced recurrent night terrors and somatic complaints (Kinzie and others, in Garbarino et al., 1992).

Refugee children separated from their parents during war exhibited severely disturbed behaviour, with long-term effects of anxiety and hostility dominating their development. They showed developmental retardation, destructiveness and an inability to play. Children separated from their mothers before the age of three were retarded by age five in the cognitive and social domains (Langmeir & Matejcek, in Garbarino et al., 1992).

When the death of a primary caretaker occurs, the child may not be able to resolve his or her grief. Reminiscing about the person may be avoided, because it triggers anxiety regarding the event. Grieving may also be complicated or impeded by the child’s rage and desire to punish the perpetrator (Pynoos & Eth, in Garbarino et al., 1992).

**Impaired intellectual development and school problems**

... many children from "dangerous" neighbourhoods had more difficulty concentrating and maintaining appropriate classroom behaviour than their peers from other neighbourhoods... (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993:59).

Children exposed to chronic community violence often develop problems related to school performance and intellectual development. For poor children who already risk academic failure for cultural reasons, community violence is often scholastically the last straw.

Because children who experience violence in their environment believe that aggression is an expected style of life among people, their first impulse in any interpersonal relationship is either to respond with hostility or else to withdraw into a fantasy world to avoid the expression of hostility. These defences may be labelled a learning disability.

The majority of children in violent environments experience serious difficulties in concentration and performance in school. These difficulties occur because thoughts related to violent experiences distract the children and prevent them from concentrating on school work. Other consequences are forgetfulness in order to
control spontaneous reminders of the event, and fatigue from sleepless nights.

Indirectly, political violence in South Africa leads to the closing of schools for long periods which disrupts children's education (Leavitt & Fox, 1993:210).

**Truncated moral development**

Truncated moral development is a risk of living with chronic violence. Boys are particularly vulnerable. Early moral motives are a consequence of internalisations of a variety of "rules" that are imported within the context of caregiving. The child's internalisation of don'ts occurs through repeated interactions with caregivers. To internalise don'ts without the parent's assistance requires further development (Emde, 1993:120-122). Therefore children need to engage in issue-focused discussions and social interactions. Parents and teachers can guide children to use their reasoning capacities to formulate ideas about values and principles.

Moral teachers must lead children toward higher-order thinking by presenting positions that are one stage above the child's characteristic mode of responding to social events as moral issues. The child recognizes the difference, values the person demonstrating it, and seeks to emulate. When all this happens in the context of a nurturant affective system, the result is ever-advancing moral development - the development of a principled ethic of caring. However, when both family and community block moral development, truncated moral development is the result (Garbarino et al., 1992).

**Pathological adaptation to violence**

For some children, repeated exposure to violence can produce what appears to be a functional adaptation but is actually a pathological adaptation. Although the adaptation is successful in the short run, it may prove detrimental in the long run. This can even happen when initially adaptive responses become entrenched, resistant to change and overgeneralised to situations in which they are maladaptive (Martinez & Richters, 1993).

Some children develop a sense of "futurelessness", or a profound fatalism. Consequently, some individuals attempt to gain a sense of control over their lives through repeated encounters with life-threatening situations. After all, it makes little sense to be careful for oneself or others if the threat of physical harm or death is omnipresent (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993:57).

In order to teach their children to cope with community violence, parents may engage in child-rearing strategies that impede their children's normal development. Such parents may demand unquestioning obedience while discouraging curiosity. For example, a mother who forbids her child to play outside because she fears shooting incidents, may be protecting her child from immediate danger, but is denying the child a chance to engage in social and athletic play.
Similarly, parents of children in high-crime environments may impose extremely restrictive and punitive styles of discipline to protect their children from negative forces, such as gangs. Unfortunately, this approach is likely to heighten aggression on the child’s part and endorses an acceptance of violence as the modus operandi for social control. The ironic result is greater susceptibility to the negative forces in the community.

Parents may cope with danger by adopting a world view that is dysfunctional in "normal" situations. Some adaptations, such as emotional withdrawal, may be a solution in the short run but become a danger to the next generation when their children become parents and adopt similar maladaptive parenting procedures. This phenomenon has been observed in the families of Jewish holocaust survivors (Danieli, in Garbarino et al., 1992).

Identification with the aggressor

One way to feel safer is to align yourself with those who frighten you. Therefore, children, in adapting to violence, may identify with the aggressor. They model themselves and their behaviour on those powerful, aggressive individuals and groups in their environment who caused the danger. Joining a gang is one type of identification with the aggressor.

Exposure to violence also increases the likelihood of the child’s engaging in future violence and other anti-social acts. In violent communities, a gun is a status symbol, and using it is positively reinforced. Observing violence may lead to violent behaviour in the child if he/she identifies with the perpetrator and the outcome of the violence. For example, a six-year-old boy’s brother was shot to death. When asked what he would like if he could have anything in the whole world, he responded, "A gun ... so I could blow the person’s head off who killed my brother" (Marin, in Garbarino et al., 1992).

Socialisation patterns and social constructionism which affect children’s responses to violence

According to Dawes, violence is not always seen as a negative response. Socialisation patterns and cultural traditions encourage or discourage aggression. In some societies cruelty or violence is a ritual obligation or part of daily living and in such a society children are not disturbed by it. Thus certain forms of violence are accepted, but violence cannot be seen as a value structure in modern societies, unless it is authorised by the police or the military (Dawes 1990:23).

Political violence is often positively interpreted by an oppressed community. It transforms people from victims to fighters, building community resilience and binding members to a political course. Political violence becomes normalised and as a result fewer children are psychologically affected. This phenomenon is called social constructionism (Dawes 1990:26-27).
2.3 Conclusion

Community violence puts the young child in jeopardy. Living in war zones can suppress development itself and affects the child’s emerging social maps. The experience of chronic violence may stretch the child’s schema to breaking point and beyond. It squanders the gifts of children on mere coping, gifts that in times of peace could have been elicited creativity.

Chronic violence contaminates the community within which it occurs. This may result in behaviour patterns in the child (and family) ranging from vigilance, desensitisation and interpersonal withdrawal, suspicion and resignation, increased risk-taking, and retaliatory or even anticipatory violence. As such, the seeds for a self-perpetuating environment of toxic violence lie within contemporary urban communities.
CHAPTER THREE

TELEVISION VIOLENCE IN CONTEXT

Martin P. Botha and Ansie Dubery

3.1 Introduction to the debate on television violence

Martin Botha

Does television violence cause aggression? For nearly 30 years, social scientists have devoted a remarkable amount of time and effort to this question. There were (Bandura, 1973; Berkowitz: 1973; Botha, 1983, 1987, 1990; Conradie, Heyneke & Botha, 1987; Day & Ghandour, 1984; Ellis & Sekyra, 1972; Eron, 1980; Eron & Huesmann, 1987; Himmelweit, Oppenheim & Vince, 1958; Howitt & Cumberbatch, 1975; Jordaan, 1987; Kaplan & Singer, 1976; Klapper, 1976; Knivetong, 1976; Krebs, 1981; Liebert, Neale & Davidson, 1973; Maccoby, 1964; Malamuth & Briere, 1986; Malamuth & Donnerstein, 1982; McIntyre & Teevan, 1972; McLeod, Atkin & Chaffee, 1972a, 1972b; Murray, 1973, 1976, 1977; Robinson & Bachman, 1972; Singer, 1971; Stein & Friederich, 1975; Tregonin, 1986). Some of the results of these studies were included in a three-volume literature survey (Comstock, 1975; Comstock & Fisher, 1975; Comstock & Lindsey, 1975). There is also a bibliography (Gordon & Verna, 1978), a literature review (Comstock, 1978), literature surveys (Botha, 1990; Comstock & Paik, 1987; Murray & Kippax, 1979; Roberts & Bachen, 1981; Rubinstein, 1983), a collection of previous documents (Liebert & Schwartzberg, 1977) and the report of the American Surgeon General’s Scientific Advisory Committee on television and social behaviour (1972) as well as the South African Broadcasting Research report on research conducted in this country (Van Vuuren, 1987). Sophisticated research methods, including field experiments and longitudinal designs, have emerged (Cook, Kendzierski & Thomas, 1983; Dee, 1987; Duhs & Gunton, 1988; Field, 1987; Freedman, 1984, 1986; Friedrich-Cofer & Huston, 1986; Gunter, 1988; Methvin, 1983; Sheehan, 1987; Stipp & Milavsky, 1988; Watkins, 1985; Zuckerman & Zuckerman, 1985). However, despite all these efforts to resolve the controversy over the effect of television violence, the controversy continues.

According to Eysenck and Nias (1978:11) and Rubinstein (1983:824) there was virtually an absence of theory with regard to the designs, experiments and interpretations of data in the investigations into the influence of media violence on the viewer’s behaviour before the 1980s. Furthermore, there is evidence that personality plays an important role in predicting viewer reactions towards violence in television programmes (Botha, 1983, 1990; Choi, 1984; Gunter, 1983; Weber, 1986). The lack of a developmental theory in pre-1980 studies, which might have enabled researchers to predict television’s effects on children (negative as well as positive), was also a great problem (Watkins, 1985). This lack means that the findings in pre-1980 studies cannot be analysed and interpreted in the light of how
children use television within their own experiential world. From the late 1970s to
the 1980s, researchers such as Huesmann (1988) used developmental theories in
their studies (see sections 3.3 and 3.4).

Problems also arise from the limitations of research designs to detect causal
relations in complex real-world phenomena. Correlations between violence viewing
and aggression are mostly positive but very low - generally in the range of 0.10 to
0.30. Blanchard, Graczyk and Blanchard (1986:45) reasoned that "... subsequent
aggressiveness of the order of 0.20 to 0.25, and often less, is of limited usefulness
in the prediction of individual variation in aggression". Few available methods
provide definite demonstrations of causal direction in real-world contexts. But even
if one accepts a causal explanation, is it really socially important when it accounts
for 1% to 9% of the variance?

Field (1987) stated that experimental and field studies suggest a powerful and
direct link between media content and violence effects. Theses studies have drawn
upon and influenced the development of a classical model of direct media influence
which sees the mass media as capable of directing patterns of behaviour in society
- the so-called "hypothermic" model. Although generally considered a rather crude
and largely ill-founded analysis, the model is implicit in experimental and field
studies. It is no accident therefore, according to Field (1987), that such strong
effects are mostly clearly seen in laboratory conditions which both decontextualise
the message and systematically and deliberately remove social constraints against
aggression.

Botha (1983), Cook et al. (1983), Field (1987), Freedman (1986), Hart (1986a,
1986b), Phillips (1982) and Stipp and Milavsky (1988), in particular, criticised
laboratory experiments with regard to their methodology. Freedman (1986) and
Stipp and Milavsky (1988) considered the type of stimuli used in these experiments
as atypical of the violent programmes usually available on television. The artificial
setting of the experiments together with the possible reinforcement of children's
aggression by the researchers were also criticised. Moreover, playfully punching a
Bobo doll or pressing a "shock" button are not considered as aggression in the
usual sense of the word. "Generalizing from the experimental literature, most of
which used analogues of aggression, to the effect on actual aggression outside the
laboratory is to some extent a leap of faith" (Freedman, 1986:373). Friedrich-Cofer
and Huston (1986), however, defended the methodology of laboratory research in
a written debate with Freedman (1986).

Field (1987:55) summarised the laboratory experiments as follows:

Its inherent strength, isolating media influence from other intervening
variables, and the necessity to deliver "hard" quantifiable results are at the
same time its inherent weakness. In exchanging the "real" world of
television or film viewer for a laboratory environment, other influences which
may effect how a viewer responds to violent stimuli are systematically
ignored. The laboratory can at best establish the possibility of a link between
media and violence, but no probability.
As an alternative to laboratory experiments, field researchers examined the effects of media violence outside the laboratories. They obtained evidence consistent with some of these laboratory-based findings. These studies indicated that aggressive individuals are likely to watch more television violence than non-aggressive individuals (Eron, Huesmann, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1972; Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1984; Singer, Singer & Rapczynski, 1984). However, the direction of causality in many of these field studies is unclear. It may be, as most laboratory research suggests, that violence viewing stimulates aggression. But, on the other hand, viewers with an aggressive predisposition might prefer to watch violent programmes; thus, the aggressive predisposition could cause the increased exposure to media violence (Fenigstein, 1979). Alternatively, certain characteristics of a child's environment might make both aggressive behaviour and television viewing more likely, producing a rather spurious correlation. In the light of these alternative interpretations, substantial controversy remains about the behavioural effects of media violence on individuals in setting outside the laboratory (Freedman, 1984, 1986; Kaplan & Singer, 1976). De Koning, Conradie and Nel (1980) explained these discrepancies as follows:

Problems inherent in measuring the effects of television and difficulties in establishing generalizable causal relationships between viewing aggressive television programmes and aggressiveness are the main reason why no firm conclusions could be drawn from the hundreds of studies conducted on this issue.

Research by Farrington (1978) and Olweus (1978, 1984) as well as investigations about factors other than television violence that caused aggression in 18 countries pointed to the multiple causes of aggressive behaviour. The countries involved were: Finland (Pulkkinen, 1983), Italy (Ferracuti & Bruno, 1983), Ireland (McWhirter, 1983), France (Dulong, 1983), Hungary (Ranschburg, 1983), Turkey (Fisek, 1983), Israel (Landau & Beit-Hallahmi, 1983), China (Bond & Sung-Hsing, 1983), Japan (Goldstein & Ibaraki, 1983), India (Bharati, 1983), Hawaii (Blanchard & Blanchard, 1983), New Zealand (Ritchie & Ritchie, 1983), Brazil (Biaggio, 1983), Peru (Arucama, 1983), Nigeria (Bloom & Amatu, 1983) and the United States (Goldstein, 1983). Variables such as child-rearing practices and socialisation factors were accentuated in some studies. Arucama (1983), Cornell (1987) and Kemp (1988) stressed the fact that aggression can be expressed in different ways and in individual and collective forms. In any event, aggression must be seen in the context of the social system in which it occurs. Numerous antecedent and consequent factors respectively cause and maintain aggressiveness. Although television violence was identified as one factor that increased the likelihood of aggressive behaviour, this violence does not have a simple, unidirectional causal effect on aggressive behaviour (Turner, Hesse & Peterson-Lewis, 1986).

Turner et al., (1986), moreover, reasoned that the research methods designed to investigate the short-term effects of television violence (as in the case of many laboratory and field studies) were not sufficient to investigate its long-term effects. Alternative methods for studying the effects of television violence were indeed used in carefully designed and executed longitudinal non-experimental research (Bachrach, 1986; Belson, 1978; Botha, 1990; Conradie, 1987; Fraczek, 1986;
Huesmann & Eron, 1986a, 1986b; Lagerspetz & Viemerö, 1986; Milavsky, Kessler, Stipp & Rubens, 1982; Sheehan, 1986). Various factors were identified that contributed to the acquisition and maintenance of aggressive behaviour and attitudes.

One of the most effective procedures for identifying long-term causal relationships between numerous variables is longitudinal research (Rogosa, 1979). According to Stipp and Milavsky (1988), carefully designed longitudinal methodology enables researchers to examine the phenomenon that various factors cause and maintain aggression. Serious anti-social aggression clearly seems to be an over-determined behaviour, that is, a number of interrelated factors must converge for it to emerge (Eron, 1982). In other words, no factor by itself predicts aggressiveness very well in humans and in different cultures. To understand the development of aggression, one must examine simultaneously a multiplicity of interrelated social, familial and personality factors, each of which would only be a small increment to the totality of causation.

### 3.2 South African investigations

In South Africa, attention has been given to the possible influence of television for some time now (especially by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)), although 95% of the studies have been among white children because of their greater access to television. Two longitudinal investigations into the effect of television violence on white television-naive pupils were done by Conradie et al. (1987) and Botha (1990) over a period of five years. These studies are fairly comprehensively discussed in this report. The investigation by Conradie et al. (1987) was done by the HSRC on the request of the SABC and included the long-term effect of exposure to television on aggression among children. The countrywide test sample consisted of approximately 2,200 Standard 6 pupils who were followed up until their final school year, in other words until Standard 10.

The Conradie et al. (1987) investigation covered a period that extended from two years before the commencement of television transmission on 5 January 1976 to three years thereafter. Each year the pupils filled in a number of questionnaires and did psychological tests. Further information on the pupils was obtained from their class teachers. Television transmission thus began when the pupils passed from Standard 7 to Standard 8.

Regression analyses were used and, based on the regression coefficients which were statistically significant, the increase in aggression that occurred concomitantly with any increase in television viewing over a period could be calculated. Personality traits as measured by the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ), and the pupils' interpersonal relationships as measured by the Personal, Home, Social and Formal Relationships Questionnaire (PHSF) were included in this investigation. Eight types of aggression were measured by means of the Situation Questionnaire, Attitude Scale and a behaviour evaluation scale that was used by each pupil's class teacher (discussed by Madge, 1983). The types of aggression were aggression inhibition, the pupil's approval of his or her own aggressive
behaviour and that of authoritative figures, covert aggression, self-directed aggression, physical aggression, verbal aggression and evaluated aggression, as measured on the behaviour evaluation scale by the teacher (see the description of these measures in the discussion of Botha's, 1990 investigation).

The results indicated that television viewing indeed made the pupils more aggressive in various ways. The biggest effect, although small, was found with regard to physical and verbal aggression. It would also appear that the effect of television viewing was a long-term rather than a short-term process. Verbal aggression was the exception because it was also strengthened by short-term television viewing.

With regard to personality traits and interpersonal relationships, it was found that the pupils with a poor self-image were more influenced by television viewing than pupils with a relatively strong self-image. Television viewing influenced pupils with a high measure of personal freedom to be more verbally aggressive, while the aggression inhibition of respondents with a low measure of personal freedom diminished as a result of television viewing. Sociability towards the opposite gender played a definite role with regard to the influence of television viewing and indeed to such an extent that the pupils with a high measure of this type of sociability did not become more aggressive according to any of the aggression scales as a result of their television viewing. On five of the scales, pupils with insufficient sociability showed more aggression as a result of television viewing. It would appear that rigidity rather than leniency was coupled with relatively high tendencies towards stronger aggression. Furthermore, the percentage increase in aggression was bigger for pupils with a low moral sense than for pupils with a high moral sense.

With regard to gender, television viewing increased physical and verbal aggression more among boys than among girls. The girls' approval of aggression by authoritative figures did however diminish. No definite pattern could be discerned with regard to the role of intelligence in the influence of television viewing on aggression, but the expectation that pupils with a high initial aggression score would be influenced more than those with a low initial score was confirmed by pupils who initially had a high score for physical and verbal aggression. The propensity for influence was greater after more intensive verbal and physical aggression.

No confirmation could be found for the catharsis theory. Conradie et al. (1987) stressed the fact that the effect of television viewing was relatively small, which supports the results of other investigations, namely that television viewing is only one of the many influences on aggression amongst adolescents. Although the respondents could have been exposed to other forms of media violence during 1974 and 1975 (before the commencement of television transmission in 1976) (see Botha, 1983 for a discussion of the phenomenon of film violence in South Africa), the importance of Conradie et al.'s investigation lies in the fact that television-naive pupils were involved and that various personality and interpersonal relationship variables were included in the research design. These aspects were mostly absent in the overseas effect studies.
The panel groups in the second longitudinal study, that is, Botha’s (1990) study, consisted of 856 boys and 914 girls. They took part in the investigation from 1977 (when they were in Standard 6 or Grade 8) to 1981 (when they were in Standard 10 or Grade 12). Cases with missing values for any of the variables over the five years were omitted from the statistical analysis, leaving a total of 1,770 respondents from an original sample of 2,476 respondents (see Botha, 1990).

The initial sample of 2,476 respondents was drawn on a national basis from the population of white school-going pupils in provincial schools from the then four provinces in the Republic of South Africa in 1974. The required figures regarding the school-going population were obtained in 1973 from the four different educational departments on the request of the Institute for Communication Research of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). By means of these figures, this sample (which was one of eight random samples totalling 21,500 respondents during 1974) was drawn and stratified according to gender, language of education, urban or non-urban setting of the schools and province in which the schools were situated. Schools were then randomly assigned to the sample.

Although the schools had a choice about participating in the project, no school principal refused to take part. Respondents were then randomly selected from each school. The respondents also had a choice in participating, but no one refused. Only 1% or less were not available in 1974 for the investigation due to illness or other factors. During the following period, until 1981, some respondents moved to other schools or could not complete all the questionnaires due to illness, thus leaving complete datasets for 1,770 respondents. These respondents did not differ from the respondents in the samples that were not part of the study.

Of the 856 boys 57.24% lived in urban areas and 42.76% lived in non-urban areas during 1977. The distribution of the boys in the then four provinces of South Africa was as follows: 41.94% in the Transvaal, 8.18% in the Orange Free State, 10.63% in Natal, and 39.25% in the Cape Province. In 1977, 59.08% of the 914 girls lived in urban areas and 40.92% in non-urban areas; 41.67% of the girls lived in the Transvaal, 9.96% in the Orange Free State, 8.64% in Natal and 38.73% in the Cape Province.

The majority of the boys (N = 545, 63.7%) and the girls (N = 596, 65.2%) were Afrikaans speaking, closely reflecting the home language distribution of the two official languages in the Republic of South Africa during 1977. The sample can therefore be considered as relatively representative of the South African white population of high school pupils in 1977 with regard to stratification variables such as the children’s gender, urban and non-urban area of residence, as well as their province of residence.

With regard to age, 4.6% (N = 39) of the boys were 12 years old in 1977, 72.6% (N = 621) were 13 years old, 21.8% (N = 186) were 14 years old and 1.1% (N = 9) were 15 years old. One boy did not mention his age. Of the girls, 5.3% (N = 48) were 12 years old, 74% (N = 676) were 13 years old, 20.3% (N = 185) were 14 years old and 0.4% (N = 4) were 15 years old. One girl did not mention her age.
The investigation was part of a larger HSRC project to determine the effect of television on school children. This was a long-term project undertaken in conjunction with the four provincial education departments and the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The general approach of the larger project was to collect reliable information for subsequent comparisons and to study the relation between numerous variables before and after the introduction of television.

These variables were investigated by means of questionnaires and standardised tests. A biographical questionnaire was compiled to obtain as much biographical and background data on every pupil as possible. Additional information on scholastic achievements, IQ and aggressive behaviour patterns was obtained from teachers.

Questionnaires and standardised tests were used throughout the project. Personal interviews could possibly have produced better results with regard to certain information, but for reasons mentioned by Van Vuuren (1979:26-27) this procedure was not followed. One of the main reasons was the impracticability of personal interviews: with such a large sample of children (N ± 103 685) it would have been impossible to use this method. Second, the probability that the people conducting the interviews would not be objective would have increased because of the large number of interviewers necessary in a study of this kind. A third reason was the rumour bias: pupils would have had to be taken one by one from the same class or school for interviews, so that pupils who were interviewed later may have been prejudiced by discussions with pupils who had already been interviewed. Fourth, a suitable room in which interviews could be conducted free of disturbances would have been difficult to find in most schools. Such interviews would have continued for weeks at a time at a particular school, and this would not have met with the approval of the education authorities. Finally there was the possibility of parental prejudice, as was experienced in the cross-national study of Huesmann and Eron (1986a, 1986b) and their colleagues. If interviews had been conducted at home, it would have been difficult to obtain objective answers from the children, because there would have been an element of intrinsic subjectivity, especially in the presence of the parents. Details of the practical and organisational side of the investigation can be found in Van Vuuren’s (1979) report, which provides information on the pilot study, the arrangements with the educational departments and the Committee of Heads of Education; the publicising of the project in order to obtain the cooperation of parents and teachers; the methods of testing and training the testers; the manual for the test programme, the preparation and dispatching of the test material; the test procedures; the conditions under which the tests were administered; the return of the test material; and the checking, encoding, punching and editing of the data.

The following measuring instruments were used:

The Situation Questionnaire for evaluation of aggressiveness. Madge (1983) discussed the Situation Questionnaire for the evaluation of aggressiveness as a personality trait. It is based on rational facets, that is the personality variable is conceptionally analysed to determine the various forms and situations (contexts)
in which certain behavioural tendencies occur. The model that has been used for the construction of the Situation Questionnaire consists of two facets, namely behaviour and situation. With regard to the behavioural facet the following elements were taken into account:

1. **Physical aggression**, such as direct physical assaults (fighting, hitting, pushing, kicking), the throwing of objects with the aim of inflicting bodily harm, manipulative bodily contact such as pushing and strangling, the destruction of objects and, finally non-directed aggressiveness such as throwing objects on the ground etc.; and

2. **Verbal aggression**, consisting of any form of verbal assault in a face-to-face situation (threats, swearing, disparagement, over-critical remarks about other people), undirected aggressiveness (temper outbursts), impolite behaviour and, finally, resistance to obeying authority (from passive resistance to overt resistance against regulations).

These two elements constitute generally overt aggressiveness. In addition, there are

3. **Covert aggression** or covert hostility which includes jealousy and hate towards other people (it may refer to a feeling of anger towards the world because of real or imagined bad treatment) and the projection of aggressive feelings towards other people in the form of suspicion or even paranoia;

4. **Self-directed aggression**, including emotional harm in the form of hatred directed towards the self, feelings that life is unjust and even physical harm inflicted upon the self; and

5. **Aggression inhibition** or aggression guilt, which refers to feelings of guilt on account of thoughts of revenge or hate, anxiety about the consequences of the individual's own behaviour and resistance to reacting to assaults from other human beings.

The situational facet consists of various situations that may cause the emergence of aggressive behaviour. For practical purposes, four such situations were considered:

1. **Blocking**: to thwart another's plans; to prevent someone from doing something; to fail; to be unable to do something;

2. **Threats**: threats with regard to physical and bodily harm; to steal; to gossip;

3. **Opposition**: to challenge; to take part in a competitive situation; and

4. **Harm to self-esteem**: false accusations; suspicious treatment; to belittle someone; fail to believe a person.
To obtain an index of a respondent's characteristic response style, he or she is asked *a number of times* to indicate whether or not a specific type of behaviour is typical of him or her by answering yes or no. For example:

**Question 10:** When my parents indicate that they do not believe me

a. I am inclined to kick the dog or the wall.

b. It makes me feel grumpy towards my brothers, or sisters, or friends.

c. I am inclined to withdraw into my shell.

d. I think to myself that one day they will be sorry they did not believe me:

e. I feel disgusted with the horrible thoughts that come into my mind.

The *situation* depicted in the above question is harm inflicted upon self-esteem. There are 20 items, each consisting of a different situation. The respondent has to indicate how he or she would react to the situation by choosing one of five possible behavioural responses: physical aggression, verbal aggression towards his or her brothers or sisters, withdrawal, self-pity or anxiety about his aggressive feelings. For *each* possibility a yes or no must be indicated. All the yes answers count one mark and the no answers no marks. The total score on the questionnaire would be between 0 and 100 (20 situations x 5 types of behaviour).

Madge (1983) discussed the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, concluding that the construct coefficients vary from 0.34 to 0.70. The Situation Questionnaire was indeed validated against the High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ) of Raymond Cattell and the Personal, Home, Social and Formal Relations Questionnaire (PHSF) among a group of adolescents. By comparing the differences between a group of subjects with a high level of aggressiveness and a group with a low level of aggressiveness with regard to HSPQ and PHSF traits, such as self-confidence, self-esteem and self-control, support was obtained for the construct validity of the Situation Questionnaire. The reliability coefficients (K-R 8) vary from 0.733 to 0.889.

The Aggression Attitude Scale. The Aggression Attitude Scale is an adaption of the scale of Feshbach and Singer (1971) for South African high school pupils. Some items were reformulated, and 16 items were added to the scale. A factor analysis was made of the intercorrelations of the items, and two types of attitudes, each measured by 11 items, were identified. The first one is called personality motivated aggressive attitudes or approval of one's own aggressiveness. The second one is called socially motivated aggressive attitudes or approval of the aggressiveness of authoritative figures. Examples of items of the *first* attitude scale are the following:

1. Do you think it is right to criticise someone to his face if he deserves it?

2. Do you think a heated argument can help to solve problems?
Examples of items of the second attitude scale are the following:

1. Do you think circumstances could arise under which you would approve the use of violence to arrest an offender?

2. Do you think war is sometimes justified?

The administration and scoring of the Aggression Attitude Scale are reported in Botha and Mels (1990), and 12 examples of the questionnaire items are given.

Madge (1983) reported reliability coefficients in the range of 0.561 - 0.759. The internal consistency of the second attitude scale, however, was not as high as the first one. This can be attributed to the fact that the 11 items consisted of various types of authoritative figures. Apart from the factor analysis data of the Aggression Attitude Scale, other validity data are not yet available.

The High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ). The HSPQ was developed in the USA by Raymond B. Cattell and Mary D.C. Cattell and aims at giving the maximum information in the shortest time about the greatest number of dimensions of personality. It was adapted for use in the Republic of South Africa by the then Institute for Psychometric Research of the HSRC and was standardised for the age group 13 to 18 years.

It measures 14 factorial independent personality dimensions or primary factors. Each factor is represented as a bipolar continuum of which the two extreme poles are described. For the purpose of the second television violence investigation and within the framework of three literature surveys (Botha, 1987; 1989; 1990) the following five factors were used: C (Affected by feelings versus Emotionally stable); D (Phlegmatic versus Excitable); O (Self-assured versus Apprehensive); Q3 (Uncontrolled versus Controlled); and Q4 (Relaxed versus Tense). The test-retest reliability coefficients of the HSPQ are satisfactory throughout, although they refer to retesting after one week. Thus no criticism can be levelled against the stability of the test.

With regard to the homogeneity of the test, correlations vary between 0.36 and 0.71. The correlations were calculated between the two forms of the test, factor by factor, and corrected for the full length (both forms) of the test. The validity coefficients, based on equivalence coefficients, vary from 0.63 to 0.84, which points to a reasonable degree of general validity of the test.

The Personal, Home, Social and Formal Relations Questionnaire (PHSF). The aim of the PHSF Relations Questionnaire is to measure the personal, home, social and formal relations of high school pupils, students and adults according to 11 components in order to determine their degree of adjustment.

Fouché and Grobbelaar (1971) defined adjustment as the dynamic process by which a person strives by means of adult, effective and healthy responses to satisfy his inner needs while successfully coping with the demands of the
environment, so that a harmonious relation can be established between the self and the environment. The individual’s degree of adjustment in each of the various components of adjustment is determined by how often his or her responses are mature or immature, that is, effective or ineffective in relation to the self or the environment. The PHSF measures 11 components of adjustment that are classified under four primary fields of adjustment. Each of the components consists of 15 items, totalling 180 items (including a desirability scale), that must be answered on a separate answer sheet.

The following components of the PHSF were used in the investigation by Botha (1990) within the framework of the literature survey:

1. Personal relations (P)

These refer to the intra-personal relations which are of primary importance in adjustment.

(a) Self-control
The extent to which the individual succeeds in controlling his emotions and needs according to his moral framework.

2. Home relations (H)

These refer to the relations experienced by the person as a dependant within the family and home environment.

(a) Family influences
The degree to which a person as a dependant in a home is influenced by factors such as his position in the family, family togetherness, relationships between the parents, and socio-economic conditions.

(b) Personal freedom
The degree to which a person feels that he is not restricted by his parents.

3. Formal relations (F)

These refer to the relations occurring in formal situations in the school, college, university or occupation.

(a) Formal relations
The degree to which a person at school, college, university or in his occupation is successful in his formal relations with fellow-pupils/fellow-students/colleagues, as well as with figures of authority and superiors in the learning/work situation.

The reliability of the various components of the test ranges from 0.69 to 0.89. According to the manual of the PHSF it appears that the test shows a high degree of concept validity. Significant differences were found between the mean scores
obtained at two schools for behaviourally deviant children and that of the norm group (Fouché & Grobbelaar, 1971).

Television Questionnaire. This questionnaire was specially compiled for the HSRC project "The effect of television on school children" in order to collect as much information as possible on the television-viewing habits of every pupil. This information includes the number of hours of television viewing, the days on which television is watched and the type of programme looked at. The following questions were used for the purpose of this investigation.

Question 7: How many hours per day do you usually watch television (Mondays to Thursdays during school terms)?

Question 8: How many hours per day do you usually watch television during weekends (Fridays to Sundays during school terms)?

The television-viewing score consisted of the amount of viewing hours per day during weekdays plus the amount of viewing hours per day during weekends.

Statistical analysis in the Botha study (1990) consisted of structural equation modelling. There is little question that structural equation models represent the cutting edge of methodology for dealing with longitudinal research designs that can be represented as a system of linear influences among variables across time (Bentler, 1980, 1984). These models are particularly important when they deal with latent constructs such as aggressiveness, as well as with the measurement operations that relate the constructs to measured variables; they are able to disentangle theoretically meaningful influences of constructs on each other from the relatively uninteresting effects of random errors of measurement. As a consequence, theories can be tested with non-experimental data, using a relatively well-developed and statistical methodology (Baldwin, 1986; Bagozzi, 1980; Bentler, 1980; Chen & Land, 1986; Duncan, 1975; Kenny, 1979; Pedhazur, 1982).

The statistical methods for analysing structural equation models involve the estimation of all the free parameters as well as obtaining measures of model fit. Mels (1988) developed the computer programme RAMONA for analysing structural equation models. In several previous applications a regression weight(s) was fixed to ensure the identification of the model. With RAMONA, all these regression weights can be treated as free parameters if the corresponding exogenous variables are constrained to have unit variances. The problem of negative variance estimates is avoided in RAMONA by imposing inequality constraints on variance parameters to ensure that the corresponding estimates are non-negative. The major feature that makes RAMONA superior to all other statistical software in analysing structural equation models is the fact that it provides correct results when the sample correlation matrix is analysed. Consequently, apart from error variances, all variables in the system, manifest and latent, can be constrained to have the same variance.

Baldwin (1986) stated that in social science research the number of possible functional relationships between all potential variables in causal models is, for
practical purposes, infinite. Thus deterministic notion of accurately specifying all components of a causal relationship is unreasonable. The models to be examined were designed to address the testing of the hypothesis, namely that numerous factors influence the development of aggression.

The sample correlation matrices of the various measures for boys and girls across the three time points (1977, 1979, 1981) were factor-analysed by using the method of principal components to extract initial factors. An orthogonal varimax rotation was performed on each of these initial factor matrices. Based on these results as well as the literature surveys, a latent construct (global aggressiveness) consisting of four manifest scales, namely physical, verbal and covert aggression, and approval of one's own aggressiveness, was set up. Because of differences between boys and girls as reported in the literature on aggression (Segall, 1983), longitudinal causal models were fitted to a sample of boys and girls separately.

A second latent variable was constructed, consisting of the three PHSF scales, namely family influences, personal freedom and formal relations. The third latent variable consisted of five manifest variables: tenseness (+Q4), Emotionally unstable (-C), Self-control (PHSF), Excitability (+D) and Uncontrolled (-Q3). The third latent variable was named "Fear or emotional adjustment". The second latent variable was called "Family and social adjustment".

To investigate the influence of "family adjustment" as well as television viewing on aggression over five years, the model in Figure 1 was constructed by means of a path diagram.

The double-headed arrows in Figure 1 indicate covariance relations, and the dependence relations are indicated by single-headed arrows. Inspection of the figure shows that the manifest variables of each year, namely physical, verbal and covert aggression, and approval of one's own aggression, have single-headed arrows extending from the latent variable AGGRESSION and the measurement errors E1-E4, respectively, in 1977; E5-E8, respectively, in 1979; and E9-E12, respectively, in 1981. The manifest variables, namely family influences, personal freedom and formal relations also have single-headed arrows, extending from the latent variable HOUSE and have measurement errors E13-E15, respectively, in 1977; E16-E18, respectively, in 1979; and E19-E22, respectively, in 1981. The measurement errors of the latent variables at the three time points are indicated by Z1-Z6. The effects of "family adjustment" as well as television viewing on aggressiveness are indicated by single-headed arrows between these variables. Error variances were treated as free parameters, whereas all the other variances were fixed.

To investigate the effects of "emotional adjustment" and "television viewing" on aggression, a similar model was constructed. This is presented by the path diagram in Figure 2. The latent variable FEAR consists of five manifest variables, resulting in 27 error variances (that are indicated by E1-E27). (The programme specifications, sample correlation matrices, etc. are available on request from the HSRC).
FIGURE 2: THE EFFECTS OF FEAR AND TV EXPOSURE ON AGGRESSIVENESS
FIGURE 3: THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL FACTORS, AND TV EXPOSURE ON AGGRESSIVENESS (BOYS)

Measures of model fit: Sample discrepancy function value = 1.775, Estimation of population discrepancy function value = 1.514, 90% confidence interval for discrepancy function = (0.374, 1.663), Cross validation Index = 1.955, Modified AIC for saturated model = 0.702, CHI square = 1517.56, DF = 223, Exceedance probability: 0.0

* p < 0.01
** p < 0.05
FIGURE 4/ THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL FACTORS, AND TV EXPOSURE ON AGGRESSIVENESS (GIRLS)

Measures of model fit: Sample discrepancy function value = 1.550. Estimation of population discrepancy function value 1.950. 90% confidence interval for discrepancy function = (1.563, 1.857). Cross validation index = 2.118, Modified AIC for saturated model = 0.656. CFI square = 1/83.89, DF = 223, Exceedance probability 0.0
FIGURE 5: THE EFFECTS OF FEAR AND TV EXPOSURE ON AGGRESSIVENESS (BOYS)

Measures of model fit: Sample discrepancy function value = 2.177, Estimation of population discrepancy function value = 1.746, 90% confidence interval for discrepancy function = (1.393, 1.908), Cross-validation Index = 2.402, Modified AIC for saturated model = 1.088, CFI square = 1861.57, DF = 369, Exceedance probability: 0.0

**p < 0.01**
***p < 0.05***
FIGURE 6: THE EFFECTS OF FEAR AND TV EXPOSURE ON AGGRESSIVENESS (GIRLS)

Measures of model fit. Sample discrepancy function value = 2.827. Estimation of population discrepancy function value = 2.224. 95% confidence interval for discrepancy function (0.088, 2.397). Cross-validation Index = 2.837, Modified AIC for saturated model = 1.016, CFI square = 2403.71, DF = 365, Exceedance probability 0.0

*p < 0.01
**p < 0.05
The statistical methods for analysing structural equation models were used to establish the effects of family and emotional adjustment as well as television viewing on the aggressiveness of adolescents over time for a sample of boys and girls separately. To allow for the comparison of the results for boys with those for girls, the same longitudinal model was used. Consequently the development of different structural equation models (with acceptable measures of fit) was not considered in these applications.

The longitudinal models shown in figures 1 and 2 were fitted to sample correlation matrices (that are available from the HSRC) by using RAMONA. The results of these analyses are listed in figures 3, 4, 5 and 6. In figures 3 and 4 the results of the effects of family adjustment and television viewing on respectively boys and girls are presented. In figures 5 and 6 the results regarding the effects of emotional adjustment and television viewing on respectively boys and girls are given. Inspection of these results shows that both family adjustment and emotional adjustment had a greater effect on aggressiveness than the few statistically significant effects of television viewing. Furthermore, it is clear that all the regression weights corresponding to the measurement of the latent variables in the path diagrams are significant. If, however, the measures of fit are inspected, it is clear that none of the models provide a reasonable approximation to the data. These models can therefore not be considered to be a possible representation of the data.

The importance of several personality and social factors in this causal process can not be ignored. Variables such as emotional instability and family influences during the high school years seem to cause overt and covert aggressiveness in adolescents.

The rather unsatisfying measures of fit of the models may be attributed to several factors:

1. They could be attributed to the absence of significant effects of certain variables in each model.

2. The sample size of both genders may have caused a rejection of the models due to the most trivial discrepancies between the model and the data.

3. Another possibility is the fact that aggressiveness as a latent variable, consisting of both overt and covert forms of aggression, was included in the investigation. Previous effect studies overseas focused on overt aggressiveness.

4. In previous studies, measurement errors due to measures of manifest variables combined with error variance accounted for by variables that were not included in those regression models, were not taken into account. These measurement errors could have influenced the dependence relationships between different parameters.
Botha (1990) concluded that personality and social variables such as poor family adjustment and emotional instability may influence aggressiveness at certain stages of the development of the adolescent male and female, but the fact that none of the overall models was a statistically significant representation of the data, stresses the fact that the processes of causation are still unclear. Developmental theory was remarkably absent in most effect studies about television violence and subsequent aggression before 1980 and few researchers included personality traits in their research designs. The Botha study demonstrated the importance of those personality traits and interpersonal relationships.

Due to the inadequate representativeness of the overall models of the hypothesised causal processes, it cannot be concluded that the causal process as described in the models mirrors reality with regard to high school pupils. One can, however, stress the importance of factors such as emotional instability and family adjustment, and to a lesser extent television viewing, in such a causal process, but the interaction of these variables is still not clear within the South African context.

3.3 The cross-cultural investigations of Huesmann, Eron and colleagues

Eron's (1982) results from the Huesmann study (see Huesmann & Eron, 1986a) covered three years in the USA, Finland, Poland and Australia. A causative but circular relation between exposure to television violence and aggression among children was found, in other words television violence had a negative influence on children and aggressive children watched violent programmes to a greater extent. Factors that influenced the level of overt aggression in a child were popularity, intellectual ability, aggressive fantasies and the degree of physical punishment and rejection from the parents. The young viewer's identification with aggressive film characters and the degree to which the child believed that television was an accurate reflection of reality also played a role.

The correlations between television violence and aggression were however small (0.30), although statistically significant. Children who fared worse at school tended to watch more television, to identify more with aggressive television characters and to believe to a greater extent that aggressive television content was a reality. Intelligence as reflected in reading ability explained in part the variance in the relation between television violence and aggressive behaviour. Eron (1982:202) further contended that "... parental punishment of aggression, the models of behaviour parents provide, and the instigations to aggression implied in their rejecting and non-nurturant childrearing practices all contribute to aggressive behaviour in children". Popularity correlated negatively with aggression for both boys and girls, which indicated that the children who were more aggressive were unpopular. Preference for male activities was a predictor of aggression for both boys and girls, while preference for neutral activities was associated with less aggression. The issue of rejection was also important: the more the parents were dissatisfied with their children's achievements, manners and behaviour, the more aggressive the children appeared to be in school. This applied for the USA, Poland and Finland, and more so for boys than for girls.
Other results regarding the Huesmann and Eron study (see Huesmann & Eron, 1986a) were reported by Huesmann, Lagerspetz and Eron (1984). Approximately 758 children in the USA and 220 children in Finland were followed up over a period of three years. The researchers found that there was mutual interaction between exposure to television violence and aggression. Although the researchers ignored differences of degree between the depiction of violence in the television programmes that the respondents watched, and although the regression coefficients were insignificant as predictors of, for instance, previous television exposure, the following findings were posed:

Children who tended to be more aggressive:

1. watched violent programmes most of the time when they were shown;
2. believed that these programmes were a true reflection of life;
3. identified strongly with aggressive characters in these programmes;
4. often had aggressive fantasies; and
5. if they were female, preferred the activities of boys.

Furthermore, the possibility existed that these children could have had more aggressive mothers as well as parents with a lower educational level and social status, and that the children performed poorly at school and were unpopular in their age group. The aggression level of the children appeared to be one of the strongest predictors of later aggression. Criticism can be levelled at the investigation with regard to the scale with which exposure to television programmes was measured, since the scale items were vaguely defined (1 - "Once in a while", 2 - "A lot but not always", 3 - "Every time it’s on") and children could have attached different meanings to terms such as "many" and "not always". Moreover, the researchers did not take cognisance of the degree of violence in the portrayals, which is an important variable (Botha, 1983). The parent test sample showed bias in that parents who were absent from home, or did not want to co-operate, or were less interested in their children, could not be interviewed. These parents were significantly more aggressive than parents who granted interviews (Huesmann et al., 1984:762). Finally, the researchers did not specify which type of aggression (verbal, physical, self-directed, etc.) was influenced by television violence.

In 1986, Huesmann and his colleagues summarised the findings of the three-year cross-cultural investigation into the effect of television violence on aggression among boys and girls in five countries: Australia (Sheehan, 1986), Finland (Lagerspetz & Viemerö, 1986), Israel (with an urban and kibbutz test sample) (Bachrach, 1986), Poland (Fraczek, 1986) and the USA (Huesmann & Eron, 1986a). These researchers investigated the generalisability of the results that were obtained in the USA from longitudinal investigations into the effect of television violence. The role of television however differed in these countries in terms of the amount of violence depicted and the attitudes of viewers with regard to violence. Many of the violent programmes in Finland and Poland were produced in other countries such as the USA and the United Kingdom. Finnish and Polish characters and cities did not feature in these films. Finnish and Polish children may therefore have perceived the television characters differently from American children in the
USA. Lagerspetz and Viemerö (1986:85) explained it as follows: "Because drama series depicting violence are almost exclusively imported and never dubbed, the people shown in them speak a language that children (and many adults) do not understand. Furthermore, the imported programs also show remote places, types of clothing, ways of behaving, and human races that Finnish children never of very seldom see in real life."

The research methods of the cross-cultural investigation were similar to the procedures that were followed by Eron et al., (1972) and Milavsky et al. (1982). The cross-cultural investigation did however place greater emphasis than the previous research on psychological factors that could concur with television violence to influence aggression.

Huesmann and Eron (1986a) investigated six variables of television viewing: the violence of preferred programmes, total television violence exposure, identification with all television characters or models (in other words the perceived correspondence with these characters' lives and behaviour), identification with aggressive television characters, and the perceived realism of these programmes. These television variables were compared with the aggression readings of the boys and girls in each of the five countries. The relation between these variables and the aggression readings differed from country to country and, as a result of the varying test sample sizes, differed significantly between the countries. Direct comparisons of the countries were difficult because of the varying statistical power of the significance tests. The test samples were: USA (N = 758), Australia (N = 289), Finland (N = 220), Israel (N = 189) and Poland (N = 237).

Despite the small size of some of the test samples the researchers found indications that the television variables were associated with the aggression readings of children in all five countries. In comparison with the less aggressive children, the more aggressive boys were more inclined to identify with television characters in all the countries with the exception of Australia. Huesmann and Eron (1986a:62) explained the identification phenomenon as follows: "... particularly for older boys, identification with aggressive characters seems to act like a catalyst, increasing the effect of television violence. Identification with aggressive TV characters by itself is a good predictor of aggression, but not as significant a predictor as its product with television violence viewing".

With regard to the absence of significant television effects on the aggression of both genders in the Australian test sample, Sheehan (1986) explained that further regression analyses indicated that parental characteristics and behaviour were better predictors of aggression amongst Australian children than the characteristics of the children themselves. The more aggressive children had parents who punished and rejected them to a greater extent, and the very children who watched more television (boys) and television violence (girls) indulged more in fantasies about aggression and were more likely to come from low social strata.

More aggressive boys were more significantly inclined than less aggressive boys to identify with television characters in the test samples of the USA, Finland,
Poland and, to a degree, in urban Israel. Girls in the USA and Poland who were more aggressive were more likely to identify with television characters than less aggressive girls. The Australian and the Israeli kibbutz test samples elicited a weak relation between the television and aggression variables for girls as well as boys. With regard to the Israeli kibbutz test sample the absence of television effects can be explained in terms of a society in which behavioural norms and values are clear, where liability with regard to society is emphasised, where interpersonal aggression is explicitly criticised and where situations where children watch television or films on their own are rare. According to Bachrach (1986) the aggressive behaviour of children in such a society can only be influenced to a small degree by the media violence that they perceive.

These findings are supported by an investigation of Goldstein and Ibaraki (1983:313) in Japan:

One might also speculate that the common practice of social drinking among Japanese men, as well as the uncensored violence depicted by the Japanese mass media (such as in battles of the warrior serials and movies, and the graphic depictions of sexually-oriented violence toward women in so-called "sports newspapers" would be related to a high number of aggressive incidents. It is unlikely that historical factors, drinking practices, and violence in the media are unrelated to aggression, but controls inherent in Japanese society are so powerful that they greatly diminish the level of overt aggressive behaviour.

Huesmann and Eron (1986a) and the researchers of the other four countries conducted multiple regression analyses on the data in each country in order to establish the effect of early television viewing on aggressive behaviour. With the aid of the regression analyses the effect of early aggression on exposure to television violence was also calculated. Firstly, it was found that early television viewing predicted increases in aggression. By using the respondents' first-year level of aggression to predict their aggression during the third year of the investigation, it was further established that these readings reflected the stability of individual differences over the three years.

Thereafter a reading was calculated by subtracting the predicted level of the third-year reading from the perceived third-year reading of aggression. The resultant reading therefore reflected the change from the first to the third year. The researcher then predicted the score by means of the average of the first two years' television exposure. This final analysis provided the researchers with evidence to establish whether the early television viewing predicted changes in later aggressive behaviour. The cumulative effect of television viewing was thus elicited in the same way as in the South African investigation of Conradie et al. (1987).

Huesmann and Eron (1986a) and their colleagues demonstrated that one of the three readings of early television viewing predicted later changes in aggression among boys in the USA, Finland, urban Israel and Poland. The results for the Australian and the Israeli kibbutz test samples were not significant. Early television
viewing predicted changes in aggression among girls in the USA and urban Israel. The predicted effect of television exposure on aggression among girls was not statistically significant for the other nationalities.

The researchers then predicted television viewing in the third year by means of aggression in the first two years by controlling for the first year’s television exposure. In this way they tried to establish whether aggressive children became increasingly involved with violent television viewing. The findings indicated that early aggression predicted increases in exposure to television violence for boys as well as girls in the USA. The results for girls in urban Israel, and for boys and girls in Finland provided further evidence that aggressive children in these countries increasingly tended to be attracted to television violence. The results for the Israeli kibbutz and the Finnish test samples were not statistically significant.

Finally, the researchers presented contingent evidence to contextualise the effects of exposure to television violence. They added a few psychological and demographic variables to the aggression comparisons in order to predict changes in aggression.

Parental aggression was associated with a child’s viewing of violence on television and aggression. Aggressive parents reported that they were more inclined to reject their children and to apply heavy punishment, especially with regard to boys. According to the researchers the boys’ aggressive behaviour led to parental punishment and rejection, rather than vice versa. The researchers did however fail to provide a reasonable argument in respect of what caused the boys’ aggression in the first place. These rejected children were inclined to become socially more isolated and to escape into a fantasy world of television - a world that included various violent programmes. The children could depend upon the fantasy violence to justify their own aggressive behaviour, according to Huesmann (1986b).

The primary deficiency in the cross-cultural investigation was the absence of readings of the various personality traits and interpersonal relationships of the respondents, as well as the relatively small test samples which could not be representative of the population of the particular countries. Some test samples could also have been slightly biased in that many of the parents in the Polish investigation were apparently hesitant to answer questions about punishment measures with regard to their children as well as questions about their marriage (Fraczek, 1986). Fraczek further warned that the effects were not big and had therefore to be approached with caution (p. 152). The particular researcher moreover reasoned that various environmental and educational influences in interaction with already established individual psychological traits and biological abilities could control the development of aggressive behaviour as well the psychic mechanisms thereof. "A theoretical model for such research should include various levels of relations between children and their social and ecological environment so that parental as well as television influences would be recognized both as a product of a given socio-cultural system and as carriers of the socialisation process" (Fraczek, 1986:56). This argument is discussed in detail at the end of this chapter in section 3.5, following the discussion of the comprehensive theory of information...
processing, used by Huesmann (1988) to explain the effect of television violence on young children.

3.4 Huesmann's theory of information processing

Ansie Dubery

3.4.1 Introduction to Huesmann's theory

Prof. Rowell Huesmann in his search to find a definition for the learning of aggressive behaviour among individuals, developed and formulated the information processing theory/model. For the purposes of this study attention is only given to the developmental aspect of his theory, one of many theories which attempt to explain the phenomenon of aggressive behaviour in individuals (see for example Berkowitz, 1990, 1993; Kemp, 1988).

According to Huesmann his theory attempted to account for the development of habitual aggressive behaviour during early childhood. During his investigations (see section 3.3) he found that no factor by itself could explain how individuals come to resort to aggressive behaviour.

Huesmann underlined the fact that numerous predisposing and precipitating factors co-occur with environmental conditions to induce to aggressive behaviour. To the list of causative factors he added neurological, hormonal or other physiological abnormalities of genetic, perinatal or traumatic origin. He ascribed the learning and acting out of aggression to the presence of environmental, familial and cognitive characteristics. Learning and acting out probably account for most of the variation in aggression among individuals and situations.

He found that an abundance of opportunities for observing aggression, the condonation of a child's own aggression and aggression imposed upon a child are most conclusive to the learning of aggression.

Huesmann (1988, 1986) and Huesmann and Eron 1986a, 1986b) based their learning models mainly on cognitive psychology. According to them the learning process takes place both as a result of one's own behaviour and by observing the behaviour of other people. The following hypothesis was put forward by them: the developing child goes through a learning process which is enactive and observational. The child's reaction and the type of behaviour he/she chooses, depend upon his/her cognitive capacities and information-processing procedures.

All information, interpretations and deductions regarding this theory are based on a paper presented by Prof. R.L. Huesmann at the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association in Chicago, 1987.
3.4.2 The theory of information processing

Attention will subsequently be given to the various components of this theory which according to Huesmann, work in conjunction to induce a child to learn that he/she can solve problematic conflict situations by means of aggressive behaviour. Periodically throughout the explanation of this theory the rationale will be given for using this specific theory as a departure point for the investigation of the major contributors to the development of an aggressive lifestyle among children.

(a) The control of social behaviour

Huesmann is of the opinion that the learning of social behaviour is greatly determined by so-called "programs of behaviour" that have been learned during a person's early development. Huesmann describes these "programs" as cognitive scripts that are stored in a person's memory and are used as guidelines for behaviour and social problem solving.

While learning these scripts the child becomes increasingly efficient in anticipating certain situations; checking the records of scripts already learned; singling out a specific script; and then choosing the behaviour relevant to solving the situation. The results of this behaviour will come to form part of his/her script.

The black children who participated in the current study came from backgrounds where familial, social and home circumstances cannot be considered as ideal. Their parents leave home very early in the morning to go to work and only return very late at night. The young children are therefore cared for by substitute parents, such as grandparents, elder siblings or other family members. Some children are even left to see to themselves (compare Chapter Two). This, together with their early daily exposure to dire poverty, alcohol and drug abuse, unemployment, crime, violence and small and overcrowded houses (to name but a few), cause them to mould their behaviour on what is available - aggressive role models which have emanated from an "abnormal" community. For these children violence thus becomes an accepted means to an end - a method for solving problems.

(b) How scripts are retrieved from memory

According to Huesmann the social norms assimilated by the child determine his/her evaluation and choice of a script to deal with a specific situation. Huesmann underlined the fact that not all scripts remembered by the child will be employed. Factors that play a role in their retrieval are: the child's cognitive capacity, differing histories of condonation and differing perceptions of social norms. Hence the phenomenon that children with similar capacities evaluate and employ different scripts for the same situation.
(c) Encoding and rehearsal of scripts

As in the case of any behaviour which requires regular execution the retention of a script in a child’s memory requires continual rehearsals. According to Huesmann theses rehearsals are essential. They could take the form of either recalling the original scene, fantasising about it or play acting. Huesmann found that the more elaborate ruminative type of rehearsal characteristic of children’s fantasies was likely to generate greater cohesion in the script, thus facilitating its recall from memory.

(d) Evaluating scripts for social behaviour

Huesmann points out that there are three related components which determine whether an evaluated potential script is internalised by a child as a mode of behaviour:

1. The child’s prediction of the consequences of utilising such a script;
2. The child’s judgement of himself/herself regarding his/her ability to execute the script; and
3. The extent to which the script is perceived to be congruent with the child’s self-regulating internal standards of absorption.

When the child is exposed to aggression for protracted periods, whether as a victim of someone else or as a perpetrator of aggressive behaviour, and simultaneously experience that his/her parents condone this aggressive behaviour, the aggressive social script is constantly strengthened.

(e) Enactive learning

Against the background of the previous component is suggested that a child’s initial aggressive behaviour will change into habitual aggressive behaviour when he/she

1. receives positive feedback from his environment (when for example he gets away with bullying smaller children); and
2. parents approve of such behaviour (they become role models because they themselves practise aggression).

Huesmann points out that one of the puzzling aspects of habitual aggressive behaviour is why it persists in the face of so many apparently negative consequences, and why people apparently continue to nurture aggression as a style of behaviour.

(f) Cumulative and immediate effects of observed violence

In the current study it is hypothesised that the television set has become a role model that helps to instill in the township child an aggressive behaviour pattern. Because television as a medium is relatively new to these children, its impact on them is so much greater. The characters who are portrayed in the fictional images
are characters with whom township children can identify. Consequently, the violence they see breeds violence in themselves.

The surroundings in which this television violence takes place resemble the township child's daily "umwelt" with its weapons, knives, petrol bomb attacks, murder, verbal abuse and intimidation. The social scripts which television presents by means of fiction are congruent with the child's "umwelt". They are therefore easily accepted and assimilated by the child. The corrective influence of news and documentary programmes is however non-existent for these children because they do not watch these programmes.

(g) Intervening variables between aggression and the observation of violence

Empirical data from longitudinal studies (Huesmann & Eron, 1986a, 1986b) demonstrate that more aggressive children are less popular, less intellectually able, watch more media violence, identify more with violent characters, and believe that the violence they observe reflects real life. All these conditions promote the learning of new aggressive scripts and the reinforcement of old ones. Since these children's intellectual capacities are more limited, the easy aggressive solutions they observe may be incorporated more readily than prosocial scripts into their memory. Their own differing standards may isolate them from their peers. The violence they observe may reassure them that their own behaviour is appropriate or may teach them new coercive techniques, which they then attempt to use in their interactions with others. The cycle continues with aggression, academic failure, social failure, violence viewing and fantasising about aggression mutually reinforcing one another.

Huesmann underlines the fact that parents can play an important role when it comes to the child's enactive and observational learning processes regarding aggressive behaviour. Parents can intervene by giving guidance and by strengthening prosocial behaviour, showing children that force is not a realistic solution to social problems and teaching them prosocial scripts in contrast to "aggressive scripts".

3.4.3 Conclusion

Although Huesmann's information-processing theory makes a valuable contribution to the explanation of the learning of aggressive behaviour by children, his theory has shortcomings.

According to Berkowitz (1993) the greatest defect in Huesmann's theory is the fact that he neglected the role of the emotional development and of individual differences in children and that he concentrated exclusively on the cognitive processes in the learning of aggressive behaviour. In section 3.5 this theory is therefore contextualised within a broader theoretical framework.
3.5 The question of theory in mass effects studies

Martin P. Botha

In most studies dealing with the influence of television violence on viewers' aggressive behaviour, a general integrative theoretical framework is lacking (Groebel, 1986). Theoretical models do not explain television violence effects in complex personal and situational contexts. The numerous experimental studies on television and aggressiveness usually merely add one situational or personal moderating variable to another without determining the interactive qualities of the whole network of contributing variables. A comprehensive theory is therefore required to explain long-term effects of television violence more fully. The following is a discussion of the processes and variables that, in our view, such a comprehensive theory would have to take into account.

On the basis of the available theoretical and empirical data we, and also researchers such as Eron (1982), Huesmann (1988) and Jordaan and Du Toit (1985), conclude that a complex circular causal pattern may be assumed within which aggressiveness develops and is maintained. We accept that all children, to a lesser and greater extent, have some genetic predisposition to aggression, but that the social manifestation of aggression is largely the product of social learning. Symbolic models provided by television are amongst a set of contextual variables which in mutual interaction and in interaction with the young viewer concerned, contribute to an environment conducive to the acquisition and maintenance of aggressive attitudes and patterns of behaviour. Within the framework of Jordaan and Jordaan's (1987) view of man as an hierarchically organised open system the causal process can be described as transactions (or interactions) within and between various subsystems such as the biological, intrapsychic (personality) and interpersonal systems.

A cold, harsh environmental climate may be an early influence on the child's aggressive behaviour. Where social stressors and community violence are endemic, and the parents have a high inborn potential for aggressiveness and are characterised by aggressive conflict management, a family milieu is created for the acquisition and maintenance of aggressive behaviour patterns (Farrington, 1987; Olweus, 1984; Segall, 1983). Children in such a milieu may be the subjects of paternal aggression (Madge, 1983). Observing aggressive deeds directed towards one's own person or against others, may serve to reinforce the pattern of aggressive behaviour. According to Olweus (1980) and Cantrell and Prinz (1985) an environment characterised by humiliation of the children, and ill-treatment and excessive criticism observed and experienced by the children already meets the criteria for acquiring an aggressive model for handling their own conflicts.

If the intellectual capacities of the family members are also limited, it means that the children will be even less capable of learning prosocial behaviour (Bhan, 1984; Jordaan & Du Toit, 1985). Fewer opportunities for reinforcing prosocial behaviour will arise. According to the theory of social learning the children's repertoire of possible conflict-handling skills is limited to aggressive behaviours only. Family
interactions may now be avoided by watching television. If the depiction of television violence is also perceived as realistic, another favourable situation for learning aggression is created (Belson, 1978; Berkowitz & Alioto, 1973). Furthermore, children who have poorer academic skills watch television more regularly, watch more television violence and believe that the violent programmes they watch are true to life (Huesmann & Eron, 1986a, 1986b). It seems that aggressiveness in an eight-year-old child interferes with intellectual development as much or more than intellectual failure stimulates aggression (Huesmann, Eron & Yarmel, 1987). Aggressiveness may also interfere with the child’s social interactions with teachers and peers, which are also needed to develop the child’s academic potential.

According to the information-processing theory (Huesmann, 1988) which provides a complex developmental theory regarding the impact of television exposure on the cognitive and moral development of young viewers, children who are frequent viewers of television (and thus also of television violence), regularly observe characters that behave aggressively to solve interpersonal problems. To the extent that children identify with aggressive characters, they may encode in memory the aggressive solutions they observe. Social behaviour is greatly controlled by cognitive scripts, schemes, and strategies that the child observes, stores in memory and uses as a guideline for behaviour (Huesmann, 1988). The child who is constantly exposed to violence (in the home situation, etc.) is more likely to develop and maintain cognitive scripts that emphasise aggressive solutions to social problems. The violent scenes may also stimulate aggressive fantasies in which the encoded aggressive scripts are rehearsed, increasing the likelihood that they will be recalled and used. If the aggressive behaviours occur in appropriate situations, they may be reinforced with desirable outcomes, increasing the possibilities of their recurrence.

In such situations children may not do well at school (Dembo, 1973), leading to the undermining of prosocial behaviour in the school situation. Usually, aggressive children have a low self-image and are unpopular (Starr & Pearmen, 1980). They can therefore experience the school situation as unpleasant. Indeed, research by Dembo (1973) and Slabbert (1985) indicates a strong orientation among aggressive children towards gangs, which may create yet another favourable situation for the acquisition and reinforcement of antisocial behaviour. Avoiding homework may lead to increased exposure to television. In turn, academic achievement and positive social interactions diminish, making these children increasingly targets of aggression in the home, the classroom and the playground (Jordaan & Du Toit, 1985).

All the above-mentioned conditions reinforce old schemes and promote the learning of new aggressive schemes emerging from television. The easy aggressive solutions the children observe may be incorporated more readily into their behaviour repertoires. The violence on television may reassure them that their own behaviour is appropriate or teach them new coercive techniques, which they then attempt to use in their interactions with others.
What is however more perturbing is the implication that the effectiveness of television programmes to provide information about aggression decreases because the children (viewers) concerned increasingly need a stronger diet of violence, which is provided by cinema films, and especially videos. Jordaan and Du Toit (1985) feel that this may explain research findings that exposure to television violence does not correlate as strongly with aggression at the age of nineteen as it does at the age of eight.

Media violence as contained in television programmes, cinema films and videos is therefore one of a set of interdependent variables which may play a role in the acquisition and maintenance of aggressiveness in children. The negative effects of the depiction of violence together with the personal, home and school circumstances of the young viewers are subtle and cumulative rather than direct. This explains the small statistical correlations and path coefficients normally obtained in the investigations mentioned in section 3.1.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE CURRENT STUDY: DEFINING CONCEPTS

Ansie Dubery

Aggression is a very complex phenomenon which has elicited various definitions and theories regarding its origin. Moreover, the concepts "aggression" and "violence" are so intertwined although some sociologists do not make a distinction between them (Kemp, 1988).

The aim of this chapter is therefore to define and describe these concepts as well as to describe the related concepts which often function singly or interact with each other to "trigger" aggressive and violent behaviour in an individual.

According to Goldstein and Segall (1983:vii, in Berkowitz, 1993),

"Aggression in its diverse individual and collective forms has long been, and remains, a worldwide problem of the first magnitude. When viewed in global perspective, contemporary aggression takes many disguises: violence and vandalism by juveniles in schools and in their communities; child and spouse abuse and other forms of domestic or familial violence; assaults, muggings, and homicides; rape and other sex-related crimes; politically-motivated terrorism; racially- or economically-motivated mob violence, and aggression in many forms directly or indirectly initiated by the state ... We could add athletic mayhem, clan blood feuds, ritual torture, police brutality, organized warfare, and much, much more. The variety, intensity, frequency, and overall prevalence of overt aggressive behaviour throughout the world is starkly and appallingly high."

The situation has apparently not improved in the meantime, for Berkowitz (1993) commented, "I suspect that a growing number of highly aggressive people attack others primarily because they don't care how much they hurt others. They may even enjoy inflicting pain." He added, "... a number of social scientists believe that most assaults are motivated by more than a desire to injure a victim ... the wish to influence or exert power over another person, or to establish a favourable identity. Aggressors can try to get their way or to assert power in order to build up their selfworth."

Against this background Berkowitz (1993) stated:

"If we knew more about what spurs people to assault others, what influences make it easier (or more difficult) to deliberately hurt one's fellows, and what are the consequences of aggression for the attacker..."

All quotations regarding the definitions of aggression have been taken from Leonard Berkowitz's book, Aggression, its causes, consequences and control (1993).
as well as for the victim, we could do a great deal to lessen our inhumane treatment of each other.

According to him,

... aggression is any form of behaviour that is intended to injure someone physically or psychologically. All aggressive acts do have one thing in common. According to most investigators, this sort of behaviour is always aimed at the deliberate injury of another. Aggression thus refers to some kind of behaviour, either physical or symbolic, that is carried out with the intention to harm someone.

Berkowitz also claimed:

An adequate analysis of aggression must also recognize the differences between the various kinds of deliberate attacks to injure or destroy another. At the very least, it is necessary to distinguish between instrumental aggression, in which the attack is primarily an effort to achieve an objective other than the target's harm or destruction, and hostile aggression, in which the primary aim is the victim's injury or death. ... The term emotional aggression means aggression that is aimed mainly at hurting another. It is important also to realize, however, that some persons have learned to enjoy inflicting pain on others because it gives them pleasure even when they are not emotionally aroused.

4.1 Violence

Rollo May (in Berkowitz, 1993) is of the opinion that violent behaviour is often characterised by its impulsive nature. May described the concept of violence as follows:

In its typical and simple form, violence is an eruption of pent-up passion. When a person (or group of people) has been denied over a period of time what he feels are his legitimate rights, when he is continuously burdened with feelings of impotence which corrode any remaining self-esteem, violence is the predictable end result. Violence is an explosion of the desire to destroy that which is interpreted as the barrier to one's self-esteem, movement, and growth. This desire to destroy may so completely take over that any object that gets in the way is destroyed. Hence the person strikes out blindly ...

4.2 Related concepts

The information, deductions and interpretations regarding the description of the concepts related to aggression have largely been taken from Leonard Berkowitz's (1993) book, Aggression, its causes, consequences and control.

(1) Conflict

Tedeschin, Gaes and Rivera (1977) define scarcity of resources as the basis of most conflicts. They found that when coercion such as threats or attacks
is used between opposing individuals, this justifies reciprocity, which produces an escalation of the conflict on both sides.

(2) Anger
Berkowitz (1993) defines anger as an emotion which does not necessarily have any particular goal and refers only to a set of feelings we usually label "anger". These feelings stem largely from the internal physiological reactions and involuntary expressions produced by an unpleasant occurrence - the motor reactions (such as clenched fists), facial changes (such as dilated nostrils and frowning brows) and so on - but are probably also affected by the thoughts and memories that arise at the time. All these sensory inputs are combined in a person's mind to form the "anger" experience".

(3) Frustration
For the purposes of this study the concept "frustration" will only be described as a condition which exists when an individual is prevented from reaching a set goal and/or receiving satisfaction of a specific need. This hindrance can cause an individual to openly attack another person. Concurrent with this is the phenomenon that when a person is provoked he/she often takes aggressive action against the perceived source of difficulty.

(4) Hostility
Berkowitz (1993) defines this concept as follows:

> Hostility is a negative attitude toward one or more people that is reflected in a decidedly unfavourable judgement of the target. We express hostility when we say we dislike someone, especially if we wish this person ill. Further, a hostile individual is someone who is typically quick to voice or otherwise indicate negative evaluations of others, showing a general dislike for many people.

(5) Aggressiveness
Berkowitz (1993) regards this concept as attributable to "people who are aggressively inclined, who often see threats and challenges, and who are quick to attack those who displease them".

(6) Stress
According to Berkowitz (1993) aggression is often a reaction to various forms of stress which are present in individuals. Berkowitz mentions economic and life stresses as examples. These include money troubles and work difficulties. He contends that "the resulting emotional turmoil can heighten our sensitivity to threats, challenges, and disappointments. These things can shorten our fuses and can raise the chances that we will be provoked ...".

(7) Sadness
According to Berkowitz the extent to which people become angry when they are saddened by an unhappy occurrence is more impressive than the finding that anger co-exists with fear.
(8) Depression
Berkowitz found that a substantial number of reports note a connection between depression and aggression and he claims that "mental health specialists have repeatedly observed that both child and adult depressives are apt to be hostile and may even be susceptible to intense outbursts of temper".

(9) Hope
Berkowitz contends that people especially tend to become aggressive in the face of unmet expectations.

(10) Mood
People’s moods can affect their aggressiveness: "They are more aggressively inclined when they are feeling bad and, correspondingly, are less apt to be assaultive when they are in a good mood" (Berkowitz, 1993).

(11) Jealousy
Wolfgang (1967) found that most of the homicides he had studied resulted from altercations that developed from domestic quarrels, arguments over money, or jealousy.

(12) Fantasy
Berkowitz (1993) states that many children, and especially boys, obviously enjoy playing with toy weapons. Countless parents have found it difficult if not even impossible to stop their young sons from engaging in fantasy aggression. If parents do not provide boys with toy guns, the children are apt to use sticks or even their fingers to emulate guns, as they imagine themselves shooting at make-believe targets.

(13) Unpleasant feelings
Berkowitz (1993) claims that

... associations in our minds connect unpleasant feelings not only with negative thoughts generally but also with ideas and memories that have an angry or aggressive meaning. As a consequence, when we are in a negative mood there is a good chance that we’ll have hostile thoughts and remember fights and conflicts that occurred in the past".

(14) Poverty
In an area the size of a city, a state, or a nation, the poorer residents considered as a whole are more likely to break the law and assault each other than are their economically better off fellow citizens. (Berkowitz, 1993).

(15) Patriotism
Even though aggression always involves an intention to do harm, injury is not always the main objective. Aggressors can have other goals in mind when they assault their victims. A soldier may want to kill his enemy, but his wish may stem from a desire to protect his own life, may be a way to show his patriotism or may be a means of gaining the
(16) Power
Aggressors who are emotionally aroused and want strongly to hurt their intended target can have any number of other aims as well: eliminating a disturbing state of affairs, restring a threat-weakened self-concept, regaining a sense of power and control, enhancing their social status, winning approval from others, and so on.

(17) Powerlessness
Berkowitz quotes Rollo May's research when he defines the connection between powerlessness and aggression as follows: "May basically held that aggression was often spurred by a sense of powerlessness and was frequently an effort to assert one's self-worth and significance."

(18) Reaction aggression
Some people with a Type A behaviour pattern and a high level of aggressiveness are, according to Berkowitz (1993), "especially likely to become angry and aggressive when they are confronted by a decidedly unpleasant event".

(19) Verbal aggression
Murray Strauss, in Berkowitz (1993), asked his university undergraduates to describe recent conflicts between their mothers and fathers. He found that ... when any one parent attacked the other verbally, there was a good chance that this aggression would soon be followed by physical assaults. Instead of the disputants "discharging" their rage by yelling at each other or even smashing an inanimate object in fury, verbal or symbolic aggression was more likely to lead to physical aggression than to peace and harmony.

4.3 Conclusion
Berkowitz (1993) summarises outbursts of violence as follows:
People are not always incited to attack others when they experience disappointments or see weapons. Very few moviegoers become assaulting after watching violent films. People who are exposed to unpleasantly hot weather do not always go on rampages and loot and burn the stores in their neighbourhoods. A great many poor persons do not break laws. Yet, each of these factors increases the chance of aggression. The probability that any one of these factors alone will produce a violent outburst in a given situation is low. Several conditions clearly have to be present if these influences are to give rise to an open attack on an available target in a given situation.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE CURRENT STUDY: METHODOLOGY

Martin P. Botha and Enancy Mbatha

The first and second part of our longitudinal study on the effects of television violence on the aggression of black children was based on the theoretical perspective and research methodology of Prof. Rowell Huesmann of the University of Michigan in the USA (see Huesmann & Eron, 1986a). The theory and methodology had previously been applied in a cross-national study during 1977-1983 among children in the USA, Israel, Poland, Finland and Australia. The methodology was also tested among black children in South Africa in a pilot study by Botha, Conradie & Mbatha (1993).

Prof. Huesmann’s methodology as used in the current study is only briefly discussed here since a detailed description is provided by Huesmann and Eron (1986a).

5.1 Measuring instruments

Data were collected from four sources - the child, the child’s peers, the child’s parents and the school. All the child, peer and parental data were collected by means of individual, face-to-face interviews in which questionnaires and structured interview schedules were used. The data collection regarding the child measures was completed in sessions of approximately 40 minutes each.

The child measures included aggression; prosocial behaviour such as popularity and avoidance of aggression or aggression anxiety; regularity of violent television viewing; realism of television programmes; identification with television characters; and fantasy behaviour.

Parental measures included demographic information; child-rearing aspects such as nurturance, rejection and punitiveness; mobility orientation; aggression; television habits and judged realism of television violence; and fantasy behaviour.

5.1.1 Child measures

In the Peer Nomination Questionnaire each child in the class nominated all other children in the class who engaged in each of 23 types of aggressive behaviour. A child’s score on aggression, for example was then computed by adding up the number of times he or she had been named by his or her peers on all the items measuring aggression, divided by the number of pupils in the class doing the ratings. Huesmann and Eron (1986a) reported exceptional psychometric properties. For example, internal consistency was 0.97 and the one-month test-retest reliability was 0.91. Construct validity of a measure was
determined by means of its ability to predict differences that most theories of aggression predict (see Huesmann et al., 1984).

Instead of having the subjects estimate their frequency of television viewing, which young children find very difficult to do, the researchers had them estimate the regularity with which they watched their favourite programmes. For programme titles given, the child then indicated whether he or she watched it "almost every time it is on", "usually", "sometimes" and "hardly ever". A child’s regularity of television viewing was computed as the sum of these responses for favourite programmes. The violence of favourite programmes was established from the same programme selections. Trained, independent raters at the HSRC evaluated the amount of visually portrayed physical aggression by means of the objective content analysis procedure that had been used by the HSRC for more than a decade in its monitoring of television violence (see for example Tromp, Conradie, Mabitsela & Swanepoel, 1993).

The aim of this monitoring was to provide the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) with an indication of the level of violence in the television programmes. The training of the raters included the discussion of analysis categories and definitions of physical aggression, as well as the analysis of appropriate programmes recorded on training tapes. Reliability tests by the raters obtained pi-coefficients of 0.90 (see Tromp, 1993). It can thus be assumed that the prescribed definitions were interpreted similarly by the raters. Physical violence aimed at characters by other characters was the object of study. This included direct physical attacks, manipulative body contact and the aiming of a weapon. The frequencies of physically violent incidents were coded for each of the television programmes during the months of the fieldwork.

Three television viewing scores were available: regularity of television viewing, violence of favourite programmes, and an overall television violence viewing score computed by multiplying the violence score of each selected programme by its regularity score. This overall score was the primary measure of television violence viewing.

Realism of television programmes. One of the major goals of this study was to determine the variables that affect the relation between violence viewing and aggressive behaviour. On the basis of previous research, one might expect that an important mediating variable would be a child’s ability to discriminate between fantasy and reality as portrayed on television. Violent scenes perceived as unrealistic by the child should be less likely to affect the child’s behaviour according to several models. Also, previous research had indicated that young adults who believe television is realistic tend to be more aggressive (Huesmann & Eron, 1986b). The measure used in the current study was adapted from research in which the subjects had been asked to estimate how realistically one Western programme, Gunsmoke, portrayed life in the West and how true to life the police work in a crime show, Mod Squad, really was.
In the current study, the children rated the realism of various programmes. They were given a list of violent shows, including local programmes, and were asked, "How true do you think these programmes are in telling what life is really like: Just like it is in real life, a little like it is in real life, or not at all like it is in real life." The subject's total realism score was the sum of the ratings on the items.

Identification with television characters. Although the weight of evidence from laboratory studies (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963) seems to indicate that all viewers are most likely to imitate an heroic, white male actor, individual differences should not be ignored. It may be that some children identify much more with some actors and this identification mediates the relation between violence, viewing and aggressiveness. Such an identification would be important not just in an observational learning model but also in a model that emphasises norms or standards of behaviour. The more the child identifies with the actors who are aggressors or victims, the more likely is the child to be influenced by the scene, believing that the behaviours are appropriate and to be expected. An identification score was derived from the children's ratings of how much they acted like certain adult television characters. The researchers tried to have the subjects rate eight characters: two aggressive males, two aggressive females, two unaggressive males, and two unaggressive females. For example, in the United States, typically aggressive males were "The Six Million Dollar Man" and "Starsky", whereas typically unaggressive males were "Kotter" and "Donny Osmond". However, in the current study only one example of each could be found. For each character the children were asked, "How much do you act like or do things like the character?"

Fantasy. Some theorists argue that a child who reacts to television violence by fantasising about aggressive acts might actually become less aggressive. However, no researcher has ever reported finding such a negative correlation in a field study. In fact, a more compelling argument exists, namely that fantasising about aggressive acts should lead to greater aggression by the child. From an information-processing perspective, the rehearsal of specific aggressive acts observed on television through day-dreaming or imaginative play should increase the probability of aggressive behaviour. Huesmann devised a Children's Fantasy Inventory, containing 45 questions and 13 scales. In the current study, the most widely used scales were those that measured extent of aggressive fantasy and active-heroic fantasy (each with six items, e.g. "Do you sometimes have daydreams about hitting or hurting somebody you don't like", or "When you are day-dreaming, do you think about being the winner in the game you like to play?"). Coefficient alphas for these scales in the United States were 0.64 and 0.61 respectively; one-month test-retest reliabilities were 0.44 and 0.62.
5.1.2 Parent measures

The purpose of the parent interview was to obtain information about the parent's own behaviour, including child-rearing practices, television habits, and characteristic aggressive level and style. Such data are essential in any attempt to understand, whether from a reinforcement point of view, an observational learning stance, or from a more cognitive perspective, how aggression is learned. Also, parent characteristics may exacerbate or mitigate the effect of violence viewing on the aggressive behaviour of children.

Demographic measures. Just as intellectual functioning may affect aggressive behaviour irrespective of cultural norms, so may the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of a child's family affect aggressive behaviour. Information on demographic and socio-economic characteristics was obtained primarily from school sources and parent interviews. In the parent interviews the subjects were asked questions about their own and their spouses' education, occupation, and income.

The Parental Questionnaire consisted of an interview schedule and the Situation Test by Madge (1983), which was also used in the study by Conradie et al. (1987) and Botha (1990) (see Chapter Three).

Data about child-rearing practices were taken from the parent interview and included scales of nurturance, rejection, punitiveness, and mobility orientation. Most of these variables had been used in previous studies by Eron and Huesmann in the same way as in this study and their definitions, derivation, and psychometric properties had been discussed in reports of those studies (see Huesmann & Eron, 1986a). Some, however, were modifications of the previous measures.

Nurturance refers to the extent of concern the parent has for the child and how much the parent knows about the child. A low score on nurturance would be achieved by parents who do not know why their child cries and what upsets their child, who seldom try to figure out what their child fears, and who do not have time to talk to the child.

Rejection refers to whether the parent is satisfied with the child the way he or she is. A very high score on the rejection scale would represent a parent who complains that the child is too forgetful, has bad manners, does not read as well as expected, does not take care of his or her things, does not follow directions, and wastes too much time.

Punitiveness refers to how severely parents physically punish their children for doing bad things. A parent who scores high on punitiveness would be one who in the previous year had spanked a child until the child cried, slapped a child in the face, beaten a child with a belt, and/or punched a child.

Mobility orientation of parents, which was hypothesised to affect the
aggression level of the child, was assessed by a series of questions dealing with the respondents' willingness to disrupt their usual routine in order to improve their status in life, for example, "How willing would you be to move around the country a lot in order to get ahead?"

Also administered to the parents were questions dealing with how often they had been the perpetrators, victims, or witnesses of certain physically aggressive acts (e.g. stabbing, punching, kicking, shooting). These questions had been used successfully in previous studies (Huesmann & Eron, 1986a).

*Parent television habits.* As with children, a television violence viewing score was calculated for each parent interviewed. The violence viewing score was the sum of the violent ratings for the four programmes the parents mentioned as their favourite shows, weighted by the regularity with which the parents reported watching them.

In addition, the parents estimated how many hours a week they watched television. As a cross-check on their children's self-reports the parents were also asked to name their children's four favourite programmes and to estimate how many hours a week their children watched television. Also included was a measure of how regularly the parents watched the same programmes their children did. This was done by asking them how often they watched the specific programmes their children had already selected as their favourites. The parents were unaware of which programmes their children had mentioned. Finally, a score for *Judged realism of television violence* was calculated in the same way as for the children.

### 5.2 Data analysis

Correlation analysis was the primary tool used in evaluating the data gathered in this investigation. Such an analysis was necessitated by the nature of the study because there were no manipulations or random assignment to conditions. Final data analysis will be conducted by Rowell Huesmann at the University of Michigan during 1996.

#### 5.3 Sample and fieldwork

##### 5.3.1 Details of schools

**SCHOOL 1: SEDIBA SA TSEBO LP School**

**Part One**

Number of pupils interviewed: 39.

The school principal was very helpful.

The school was in Soshanguwe in the Pretoria North area. It was a multilingual
school that uses: Zulu, Tsonga and Northern Sotho. The Northern Sotho class of 39 pupils was selected for this study. The other two classes had 20 and 30 pupils respectively.

The pupils from this school fell in the high TV penetration category as almost 99% of the residents had access to a television set and almost 98% of the houses were electrified.

All the Northern Sotho Grade II pupils in this school were involved in this study. It took two and a half days to administer both the Fantasy Questionnaire and the Peer Nomination Questionnaire. A class photograph was used by the four interviewers when they were administering the Peer Nomination Questionnaire to the pupils. The pupils enjoyed participating in this study as it was totally different from their usual class routine.

Part Two

Since the 39 children of the 1994 year were placed in different classes during 1995, 67 Peer Nomination Questionnaires were administered. Six of the follow-up children moved out of school and could not be found for further data gathering.

SCHOOL 2: MMATSO LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils interviewed: 54.

The principal was very busy during the researchers’ visit to the school so the vice-principal assisted us.

Mmatso Primary School was in the area of Eersterus, west of Hammanskraal and approximately 90 km from Pretoria. This primary school catered for Tswana-speaking people only. The school had four classes that qualified but the class with 54 pupils was selected for this study (the other classes consisted of 65, 63 and 58 pupils). No specific objection was made as to the selection of the class as it was comprised of above average, medium and below average pupils.

This school was in the low TV penetration category as only approximately 10% of the houses were electrified. Some 30% of the families in this area used car batteries for power, but this did not guarantee continuous access to television. The children’s television viewing depended on their neighbours who had television sets.

It took three days to administer the fantasy and peer nomination questionnaires to the children. A class photograph was used when administering the Peer Nomination Questionnaire to the children.
Part Two

A total of 62 Peer Nomination Questionnaires were administered in 1995. Three children left the school and could not be found.

SCHOOL 3: PEAKANYO LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils interviewed: 37.

The school was situated west of Pietersburg in Seshego Zone 1. It was a Northern Sotho school. The researchers noted that the pupils in this school were far more disciplined and orderly than pupils in the other schools. Grade II pupils were divided into four classes according to their performance. Two classes were for pupils who were above average, one class was a mixed class and the other class was for "slow trains". The whole township was electrified and fell in an urban area. This led us to select the mixed class for this study. What was interesting was that almost 97% of the pupils had access to television.

The children at this school had been with each other since Grade I so they knew each other very well. The pupils were also familiar with new pupils that had joined them that year as there were few new admittances annually. The researchers therefore did not use a class photograph for the Peer Nomination Questionnaire.

It took the researchers two days to administer both the fantasy and peer nomination questionnaires.

Part Two

Seven children of the original sample left the school.

SCHOOL 4: MOKGOBA LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils interviewed: 44.

Mokgoba primary school was approximately 20 km west of Soshego in the area of Moletsi, approximately 40 km from Pietersburg. Even though this area was only 40 km from Pietersburg, it was surprisingly rural. Some families in this area had built very large and beautiful houses but the majority of the residents were poor and lived a typically rural life. There were several schools in the area, but most people moved to Johannesburg or Pretoria for further training after they had matriculated. Most residents used generators or car
batteries to run their television sets.

The majority of the pupils did not have access to television. Most residents only watched soccer on television and felt that watching television was not a priority. For 90% of the time the television set was not switched on at all.

There were four Grade II classes, each containing 45 pupils of mixed ability. Class three was selected for this study.

No class photograph was used for the peer nomination as the pupils were promoted from Grade I to Grade II together.

It took three days to administer the fantasy and peer nomination questionnaires.

Part Two

Only two children left the school. Fifty One Peer Nominations Questionnaires were administered.

SCHOOL 5: UKUKHANYAKOKUSA LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils: 41.

At the time of the interview the principal, Mr Mhlongo, was not available. However, Mrs Motseme, the acting principal, assisted in choosing the class to be interviewed.

Ukukhanyakokusa LP was situated in Inanda Newtown, a fairly new township approximately 35 km from Durban. The school accommodated Sub-A through to Standard 5, with three classes per standard. One of the Sub-B classes, representing the 6-8 year old category, was chosen. There were 42 pupils in this class.

The school was situated in the urban area with well laid-out streets and brick houses, most of which had electricity. However, this area was prone to political unrest at the slightest provocation. The majority of the pupils lived within easy reach of the school.

It took three days to administer the peer nomination and fantasy questionnaires. The interviews were very successful as the pupils were eager to participate. However, as the absentee rate in this class was very high, it affected the smooth completion of the questionnaires.

The parental interviews were most successful as the parents were eager to discuss their children with us. Twenty four interviews had to be completed
after the elections in April 1994 as a result of the violence which erupted in the area.

Part Two

Three children of the original sample left the school and 118 children were interviewed by means of the Peer Nominations Questionnaire. Pupils in the classes were re-organized after the class list had been drawn up. The class lists were compiled early in the school year when the school had not properly settled down.

SCHOOL 6: GOGOKAZI LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils in class: 48.

The school was situated in Ndwedwe, a rural area 60 km from Durban. It was one of two schools serving the area. It was built wholly from corrugated iron and accommodated Sub A through to Std 5. The school was well run and had a good code of conduct.

The class chosen for the interviews was one of the two Sub-B classes, representing the 6-8 year category. Forty seven pupils were tested.

The majority of houses in the area were of traditional construction. There were a few shacks. As the area had no electricity, some families used battery-operated television sets, but because of its rural situation, television exposure was low. The area was politically volatile due to opposing factions.

The peer nomination and fantasy questionnaires took three days to administer and complete. The children were generally shy and patience was required in the administration of the questionnaire.

Due to political unrest in the area, only 38 parental interviews were completed before the elections. The remainder was only completed during May 1994.

Part Two

Ninety children were interviewed by means of the Peer Nominations Questionnaire and eight of the follow-up children left the school.

SCHOOL 7: NTOBEKA LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils in class: 43.
The school was situated in the modern township of Madadeni approximately 20 km from Newcastle. The school accommodated Sub-A through to Std 5. There were two Sub-B classes, one of which was chosen for the interviews. The 6-8 year old category was represented. All 43 pupils in the class were tested.

Being a modern area this township had a good infrastructure with a well laid-out road system and brick houses. The entire township was electrified. Compared to the other areas visited, this area had little political unrest.

It took three days to administer all the tests to the 43 pupils. They were eager to participate and enjoyed the interviews.

Parental interviews at this school were most successful. Only one of these interviews was not completed, as the parent/childminder was unavailable during the period of the survey.

Part Two

A total of 138 children were interviewed by means of the Peer Nominations Questionnaire.

SCHOOL 8: KHANYISANI LP SCHOOL

Part One

Number of pupils in class: 46.

The school was situated in the rural area of Mpolweni, approximately 25 km from Pietermaritzburg. It was the only primary school serving the area and accommodated pupils from Sub-A to Std 5. The school had two Sub-B classes grouped according to ability. The class chosen represented the slower group, aged 6-8 years. The school had a feeding scheme, whereby all the children were given soup before going home in the afternoon.

The area was undeveloped as far as a road system and electricity were concerned. The few television sets in the area were battery operated. A mobile clinic visited the area once a week. No political overtones were evident during the period of the survey.

It took three days to administer the questionnaires. The administration of the questionnaires was more difficult than in other areas due to the slow response rate of the children.

Parental interviews in this area went smoothly except for one parent who refused to be interviewed. The unemployment rate in this area was noticeable. The majority of those who had employment in Durban, left the children with grandparents or relatives.
Part Two

Ninety four children were interviewed by means of the Peer Nominations Questionnaire.

5.3.2. Fieldwork problems during the first part of the study

TRANSVAAL SCHOOLS

In general, the researchers used either a school hall or a classroom at the schools when they had to administer questionnaires for the purpose of this study. In the cases when they used a classroom, the teacher volunteered to assist with the children.

The following problems were experienced in the fieldwork:

1. Absenteeism

Owing to the absenteeism of some of the pupils, the whole process was delayed. Pupils had to be traced through the school registers before a new day’s programme could start.

2. Withdrawal

Sometimes children were withdrawn from the study shortly after the list had been compiled. Parents who moved away did not leave their new home address or the name of the new school that the child would be attending.

3. Late admission of pupils

Through the co-operation of the teachers, the researchers were sometimes notified if a new pupil had joined a particular class. This meant that additional pupils had to be tested. They had to be tested separately so as not to disrupt the rest of the class.

KWAZULU SCHOOLS

The main problem experienced with the parental interview was time. Some parents returned from work very late. Consequently the researchers divided each interview in two to be able to return the next day for the remainder of the interview.

Some parents were very eager to be interviewed and commented on the bad influence of television on their children. They were worried that their children were losing their morals and that the new stories on television had too much violence in them.
None of the schools were able to provide the researchers with a venue to interview the children individually. An attempt at conducting the interviews outside proved unsuccessful. The interviews, therefore, were conducted in the classroom with all the pupils present. Noise was therefore a problem.

Parental interviews were complicated, especially in the unrest areas, by parents/childminders returning home from work after dark. The interviewers were unable to remain in the area after dark and as a result the interviews took longer to complete.

In the rural areas, particularly at School 8, there was little or no infrastructure, e.g. roads. Getting to the individual houses was difficult.

5.3.3. Problems encountered in all the schools during the second part of the study

During 1995 some serious problems were encountered during the fieldwork. These were the following:

1. Some pupils were moved to other classes after the class list was finalised. It happened especially in the KwaZulu schools.

2. Some pupils had a tendency of mentioning favourite television programmes which were screened on local television stations more than three months before the fieldwork was conducted.

3. It was very difficult to trace parents for the completion of the parental questionnaires as most parents arrived at home at the end of the month and children usually stayed alone at home; and other parents arrived only after 19:00 or even later at home. In the latter cases interviews only started at 20:00 or even later. Interviews with the parents or other caretakers of the child respondents were extremely difficult. In many cases interviewers would accompany the child to his or her home only to find that no one was at home. The interviewers had to travel long distances and could usually complete only one parental interview per day. Where both parents worked they returned very late at night and could only be interviewed during weekends. Even then, it was sometimes difficult to contact them.

4. Schools were disrupted without warning in reaction to events within the community and as opportunities arose for pupils to participate in some event or another. This affected the interviewing of pupils.
CHAPTER SIX
PRELIMINARY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Martin Botha and Marie Greyling

It has been hypothesised that preference for television violence among young children can intensify their aggressive behaviour. This effect would even be greater in an environment in which exposure to the visual media is relatively new (or has not yet occurred) and in which real-life violence is endemic and approved by some social groups. The information-processing theory underscores this. It also predicts that dramatic media presentations of violence will have significant long-term effects on the actual interpersonal violence perpetrated by South Africa’s black youth. According to the theory, young children exposed to dramatic films and videos with extensive interpersonal violence will

1. learn scripts for social behaviour that emphasise aggressive solutions to personal problems;
2. learn self-regulating norms that are more accepting of violence; and
3. become desensitised to violence, making it more acceptable for them.

These effects will be exacerbated if

1. media exposure is relatively new and the viewers identify with the aggressive characters, distance themselves from the victims, and perceive the aggressors’ behaviour as realistic;
2. the current culture, both at the community and peer levels, supports the legitimacy of violence; and
3. the potential targets of the violence are dehumanised as a group in the media or in the culture.

This chapter deals with the results of the first and second part of a longitudinal study into the abovementioned process and is thus limited to the nature of relations between variables such as preference for television violence and peer-nominated aggression at ONE point in time. It is thus impossible to draw conclusions about the cumulative effects of exposure to television violence on the behaviour of children over a period of time.

Because Prof. Huesmann is a member of the research team of this study and will conduct the final data analysis in 1996, it was decided to provide only the preliminary results. These results consist of some descriptive statistics regarding the sample, as well as some correlations between variables such as preference for violent television viewing and peer-nominated aggression. Only after completion of the study during 1996 will structural equation modelling be used to investigate possible causal relations between the variables, and will the findings be interpreted against the background of Huesmann’s theory and
the literature, as well as his cross-national study. Since aggression has to be seen in the context of the specific social system in which it occurs, and since numerous antecedent and consequent factors are involved in aggression, several other variables (such as parental influences on the child’s behaviour) were included in the correlation analysis. Gender (boys, girls) was used as divider in the data analysis.

6.1. Characteristics of the sample

The realised sample consisted of 348 young children in Grade 2 (Sub-B) and Grade 3 (Standard 1), as well as their parents/surrogate parents. Fifty one percent (N = 178) of the child respondents were male and 49% were female (N = 170). Fifty six percent of the children lived in low television penetration areas and 44% in areas with high television penetration. Most of the respondents however had television data for part one and two of the investigation. The majority of the children fell in the age group 8 to 10 years in the second year of the study (78%).

Interviews were predominantly conducted with the male parent/surrogate parent of each child. The majority of the parents fell in the age group 25 - 49 years (N = 240; i.e. 69%), and nearly 89% did not pass matric. Occupations with the highest frequencies were fork-lift mechanics (32,0%), painters (20,4%), fork-lift drivers (12, 5%), mechanics (6,7%), union officers (3,4%), prison wardens (2,4%) and machine operators (1,9%). With regard to marital status, 53,8% of the adult respondents were married; 26% were separated, widowed or divorced and living without a spouse; and 8% were separated, widowed or divorced and living with another adult who acted as the child’s other parent.

Although 79% of the parents of the child respondents had never been slapped, kicked, choked, punched or beaten by another adult in the 12 months before the FIRST part of the study, 11% had experienced such victimisation within the township milieu. Nearly 13% of the adult respondents also reported that they had been threatened with a gun or shot at or actually cut with a knife by another person in the 12 months before the study. Nearly 49,8% of the parent respondents were witnesses of violence in their townships in the preceding 12 months, i.e. they indicated that they had seen another adult being slapped, kicked, punched, beaten or choked. With regard to the children being witnesses of community violence, 39,1% of the parent respondents reported that their children had seen an adult being slapped, kicked, punched, beaten or choked the previous 12 months. The exposure of the parent respondents and their children to everyday violence was thus noted by the researchers.

6.2. Television exposure of the child respondents

It was noted that 55,7% of the child respondents lived in areas where television exposure was very low, especially since the availability of electricity
was very low. During the first year of the longitudinal study the average time spent on television viewing from Mondays to Sundays was only eight hours. The children's favourite television programmes during both years consisted mostly of locally produced programmes with a very low level of violence. In Table 6.1 and 6.2 the ten most popular first choices for year one and two are given with their respective violence content (which consisted of incidents classified as physically violent on the basis of an objective content analysis).

**TABLE 6.1**
CHILD RESPONDENTS' FAVOURITE TELEVISION PROGRAMMES
DURING FEBRUARY - MAY 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEN MOST POPULAR FIRST CHOICES</th>
<th>Incidence of physical violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Squidi Snaysi (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solly's Kitchen (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Tlago Tsabela (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsipo o rile ke Lebelo (Local)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khululeka (Local)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kideo (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter (USA)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGuyver (USA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mopheme (Local)</td>
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</table>

**TABLE 6.2**
CHILD RESPONDENTS' FAVOURITE TELEVISION PROGRAMMES
DURING FEBRUARY - MAY 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEN MOST POPULAR FIRST CHOICES</th>
<th>Incidence of physical violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Name of Love (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squidi Snaysi (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kideo (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Sithole (Local)</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Power Rangers (USA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matswakabele (Local)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Day at the Races (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bobkelo Ke Semplekgo (Local)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndenzeni (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezodumo (Local)</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

More than 83% of the child respondents did not have a video machine in their households during the first year of the study.
6.3. Correlations between child aggression and other variables

Separate correlation matrices for YEAR ONE are given for boys and girls in table 6.3 and 6.4 respectively. Separate correlation matrices for the SECOND year are given for boys and girls in table 6.5 and 6.6 respectively.
### TABLE 6.3
INTERCORRELATION MATRIX FOR BOYS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>Child aggression</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Parent aggression</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
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INTERCORRELATION MATRIX FOR GIRLS

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** p < 0.01
* p < 0.05
Boys and girls had similar patterns during the two years regarding the correspondence between variables: the television variables, i.e. preference for television violence and television exposure did not correlate with peer-nominated aggression among children. Parental victimisation correlated statistically significant with parental aggression, i.e. the more the child's parent had been the target of community violence, the more the parent was aggressive. For both boys and girls, parental aggression correlated statistically significant with a high level of parental use of punitive measures against the children, a high level of rejection of the child, and a high level of parental victimisation within the township environment during the first part of the study. This means that parents who had to a large extent been victims of community violence, tended to be more aggressive, more rejecting in their attitude towards their children and more punitive in terms of child-rearing practices. A large measure of punitiveness also correlated statistically significant with child rejection in year one. Fortunately, there was no statistically significant correspondence between child aggression and parental rejection, as well as between child aggression and parental punitiveness during both years.

Exposure to community violence seems to have played an important part in the children and parents' lives: parents' exposure to community violence did not only correlate statistically significant with punitiveness, but also with parental victimisation during both years of the study. A large measure of parental victimisation corresponded with the amount of observed incidents of violence within the environment. There was also a disturbing relationship between the number of violent incidents that the child had observed in the community and parental victimisation during both years of the study. This means that some of the children had observed the victimisation of their own parents!

These correlations should be regarded with some caution until a path analysis has been conducted in order to investigate possible causal relations between variables over time. This will be done by Rowell Huesmann during 1996.

One can conclude by noting the insignificant part played by television violence in the lives of these children and their parents. The average level of television exposure was relatively low (eight to nine hours per week) and a preference for violent television viewing was virtually absent.

Exposure to community violence seems to have played an important part in the lives of both parents and children. Both groups were exposed to community violence and especially the parents were affected by it in the sense that their level of aggression and child-rearing practices showed significant correspondence with a high exposure to violence in real-life. Boys who were witnesses of community violence during the first year of the study also seem to have been experiencing a high level of aggressiveness. It will be important to investigate these relations by means of structural equation modelling which
will be conducted by Rowell Huesmann during 1996.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. Ina Stahmer and Margaret Whittle-Bennets for the translation of part of the report, and Elke de Beer for her superb assistance as information consultant.

2. Berta Wheeler for typing part of the report.

3. Enancy Mbatha, Edmund Pillay and Elrina Calitz for coordinating the fieldwork, and D. Maja, N. Diadla, N. Maringa, O. Ramaila, B. Mamabolo, S. Mdluli, T. Simelane, J. Masango, Penelope Lukuku, Joel Makhubela, Rachel Raju, Fikile Luthuli, Cindy Dube, Dolly Khuswayo, Mhle Khuswayo, Nonhlanhla Mthembu, Bongi Mthembu, Clarence Ngobese, Zanele Mbambo, Thelma Majola and Ncamsile Khuswayo for conducting the interviews with the respondents.

4. Jaré Rabie, Pieter Conradie, Arlene Grossberg, Julia Swanepoel and Khuli Ngoasheng for assistance during the data processing of the first part of the study in 1994.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


BOTH, M.P. (1987). *Navorsing oor die invloed van televisiegeweld op die*


APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRES AND DATA FORMAT
WAVE 2: THE INFLUENCE OF TV VIOLENCE ON YOUNG BLACK CHILDREN

OUTLINE OF THE DATA SET: NAME: agg_sasl (Backup: agg_sasl.bac)

The data set consists of 16 cards per record. The first wave consists of approximately 348 records (Each record = the data of a child.) Missing data for some children from second wave. Each card consists of a maximum of 80 columns of questionnaire data.

The following questionnaires were used in the study:

CARD 1: TELEVISION AND BEHAVIOUR QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1994
CARD 2: FANTASY QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1994
CARD 3: MOTHER INTERVIEW VERSION 1994 (Questions 1 - 13)
CARD 4: MOTHER INTERVIEW VERSION 1994 (Questions 14 - 20)
CARD 5: MOTHER INTERVIEW VERSION 1994 (Questions 21 - 27)
CARD 6: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1994 (Questions 1a - 14e)
CARD 7: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1994 (Questions 15a - 20e)
CARD 8: PEER-NOMINATION QUESTIONNAIRE (HUESMANN)
CARD 9: TELEVISION AND BEHAVIOUR QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1995
CARD 10: FANTASY QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1995
CARD 11: MOTHER INTERVIEW VERSION 1995 (Questions 1 - 13)
CARD 12: MOTHER INTERVIEW VERSION 1995 (Questions 14 - 20)
CARD 13: MOTHER INTERVIEW VERSION 1995 (Questions 21 - 27)
CARD 14: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1995 (Questions 1a - 14e)
CARD 15: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE VERSION 1995 (Questions 15a - 20e)
CARD 16: PEER-NOMINATION QUESTIONNAIRE 1995 (HUESMANN)

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<td>Length 2, See TV list</td>
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<td>Column 20-21</td>
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<td>Freq viewing 4</td>
<td>Column 26-27</td>
<td>Length 2</td>
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<td>Question 15a</td>
<td>Column 28-29</td>
<td>Length 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 15b</td>
<td>Column 30</td>
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<td>Question 15c</td>
<td>Column 31-32</td>
<td>Length 2</td>
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<td>Question 15d</td>
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<td>Column 37-38</td>
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<td>Column 39-40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Movie title4</td>
<td>Column 41-42</td>
<td>Length 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Question 17a</td>
<td>Column 43-44</td>
<td>Length 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question 17b</td>
<td>Column 45-46</td>
<td>Length 2, See TV list</td>
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<td>Question 18:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Favourite TV2</td>
<td>Column 54-55</td>
<td>Length 2, See TV list</td>
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<td>Column 59</td>
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**CARD 5: MOTHER INTERVIEW**

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<td>Year</td>
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4

117
### CARD 6: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

(Psychometric characteristics of this scale should be investigated on the data for adult blacks before any data analysis is conducted)

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### CARD 7: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

(Psychometric characteristics of this scale should be investigated on the data for adult blacks before any data analysis is conducted)

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### CARD 8: PEER NOMINATIONS

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<td>Grade code:</td>
<td>Column 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Class code:</td>
<td>Column 5</td>
<td>Length 1, min = 1, max = 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject ID:</td>
<td>Column 6-8</td>
<td>Length 3, Maximum equals class total</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject gender:</td>
<td>Column 9</td>
<td>Length 1, Female = 0; Male = 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Column 10-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Column 13-14</td>
<td>Length 2, Wave 1 = 94, Wave2 = 95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wave</td>
<td>Column 15</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRIA</td>
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CARD 9: TELEVISION AND BEHAVIOUR QUESTIONNAIRE:

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<td>Class code:</td>
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<td>Length 1, minimum 1, maximum 9</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Subject gender:</td>
<td>Column 9</td>
<td>Length 1, Female = 0; Male = 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>INT</td>
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<td>Length 3, Fixed</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Column 13-14</td>
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<td>Wave</td>
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<td>Length 1, Wave 1 = 1, Wave2 = 2</td>
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<td>PRIA</td>
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<td>Length 4, Fixed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blank</td>
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<td>Length 1, Scale 1-4</td>
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CARD 10: FANTASY QUESTIONNAIRE

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### CARD 11: MOTHER INTERVIEW

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject ID</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Grade no</td>
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<tr>
<td>Class no</td>
<td>Column 11</td>
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<td>Length 1</td>
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<td>Column 16</td>
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<td>Question 3</td>
<td>Column 17</td>
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### CARD 12: MOTHER INTERVIEW:

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7

120
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<td>Column 5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject ID</td>
<td>Column 6-8</td>
<td>Length 3, Maximum equals class total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School no</td>
<td>Column 9</td>
<td>Length 1, Range 1-8</td>
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<td>Class no</td>
<td>Column 11</td>
<td>Length 1, Min = 1, Max = 9</td>
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<td>Column 12</td>
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<td>Question 15b</td>
<td>Column 30</td>
<td>Length 1, Yes = 1, No = 2</td>
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CARD 13: MOTHER INTERVIEW

Card Number: Column 1
Year Column 3-4
Subject pool Column 5
Subject ID Column 6-8
School no Column 9
Grade no Column 10
Class no Column 11
Sex(Gender) Column 12
Blank Column 13
Question 21a-j Column 14-23
Question 22a-i Column 24-32
Question 23a-e Column 33-37
Question 24a-b Column 38-39
Question 25a-d Column 40-43
Question 26a-d Column 44-47
Question 27a-c Column 48-50

CARD 14: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

(Psychometric characteristics of this scale should be investigated on the data for adult blacks before any data analysis is conducted)

Card number Column 1
Item1-Item14e Column 3-32

CARD 15: SITUATION QUESTIONNAIRE

(Psychometric characteristics of this scale should be investigated on the data for adult blacks before any data analysis is conducted)

Card number Column 1
Item15-Item20e Column 3-32

CARD 16: PEER NOMINATIONS

Card Number: Column 1
School code: Column 3
Grade code: Column 4
Class code: Column 5
Subject ID: Column 6-8
Subject gender: Column 9
INT Column 10-12

Length 2
Length 2, Fixed 94 or 95
Length 1, Fixed
Length 3, Maximum equals class total
Length 1, Range 1-8
Length 1, Wave 1 = 2, Wave2 = 3
Length 1, Min = 1, Max = 9
Length 1, Females = 0, Males = 1
Length 1
Length 10*1, Max = 3, Min = 1
Length 9*1, Max = 2, Min = 0
Length 5*1, Max = 4, Min = 0
Length 2*1, Max = 4, Min = 0
Length 4*1, Max = 4, Min = 0
Length 4*1, Max = 4, Min = 0
Length 3*1, Max = 4, Min = 0

Length 2
Length 1, Minimum 1 and Maximum 8
Length 1, always a value of 2, 3 or 5
Length 1, min = 1, max = 9
Length 3, Maximum equals class total
Length 1, Female = 0; Male = 1
Length 3, Fixed
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<td>PRIA</td>
<td>Column 16-19</td>
<td>Length 4, Fixed</td>
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<td>TV penetration</td>
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## Question 1: Who are you?

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<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02. Tsepiso Matsheke</td>
<td>22. Ephenia Mothapo</td>
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<tr>
<td>03. Tsepang Malite</td>
<td>25. Rehawugetswe Tsiipi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04. Martin Baloyi</td>
<td>26. Bridgette Legong</td>
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<tr>
<td>07. Mathews Lebisi</td>
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</tr>
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<td>14. Moses Mlambo</td>
<td>40. Refilwe Makola</td>
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<tr>
<td>51. Thabang Masemolo</td>
<td>41. Sarah Ndlovu</td>
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<td>42. Nicholin Bopape</td>
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<td>45. Portia Dijo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Frans Moeti</td>
<td>47. Promise Motati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Sipho Maloka</td>
<td>48. Priscilla Ndlovu</td>
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<tr>
<td>59. Bond Molai</td>
<td>49. Mahadi Chakela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Abram Maluleke</td>
<td>50. Albertinah Malebye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Warren Ndawamato</td>
<td>199. No girl</td>
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<tr>
<td>62. Peter Matjeng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Peter Dijo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198. No boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question 2: Who would you like to sit next to in the class?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiso Matsheke  
03. Tsepang Malite  
04. Martin Baloyi  
07. Mathews Lebisi  
09. Emanuel Makua  
14. Moses Mlambo  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
52. Itumeleng Nkwana  
53. James Sethu  
54. Lucky Chauke  
55. Jacob Lekalakala  
56. Tsepo Mogale  
57. Frans Moeti  
58. Sipho Maloka  
59. Bond Molai  
60. Abram Maluleke  
61. Warren Ndwmamato  
62. Peter Matjeng  
63. Peter Dijo  
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo  
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi  
26. Bridgette Legong  
28. Irene Kekana  
36. Salome Motlaneng  
40. Refilwe Makola  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertinah Malebye  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertinah Malebye  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertinah Malebye  
199. No girl
Question 3: Who does not obey the teacher?

**BOYS**

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<td>04</td>
<td>Martin Baloyi</td>
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<td>07</td>
<td>Mathews Lebisi</td>
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<td>Emanuel Makua</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Moses Mlambo</td>
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**GIRLS**

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<td>Albertinah Malebye</td>
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198. No boy
Question 4: Who will never fight even when picked on?

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<td>04. Martin Baloyi</td>
<td>26. Bridgette Legong</td>
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<td>07. Mathews Lebisi</td>
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<td>09. Emanuel Makua</td>
<td>36. Samee Motlaneng</td>
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<td>50. Albertinah Maleby</td>
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<td>61. Warren Ndwamato</td>
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<td>62. Peter Matjeng</td>
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<tr>
<td>63. Peter Dijo</td>
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<tr>
<td>198. No boy</td>
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</table>
Question 5: Who often says, "Give me that?"

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiiso Matsheke  
03. Tsefang Malite  
04. Martin Baloyo  
07. Mathews Lebisi  
09. Emanuel Makua  
14. Moses Mlambo  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
52. Itumeleng Nkwana  
53. James Sethu  
54. Lucky Chauke  
55. Jacob Lekalakala  
56. Tsepo Mogale  
57. Frans Moeti  
58. Sipho Maloka  
59. Bond Molori  
60. Abram Maluleke  
61. Warren Ndwamato  
62. Peter Matjeng  
63. Peter Dijo  
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo  
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi  
26. Bridgette Legong  
28. Irene Kekana  
36. Salome Motlaneng  
40. Refilwe Makola  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertinah Malebye  
199. No girl
Question 6: Who gives dirty looks or sticks out their tongue at other children?

**BOYS**
- 02. Tsepiso Matsheke
- 03. Tsepang Malite
- 04. Martin Baloyi
- 07. Mathews Lebisi
- 09. Emanuel Makua
- 14. Moses Mlambo
- 51. Thabang Masemolo
- 52. Itumeleng Nkwana
- 53. James Sethu
- 54. Lucky Chauke
- 55. Jacob Lekalakala
- 56. Tsepo Mogale
- 57. Frans Moeti
- 58. Sipho Maloka
- 59. Bond Molai
- 60. Abram Maluleke
- 61. Warren Ndwamato
- 62. Peter Matjeng
- 63. Peter Dijo
- 198. No boy

**GIRLS**
- 22. Ephenia Mothapo
- 25. Rehawugetswe Tshipi
- 26. Bridgette Legong
- 28. Irene Kekana
- 36. Salome Motlaneng
- 40. Refilwe Makolaeng
- 41. Sarah Ndlovu
- 42. Nicholin Bopape
- 43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
- 44. Rose Maponyane
- 45. Portia Dijo
- 46. Portia Maluleke
- 47. Promise Motati
- 48. Priscilla Ndlovu
- 49. Mahadi Chakela
- 50. Albertinah Malebye
- 199. No girl
Question 7: Who gets along well with others?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiso Matsheke
03. Tsepang Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Mlambo
51. Thabang Masemolo
52. Itumeleng Nkwana
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Moeti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndawamato
62. Peter Matieng
63. Peter Dijo
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Maluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
199. No girl
Question 8: Who makes up stories and lies to get other children in trouble?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th></th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>02.</td>
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<td>Moses Mbambo</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>Albertinah Malebye</td>
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<td>61.</td>
<td>Warren Ndramamo</td>
<td>199.</td>
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<td>62.</td>
<td>Peter Matjeng</td>
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<tr>
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### Question 9: Who does things that bother others?

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02. Tsepiso Matsheke</td>
<td>22. Ephenia Mothapo</td>
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<td>03. Tsefang Malite</td>
<td>25. Rehawuetswe Tsipisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04. Martin Baloyi</td>
<td>26. Bridgette Legong</td>
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<tr>
<td>07. Mathews Lebisi</td>
<td>28. Irene Kekana</td>
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<td>09. Emanuel Makua</td>
<td>36. Salome Motlaneng</td>
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<td>14. Moses Mlambo</td>
<td>40. Refilwe Makola</td>
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<td>51. Thabang Masemolo</td>
<td>41. Sarah Ndlovu</td>
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<td>52. Itumeleng Nkwana</td>
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<td>57. Frans Moeti</td>
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<td>58. Sipho Maloka</td>
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<td>63. Peter Dijo</td>
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<tr>
<td>198. No boy</td>
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</table>
Question 10:  Who likes to share with others?

BOYS

02. Tsepiso Matsheke
03. Tsefang Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Miombo
51. Thabang Masembo
52. Itumeleng Nkwana
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Moeti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndawamato
62. Peter Matjeng
63. Peter Dijo
198. No boy

GIRLS

22. Ephenia Mothapo
25. Rehauwetswe Tsipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Maluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
199. No girl
Question 11: Who starts a fight over nothing?

**BOYS**
02. Tsepiso Matsheke
03. Tsepang Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Mlambo
51. Thabang Masemolo
52. Itumeleng Nkwanu
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Moeti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndwanamo
62. Peter Matjeng
63. Peter Dijo
198. No boy

**GIRLS**
22. Ephenia Mothapo
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Mluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
199. No girl
**Question 12:** Who pushes or shoves children?

**BOYS**

- 02. Tsepiso Matsheke
- 03. Tsepang Malite
- 04. Martin Baloyi
- 07. Mathews Lebisi
- 09. Emanuel Makua
- 14. Moses Mlambo
- 51. Thabang Masemolo
- 52. Itumeleng Nkwana
- 53. James Sethu
- 54. Lucky Chauke
- 55. Jacob Lekalakala
- 56. Tsepo Mogale
- 57. Frans Moeti
- 58. Sipho Maloka
- 59. Bond Molai
- 60. Abram Maluleke
- 61. Warren Ndwanuito
- 62. Peter Matjeng
- 63. Peter Dijo
- 198. No boy

**GIRLS**

- 22. Ephenia Mothapo
- 25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
- 26. Bridgette Legong
- 28. Irene Kekana
- 36. Salome Motlaneng
- 40. Refilwe Makola
- 41. Sarah Ndlovu
- 42. Nicholin Bopape
- 43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
- 44. Rose Maponyane
- 45. Portia Dijo
- 46. Portia Maluleke
- 47. Promise Motati
- 48. Priscilla Ndlovu
- 49. Mahadi Chakela
- 50. Albertinah Malebye
- 199. No girl
Question 13: Who co-operates in class?

**BOYS**
02. Tsepiso Matsheke
03. Tsepang Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Mlambo
51. Thabang Masemolo
52. Itumeleng Nkwana
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Moeti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndwanamato
62. Peter Matjeng
63. Peter Dijo
198. No boy

**GIRLS**
22. Ephenia Mothapo
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Maluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
199. No girl
**Question 14:** Who is always getting into trouble?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiro Matsheke  
03. Tsepi Malo  
04. Martin Baloyi  
07. Mathews Lebisi  
09. Emanuel Makua  
14. Moses Mlambo  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
52. Itumeleng Nkwana  
53. James Sethu  
54. Lucky Chauke  
55. Jacob Lekalakala  
56. Tsepo Mogale  
57. Frans Moeti  
58. Sipho Maloka  
59. Bond Molai  
60. Abram Maluleke  
61. Warren Ndawamato  
62. Peter Matjeng  
63. Peter Dijo  

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo  
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi  
26. Bridgette Legong  
28. Irene Kekana  
36. Salome Motlaneng  
40. Refilwe Makol  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertina Malebye  
199. No girl
Question 15: Who says: "Excuse me", even when they have not done anything bad?

**BOYS**
- 02. Tsepiso Matsheke
- 03. Tsepang Malite
- 04. Martin Baloyi
- 07. Mathews Lebisi
- 09. Emanuel Makua
- 14. Moses Mlambo
- 51. Thabang Masemolo
- 52. Itumeleng Nkwana
- 53. James Sethu
- 54. Lucky Chauke
- 55. Jacob Lekalakala
- 56. Tsepo Mogale
- 57. Frans Moeti
- 58. Sipho Maloka
- 59. Bond Molai
- 60. Abram Maluleke
- 61. Warren Ndwaamato
- 62. Peter Matjeng
- 63. Peter Dijo
- 198. No boy

**GIRLS**
- 22. Ephenia Mothapo
- 25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
- 26. Bridgette Legong
- 28. Irene Kekana
- 36. Salome Motlaneng
- 40. Refilwe Makola
- 41. Sarah Ndlovu
- 42. Nicholin Bopape
- 43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
- 44. Rose Maponyane
- 45. Portia Dijo
- 46. Portia Maluleke
- 47. Promise Motati
- 48. Priscilla Ndlovu
- 49. Mahadi Chakela
- 50. Albertinah Malebye
- 199. No girl
Question 16: Who says mean things?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiso Matsheke  
03. Tsepang Malite  
04. Martin Baloyi  
07. Mathews Lebisi  
09. Emanuel Makua  
14. Moses Mlambo  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
52. Itumeleng Nkwana  
53. James Sethu  
54. Lucky Chauke  
55. Jacob Lekalakala  
56. Tsepo Mogale  
57. Frans Moeti  
58. Sipho Maloka  
59. Bond Molai  
60. Abram Maluleke  
61. Warren Ndawamato  
62. Peter Matjeng  
63. Peter Dijo  
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo  
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi  
26. Bridgette Legong  
28. Irene Kekana  
36. Salome Motlaneng  
40. Refilwe Makola  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertinah Malebye  
199. No girl
Question 17: Who sticks up for other kids?

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<td>07. Mathews Lebisi</td>
<td>28. Irene Kekana</td>
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<td>09. Emanuel Makua</td>
<td>36. Salome Motlaneng</td>
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<td>14. Moses Llambo</td>
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<td>47. Promise Motati</td>
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<td>58. Sipho Maloka</td>
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<td>59. Bond Mulai</td>
<td>49. Mahadi Chakela</td>
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<tr>
<td>60. Abram Maluleke</td>
<td>50. Albertinah Malebye</td>
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<tr>
<td>61. Warren Ndwamato</td>
<td>199. No girl</td>
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<tr>
<td>62. Peter Matjeng</td>
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<td>63. Peter Dijo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>198. No boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Question 18:** Who takes other children's things without asking?

**BOYS**
- 02. Tsepiiso Matsheke
- 03. Tsepang Malite
- 04. Martin Baloyi
- 07. Mathews Lebisi
- 09. Emanuel Makua
- 14. Moses Mlambo
- 51. Thabang Masemolo
- 52. Itumeleng Nkwana
- 53. James Sethu
- 54. Lucky Chauke
- 55. Jacob Lekalakala
- 56. Tsepo Mogale
- 57. Frans Moeti
- 58. Sipho Maloka
- 59. Bond Mulai
- 60. Abram Maluleke
- 61. Warren Ndwamato
- 62. Peter Matjeng
- 63. Peter Dijo
- 198. No boy

**GIRLS**
- 22. Ephenia Mothapo
- 25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
- 26. Bridgette Legong
- 28. Irene Kekana
- 36. Saiome Motlaneng
- 40. Refilwe Makola
- 41. Sarah Ndlovu
- 42. Nicholin Bopape
- 43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
- 44. Rose Maponyane
- 45. Portia Dijo
- 46. Portia Maluleke
- 47. Promise Motati
- 48. Priscilla Ndlovu
- 49. Mahadi Chakela
- 50. Albertinah Malebye
- 199. No girl
Question 19: Who are the children you would like to have for best friends?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiiso Matsheke
03. Tsefang Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Mlambo
51. Thabang Masemolo
52. Itumeleng Nkwana
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Mueti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Mulai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndawamuto
62. Peter Matjeng
63. Peter Djo
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Maluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
199. No girl
Question 20: Who helps other kids?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiso Matsheke
03. Tsepang Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Mlambo
51. Thabang Masemolo
52. Itumeleng Nkwana
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Moeti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndwaniani
62. Peter Mutjeng
63. Peter Dijo

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapó
25. Rehawugetswe Tshipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Maluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
52. Thabang Masemolo
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Moeti
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndwaniani
62. Peter Mutjeng
63. Peter Dijo

198. No boy

199. No girl
**Question 21:** Who does nice things to help other people?

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198. No boy
Question 22: Who gets picked on by other kids?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiso Matsheke  
03. Tsepanng Malite  
04. Martin Baloyi  
07. Mathews Lebisi  
09. Emanuel Makua  
14. Moses Mlambo  
51. Thabang Masemolo  
52. Itumeleng Nkwana  
53. Janies Sethu  
54. Lucky Chauke  
55. Jacob Lekalakala  
56. Tsepo Mogale  
57. Frans Moeti  
58. Sipho Imloka  
59. Bond Molai  
60. Abram Maluleke  
61. Warren Ndwamato  
62. Peter Matieng  
63. Peter Dijo  
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo  
25. Rehauugetswe Tsipi  
26. Bridgette Legong  
28. Irene Kekana  
36. Salome Motlaneng  
40. Refilwe Makola  
41. Sarah Ndlovu  
42. Nicholin Bopape  
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni  
44. Rose Maponyane  
45. Portia Dijo  
46. Portia Maluleke  
47. Promise Motati  
48. Priscilla Ndlovu  
49. Mahadi Chakela  
50. Albertinah Malebye  
199. No girl
Question 23: Who gets hit and pushed by other kids?

**BOYS**

02. Tsepiso Matsheke
03. Tsepany Malite
04. Martin Baloyi
07. Mathews Lebisi
09. Emanuel Makua
14. Moses Mlambo
51. Thabang Masemolo
52. Itumeleng Nkwana
53. James Sethu
54. Lucky Chauke
55. Jacob Lekalakala
56. Tsepo Mogale
57. Frans Issoni
58. Sipho Maloka
59. Bond Molai
60. Abram Maluleke
61. Warren Ndwanamo
62. Peter Matjeng
63. Peter Loy
198. No boy

**GIRLS**

22. Ephenia Mothapo
25. Rehawugetswe Tsipi
26. Bridgette Legong
28. Irene Kekana
36. Salome Motlaneng
40. Refilwe Makola
41. Sarah Ndlovu
42. Nicholin Bopape
43. Hendrietta Ngobeni
44. Rose Maponyane
45. Portia Dijo
46. Portia Maluleke
47. Promise Motati
48. Priscilla Ndlovu
49. Mahadi Chakela
50. Albertinah Malebye
199. No girl
Question 24: Who gets called names by other kids?

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<td>63. Peter Pelo</td>
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HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

TELEVISION AND BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE (FACE SHEET)

(Copyright: Rowell Huesmann, University of Michigan)

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NAME OF CHILD: .............................................

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149
TELEVISION AND BEHAVIOUR QUESTIONNAIRE

DAY: __________________________________________

NAME OF CHILD: __________________________________________

Instructions:

Dear child

We are going to ask you about television shows. Turn to the next page.
1. What is your favourite television show of the past three months?

_________________________________________________________________

How often do you watch it? *(Mark your choice with a X)*

1. Almost everytime it is on
2. Usually
3. Sometimes
4. Hardly Ever

2. What is your SECOND favourite television show of the past three months?

_________________________________________________________________

How often do you watch it? *(Mark your choice with a X)*

1. Almost everytime it is on
2. Usually
3. Sometimes
4. Hardly Ever

3. What is your THIRD favourite television show of the past three months?

_________________________________________________________________

How often do you watch it? *(Mark your choice with a X)*

1. Almost everytime it is on
2. Usually
3. Sometimes
4. Hardly Ever

4. What is your FOURTH favourite television show of the past three months?

_________________________________________________________________

How often do you watch it? *(Mark your choice with a X)*

1. Almost everytime it is on
2. Usually
3. Sometimes
4. Hardly Ever

Please don’t turn the page
Next we are going to ask you about some things, and we want to know how true you think these things are in telling what life is really like. Now you can turn this page.
We want to know first, how true do you think the stories in the TV programme KIDEO are in the telling what life is really like? If they tell it just like it is in real life, circle Just like it is. If it is a little bit like it is in real life, circle A little bit like it is. If it is not at all like it is in real life, circle Not at all like it is. If you don’t know the stories, and you don’t know how true they are to real life, circle I don’t know. Do you have any question?

**QUESTION 1:** How true do you think the stories in the TV programme KIDEO are in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know.
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

**QUESTION 2:** How true do you think newspapers are in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know.
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

**QUESTION 3:** How true do you think the TV show IN THE NAME OF LOVE is in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

**QUESTION 4:** How true do you think the TV show TSIPHO O RILE KE LEBELO is in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.
QUESTION 5: How true do you think the TV show DAY AT THE RACES is in telling what life is really like?
1. I don’t know.
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

QUESTION 6: How true do you think the TV show THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL is in telling what life is really like?
1. I don’t know.
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

QUESTION 7: How true do you think the TV show TROUBLE IN CONSTANTIA is in telling what life is really like?
1. I don’t know.
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

QUESTION 8: How true do you think the TV show DAYS OF OUR LIVES is in telling what life is really like?
1. I don’t know.
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.
QUESTION 9: How true do you think the TV show TLHARANTHOPE is in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

QUESTION 10: How true do you think the TV show DICK SITHOLE is in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

QUESTION 11: How true do you think the TV show HE-MAN is in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

QUESTION 12: How true do you think the TV show HUNTER is in telling what life is really like?

1. I don’t know
2. Just like it is.
3. A little bit like it is.
4. Not at all like it is.

Now turn the page and STOP
The next questions we will ask you are more questions about television shows. What we want to know next is how much you act or do things like some of the people from TV shows.

For the first question we want to know how much you act like HE-MAN? A lot, a little, or not at all? If you act like HE-MAN a lot or do the things he does a lot, circle the words, A lot. If you do the things he does a little or act like him a little, circle A little. If you don’t ever act like him or if you don’t ever do the things he does, circle Not at all. If you don’t watch the show, circle Don’t know.

**Question 1:** How much do you like to act like HE-MAN?  
1. A lot.  
2. A little.  
3. Not at all.  
4. Don’t know.

**Question 2:** How much do you like to act like the police detective in TSIPHO O RILE KE LEBELO?  
1. A lot.  
2. A little.  
3. Not at all.  
4. Don’t know.

**Question 3:** How much do you like to act like HUNTER?  
1. A lot.  
2. A little.  
3. Not at all.  
4. Don’t know.

**Question 4:** How much do you like to act like the policewoman in HUNTER?  
1. A lot.  
2. A little.  
3. Not at all.  
4. Don’t know.
Question 5: How much do you like to act like Khudu in IN THE NAME OF LOVE?
1. A lot.
2. A little.
3. Not at all.
4. Don’t know. 51

Question 6: How much do you like to act like Sweety in IN THE NAME OF LOVE?
1. A lot.
2. A little.
3. Not at all.
4. Don’t know. 52

Question 7: How much do you like to act like Thato in DAY AT THE RACES?
1. A lot.
2. A little.
3. Not at all.
4. Don’t know. 53

Question 8: How much do you like to act like Nkweseng in BOPHELO KESEMPEGO?
1. A lot.
2. A little.
3. Not at all.
4. Don’t know. 54
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<td>x</td>
<td>Bonny and Friends</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>Nkweseng</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>The Stick</td>
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</table>
FANTASY QUESTIONNAIRE

DAY: ________________________

NAME OF CHILD: ________________________

QUESTIONS:

1. Did you ever have a whole special pretend world of lots of people or animals that you thought about or played with?
   - A Lot [ ]
   - A little [ ]
   - No [ ]

2. Did you ever have a make-believe friend who you talked to and who went places with you?
   - A Lot [ ]
   - A little [ ]
   - No [ ]

3. Do you have a special daydream that you like to think about over and over?
   - A Lot [ ]
   - A little [ ]
   - No [ ]

4. When you are by yourself, do you like to sit and just be very quiet?
   - A Lot [ ]
   - A little [ ]
   - No [ ]

5. Do you keep right on playing or reading, even when it is noisy in the room?
   - A Lot [ ]
   - A little [ ]
   - No [ ]

6. Do you sometimes dream about falling or getting hurt?
   - A Lot [ ]
   - A little [ ]
   - No [ ]

   Q1 COL 23
   Q2 24
   Q3 25
   Q4 26
   Q5 27
   Q6 28
7. Do you find that even if you try real hard to pay attention to what you are doing or
to your teacher, that you sometimes start to think of something else? COL

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 29

8. Do you sometimes dream about someone in your family getting hurt?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 30

9. Do your daydreams sometimes seem so real to you that you almost forgot it is just
pretend and really think that it happened?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 31

10. Have you ever wondered about things like how a bird can fly or how a fish can live
in water?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 32

11. When you get mad sometimes, do you think about the things you would like to do to
the person you are mad at - like hitting, or breaking his toys or telling him/her?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 33

12. When you are daydreaming, do you think about being the winner in a game that you
like to play?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 34

13. Are your daydreams about things and people that could never really happen, like
monsters or fairies or men from outer space?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ] 35
14. When you are daydreaming, do you think about how to make or build something or how to put together a real hard puzzle?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 36

15. Do you sometimes daydream about what would happen if you did really bad in school - even when this didn’t happen?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 37

16. Do you have daydreams about how the world will be and what you are going to be many years from now when you are all grown up?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 38

17. Do the people and things that you daydream about sometimes seem so real that you think you can almost see or hear them in front of you?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 39

18. When you are daydreaming, do you think about being a great astronaut, or scientist, or singer, or somebody like that who is very famous?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 40

19. Do you sometimes have daydreams about hitting or hurting somebody that you don’t like?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 41

20. Do you sometimes have daydreams or nightdreams about running away from somebody who is trying to catch you and punish you - even when you were not really bad?

A Lot [ ] A little [ ] No [ ][ ] 42

21. Do you have daydreams about people in other far away countries - where they live,
what they wear and eat, or what they do every day?  
A Lot  A little  No  

22. Do you have daydreams about things that can work by magic and have all kind of magic wishes?  
A Lot  A little  No  

23. Do you sometimes think about something bad that you did, that nobody knows about but you?  
A Lot  A little  No  

24. Does your Mother or you Father or someone else read fairy tales to you?  
A Lot  A little  No  

25. When you play pretend games, do you feel like you can really see the pretend places and people in the room with you?  
A Lot  A little  No  

26. Do you play pretend games about how things used to be when you were much younger - before you started going to school?  
A Lot  A little  No  

27. Do you sometimes pretend that you are a brave hero who saves somebody or who captures a bad guy?  
A Lot  A little  No  

28. Do you play pretend games about things that don’t ever really happen in real life?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No

30. Do you play scary pretend games - like ghost or monsters or something like that?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No

31. Sometimes when you play pretend things, do you feel so happy that you don’t ever want the game to end?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No

32. When you are playing checkers or cards or other games like that, do your friends sometimes have to tell you that it is your turn because you were thinking about something else?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No

33. Do you sometimes feel like you don’t want to think about anything and wish that someone would tell you a story or that you could turn on the TV?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No

34. Are your daydreams sometimes so scary that you try real hard not to think about them anymore?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No

35. Do you daydream about very happy things?
   - A Lot
   - A little
   - No
36. If someone asks what you are thinking or doing when you are daydreaming, does it make you feel silly?

A Lot □   A little □   No □

37. Do you sometimes think about very sad things when you are daydreaming?

A Lot □   A little □   No □

38. Do you sometimes dream about accidents or fires or crashes?

A Lot □   A little □   No □

39. Do you get real scared because of something that you daydream about?

A Lot □   A little □   No □
40. How often do you dream about things that you see on television?

- Every night
- Almost every night
- Some nights
- Never

41. Counting all the different kinds of pretend games when you are by yourself, how much do you daydream?

- Every day
- Almost every day
- Some days
- Never

42. Counting all the different kinds of daydreams when you are sitting in the classroom, how much do you daydream?

- Every day
- Almost every day
43. Counting all the different kinds of pretend games when you are alone, how much do you play pretend games?

- **Every day**
- **Almost every day**
- **Some days**
- **Never**

44. Counting all the different kinds of pretend games when you are with your friends, how much do you play pretend games?

- **Every day**
- **Almost every day**
- **Some days**
- **Never**
45. Do you have dreams at night or early in the morning just before you get up?

At night

Early in the morning
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<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(Complete this page before and/or after interview)</td>
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<td>3-4</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td>13</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Mother Interview**
1. Let's see, first, how old are you? 14-15

2. How much formal education have you had?
   0. Did not finish 8th Grade (Standard 6)
   2. Some high school
   4. High school graduate
   5. Some college or technical college
   6. Bachelors degree
   7. Some graduate or professional school
   8. Master's degree
   9. Ph.D. or professional degree 16

3. Is CNAME your
   1. natural child?
   2. adopted child?
   3. stepchild?
   4. other 17

Interviewer: (For item 4. The important thing to do is to determine whether or not there is a male in the home acting as father figure.)

4. What is your current marital status? 18
   1. married and living with CNAME's father
   2. Separated, widowed, or divorced from CNAME's father and living without a male who acts as a father to CNAME
   3. separated, widowed, or divorced from CNAME's father and living with another male who acts as a father to CNAME.

Interviewer: (If the answer to Question 4 is 1, then the child's father is FNAME. If the answer is 3 then FNAME is the current male in the household. If the answer is 2, ask:

"Who has been the most recent father for CNAME who lived in the household? How recently did he live with you?"

This is FNAME. In all cases ask:

"What is FNAME's full name?"

Fill in the responses on the face sheet. And, if FNAME lives elsewhere, say:

"Could you tell me where FNAME lives?" and fill in address on face sheet.)
5a. What is FNAME's current occupation?

*Interviewer: (Describe, may code later. If response is unemployed, ask "what sort of work does he usually do?")*

________________________

________________________

19-20

5b. About how many hours per week was FNAME employed at it?

______ 21-22

5c. How far from your house is FNAME working?

______ kms 23-24

5d. What is your occupation?

________________________

________________________

25-26

5e. About how many hours per week was you employed at it?

______ 27-28

5f. How far from your house are you working?

______ kms 29-30
6. How much formal education has FNAME had?
   0. Did not finish 8th grade (Standard 6).
   2. Some high school
   4. High school graduate
   5. Some college or technical college
   6. Bachelors degree
   7. Some graduate or professional school
   8. Master’s degree
   9. Ph.D. or professional degree

7. In how many different houses or apartments has CNAME lived?  

9. What was CNAME’s weight at birth? (Code in kilograms)  

10 a. Is CNAME the oldest child in the family, the youngest, or in the middle? (Code
   3. = oldest or only
   1 = youngest
   2 = middle) 

10 b. How many children do you have? 

10 c. How many are at school?

11. Getting ahead in your job or place in the community sometimes means that you have to do certain things you may not like. How willing would you be to do each of the following things in order to get ahead?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>How willing would you be to learn new skills in order to get ahead?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>not at all willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>a little willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>somewhat willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>very willing</td>
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<td>b.</td>
<td>How willing would you be to leave your friends to get ahead?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>not at all willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>a little willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>somewhat willing</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>very willing</td>
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<td>c.</td>
<td>How willing would you be to move around the country a lot to get ahead?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>not at all willing</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>a little willing</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>How willing would you be to take on more responsibility in order to get ahead?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>e.</td>
<td>How willing would you be to give up spare time in order to get ahead?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>not at all willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>a little willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>somewhat willing</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>very willing</td>
</tr>
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Now I would like to ask you some questions about CNAME.

Interviewer: (Absolutely no prompting for items number 12. a-h. You may reread the question for 12 items, but do nothing else to elicit an answer. If parent says 'is that enough,' say 'yes' and proceed to next question. If parent cannot think of anything, do not name a specific object or event, or says "I don't know", code a 0 and proceed. 'Don't know' is an important response for these questions. A blank should be coded only if the parent refuses to answer. Use proper gender for child wherever he, his is written.

For items marked 13., code 'Don't know' as blank.)

12.a. What does CNAME dream about at night (Must name object or event.)
   0. Don't know
   1. Mentions one or more objects or events

13.a. Do you think CNAME reads as well as could be expected for a child of his age?
   IF NO, ASK: Are you annoyed that he does not read as well as you think he should?
   0. yes
   2. yes
   1. no

12.b. What makes CNAME cry?
   0. Don't know
   1. Mentions one or more events

13.b. Does CNAME show enough responsibility in doing routine chores around the house? IF NO OR SOMETIMES, ASK: Do you let this annoy you when he doesn't show enough responsibility?
   0. yes
   2. yes
   1. no

13.c. Do you think CNAME wastes too much time? IF YES or SOMETIMES, ASK: Does this annoy you when he wastes too much time?
   0. no
   2. yes
   1. no
13.d. Is CNAME too forgetful?
   If YES or SOMETIMES, ASK: Are you annoyed when he is too forgetful?
   0. no
   1. no
   2. yes

12.c. What upsets CNAME?
   0. Don’t know.
   1. Mentions one or more events

13.e. Is the quality of CNAME’s schoolwork as good as it should be?
   If NO OR SOMETIMES, ASK: Does it annoy you that his schoolwork is not as good as it should be?
   0. yes
   1. no
   2. yes

13.f. Do you get annoyed because CNAME is not ready on time or isn’t where he’s supposed to be on time?
   1. no
   2. yes

13.g. Are you satisfied with how CNAME takes care of his things?
   1. yes
   2. no

12.d. What makes CNAME unhappy?
   0. Don’t know
   1. Mentions one or more events.

13.h. Are you bothered that CNAME doesn’t follow directions when he runs an errand?
   1. no
   2. yes
12.e. Does CNAME seem to need a lot more attention on some days than on most other days?
   0. No or don't know
   1. Yes

13.i. When CNAME has money to buy something for himself, are you displeased with what he buys?
   1. no
   2. yes

12.f. Do you often find yourself trying to figure out what CNAME is afraid of?
   0. No or don't know or not afraid
   1. Yes

13.j. Are you satisfied with CNAME's manners?
   1. yes
   2. no

12.g. Do you usually have time so that CNAME can talk to you about things that interest him?
   0. No or don't know
   1. Yes

12.h. How do you show CNAME that you are on his/her side?
   0. Don't know
   1. Any attempt
Interviewer: (Copy codes from Card 1, Col 1-13)

14a. What would you say are CNAME's 4 favorite programs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Freq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviewer: (If parent has difficulty in response to Question 14.a., offer your alphabetical list of shows as further help. It is not absolutely necessary they pick 4 shows. For items 14 - 16 if parents 'don't know' leave blank when coding.)

b. How regularly does CNAME watch this program?
   1. Hardly ever
   2. Sometimes
   3. Usually
   4. Almost always

Interviewer: (On this next question, encourage the parent to think carefully about each day in estimating the number of hours watched.)

15.

a. How many hours altogether on Saturday and Sunday does CNAME usually watch TV?
b. What is the total number of hours during the rest of the week that CNAME usually watches TV?  

_______  28-29

c. Do you have a video machine in the house?  

_______  30

d. (If Yes) How many hours altogether on Mondays to Sundays does CNAME usually watch video films?  

_______  31-32

16. Can you name 4 movies that CNAME has seen recently in a movie theatre or on video (not TV)?

Interviewer: (Accept any movie even if it has not been seen very recently. It is not absolutely necessary they pick 4 movies. Only accept those seen in the theatre or on video and not those seen on TV.)

I  

II  

III  

IV  

33-34  

35-36  

37-38  

39-40

Interviewer: (On this next question, encourage the parent to think carefully about each day in estimating the number of hours CNAME reads.)

17. a. How many hours altogether on an average Saturday and Sunday does CNAME usually read?  

_______  41-42

b. What is the total number of hours during the rest of the week that CNAME usually reads?  

_______  43-44
18. a. What 4 TV shows do you watch the most?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<td>45-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td>48-49</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td>51-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>54-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Interviewer:* (For each program named, ask for frequency of viewing and enter code above.)

b. How regularly do you watch this program?
   1. Hardly ever
   2. Sometimes
   3. Usually
   4. Almost always

*Interviewer:* (On this next question, encourage parent to think carefully about each day in estimating the number of hours watched.)

19. a. How many hours altogether on Saturday and Sunday do you usually watch TV?  

   _________  57-58

b. What is the total number of hours during the rest of the week that you watch TV?  

   _________  59-60
Interviewer (Refer to the eight programs marked off on following list. In regard to each program, ask the following question, and record the response below. Be sure to record the responses in order - List 1 through List 8.)

20. a. How often do you watch:

1. Never
2. Hardly ever
3. Sometimes
4. Often

Choice from: List 1
List 2
List 3
List 4
List 5
List 6
List 7
List 8
TV VIEWING: LIST 1
YOUNG RIDERS
NGOMGQIBELO
COBRA
TLHARANTHOPE
AMERICA’S FUNNIEST HOME VIDEOS
ROSEANNE
HUNTER
KIDEO
DAYS OF OUR LIVES
THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL

TV VIEWING: LIST 2
IN THE NAME OF LOVE
COSMO-LIFE
DICK SITHOLE
GOING UP
LOVE AND WAR
BREWSTER PLACE
EZODUMO
BRIDES OF CHRIST
TOYOTA TOP 20
TROUBLE IN CONSTANTIA

TV VIEWING: LIST 3
ZORRO
JAM ALLEY
EBENHEZER
GENERATIONS
KATTS AND DOG
MIGHTY MORPHIN POWER RANGERS
CAPTAIN PLANET
SANTA BARBARA
THE YOUNG AND THE RESTLESS
PROSPECTS

TV VIEWING: LIST 4
THE SMOGGIES
TROPICAL HEAT
DANGEROUS CURVES
BOPHELO KESEMPHEGO
THE COSBY SHOW
WISH YOU WERE HERE
THE CHIEF
NEIGHBOURS
THE NANNY
FRASIER

TV VIEWING: LIST 5
RESCUE 911
SANFORD
HOME AND AWAY
LASSIE'S RESCUE RANGERS
ZAPMAG
WIN 'N SPIN
PUMPKIN PATCH
STAR TREK DEEP SPACE NINE
TOP BILLING
AMERICAN SKIES

TV VIEWING: LIST 6
MATHE-MALODI
BOZO THE CLOWN
PRISONER
KNOT'S LANDING
LONDON BEAT
THE PYRAMID
ZAMA-ZAMA
GOING UP
THE BENNY HILL SHOW
TIFOU

TV VIEWING: LIST 7
NYPD BLUE
WOZA WEEKEND
IT'S A LIVING
SIMBA DREAMS
PEOPLE’S PLATFORM
JAKE AND THE FAT MAN
THE X FILES
TANAMERA - LION OF SINGAPORE
AROUND THE WORLD IN 80 DAYS
BEYOND 2000

TV VIEWING: LIST 8
THE NEW PINK PANTHER SHOWS
STUDIO MIX
THE STICK
I WANT HIM DEAD
SISTER SISTER
FORCE FIVE
DRACULA THE SERIES
A FISTFUL OF YEN
LION LAGER ZD
WHICH WAY HOME
21. Next we are going to ask you about how realistic you think some TV programs are in telling what life is really like.

3. Just like it is in real life.
2. A little bit like it is in real life
1. Not at all like it is in real life
Blank. Don’t watch the program; don’t know.

22. The next questions are about fantasy and daydreams. When I use words like "daydreams" I am using popular terminology for which there is no "official" definition. You may have a particular idea of what you mean by a daydream or fantasy so answer the items as they seem most to apply to you. Make a distinction between thinking about an immediate task you’re performing (e.g., thinking directly about something while you are doing it) and daydreaming, which involves thoughts unrelated to a task you are working on or else thoughts that go on while you are getting ready for sleep or on a long bus or train ride.

a. When you were a child did you ever have a whole special pretend world with lots of people or animals that you thought about or played with?

2. Often
1. Sometimes
0. Never
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. Do you sometimes have daydreams about hitting or hurting somebody that you don’t like?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Are your daydreams sometimes so unpleasant that you try really hard not to think about them anymore?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Do the people and things that you daydream about sometimes seem so real that you can almost see or hear them in front of you?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Counting all your different kinds of daydreams, how often do you daydream?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. In regard to children, how much do you think boys and girls should daydream and play pretend games?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Before CNAME (could/can) read for himself (did you/do you) read fairy tales like <em>Hansel and Gretel</em> or <em>Snow White</em> to him?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. How much are CNAME’s daydreams and pretend play about things and people that could never really happen in real life?</td>
<td>2. Often, 1. Sometimes, 0. Never</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23. Every child sometimes does things that make parents angry, and different parents punish children in different ways for these things. We want to ask you some questions about what you’ve done in the past year to punish children for doing bad things.

i. How much do you think CNAME engages in daydreaming and pretend play?

   1. Sometimes
   2. Often
   0. Never

   ________ 32

a. In the past year have you washed out CNAME’s or some other child’s mouth with soap? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that you have done this in the past year?

   0. No or not sure
   1. once
   2. twice
   3. three times
   4. four or more times

   ________ 33

b. In the past year have you spanked CNAME or some other child until s(he) cried? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that you have done this in the past year?

   0. No or not sure
   1. once
   2. twice
   3. three times
   4. four or more times

   ________ 34

c. In the past year have you slapped CNAME or some other child in the face? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that you have done this in the past year?

   0. No or not sure
   1. once
   2. twice
   3. three times
   4. four or more times

   ________ 35

d. In the past year have you spanked or beaten CNAME or some other child with a stick or a belt? IF YES, how many times would you have done this in the past year?

   0. No or not sure
   1. once
   2. twice
   3. three times
   4. four or more times

   ________ 36
e. In the past year have you punched or kicked CNAME or some other child? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that you have done this in the past year?

0. No or not sure
1. once
2. twice
3. three times
4. four or more times

24. Now I'm going to ask you some more questions about yourself. When I use the word 'adult' in these questions, please understand that I am including teenagers and everyone else except small children.

a. In the past year, have you been slapped, kicked, choked, punched, or beaten by another adult? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that this has happened to you in the past year?

0. No or not sure
1. once
2. twice
3. three times
4. four or more times

b. In the past year, have you been threatened with a gun or shot at or threatened or actually cut by somebody using a knife? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that this has happened to you in the past year?

0. No or not sure
1. once
2. twice
3. three times
4. four or more times

25. Interviewer: (Be clear that these items refer to real life and not to TV or movies.)

a. In the past year, have you seen another adult slapped, kicked, punched, beaten or choked? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that you have seen another adult slapped, kicked, punched, beaten or choked in the past year?

0. No or not sure
1. once
2. twice
3. three times
4. four or more times
b. In the past year, has CNAME seen an adult slapped, kicked, punched, beaten or choked? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that CNAME has seen an adult slapped, kicked, punched, beaten or choked in the past year?

| 0. No or not sure |
| 1. once |
| 2. twice |
| 3. three times |
| 4. four or more times |

_________ 41

---

c. In the past year, have you ever seen another adult threatened or actually cut with a knife or threatened with a gun or shot at? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that you have seen another threatened or actually cut with a knife or threatened with a gun or shot at in the past year?

| 0. No or not sure |
| 1. once |
| 2. twice |
| 3. three times |
| 4. four or more times |

_________ 42

d. In the past year, has CNAME ever seen an adult threatened or actually cut with a knife or threatened with a gun or shot at? IF YES, how many times would you estimate that CNAME has seen another threatened or actually cut with a knife or threatened with a gun or shot at in the past year?

| 0. No or not sure |
| 1. once |
| 2. twice |
| 3. three times |
| 4. four or more times |

_________ 43

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**Interviewer:** (The parent should mark his/her own responses to Questions 26, 27, and 28. Say:)

"For the last few questions, I want to mark you own answers. Please mark an answer to every question. If you don't understand a question, ask me."

(Then give them this booklet open to the next page. Do not observe their answers, but do not let them look at other parts of the booklet. When they finish, close the booklet and say)

"This completes the interview. Do you have any questions or comments?"

(Record any important comments on back of the face sheet.)

For each statement, please put a checkmark in the box which best expresses your feeling.
For each statement, please put a checkmark in the box which best describes how you act.

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<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Almost always true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Often true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sometimes true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Seldom true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Never true</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. I feel like swearing

b. I feel like losing my temper at people

c. I feel like being a little rude to people

d. I feel like picking a fight or arguing with people

a. I get angry and smash things

b. I am a little rude to people

c. I lose my temper at people
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<th>Description</th>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>Forklift driver</td>
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<td>Domestic Worker</td>
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<td>03</td>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
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<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Machine Operator</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
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<td>05</td>
<td>Union Officer</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>Student/scholar</td>
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<td>06</td>
<td>Mechanic/car mechanic</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>Pensioner</td>
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<td>07</td>
<td>Forklift mechanic</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>Unemployed/never worked</td>
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<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Retail Packer</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
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<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>Prison warden/Correctional Services</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>Dressmaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Radio repair</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Builder</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Clerck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Security Guard</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cook</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Bus driver/driver</td>
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<td>Typist</td>
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<td>Sales person</td>
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<td>Welder</td>
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<td>Labourer</td>
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<td>Telephone Technician</td>
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<td>Merchandiser</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Soft Server</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Self Employed plumber</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Baking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Self Employed Repair generators</td>
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<td>Admin Assistant</td>
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<td>Policeman</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Machine Operator</td>
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<td>Died/not applicable</td>
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<td>Deliver post</td>
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<td>Quality controller</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Inspector</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Porter</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Soldier</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Photo copier/printer</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>43</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
44 Plumber
45 Teacher
46 Shoe repair
47 Foreman
48 Maintenance Westville
49 Cutter
50 Maintenance Electrical
51 Safety Officer
52 Factory Worker
53 Nurse
54 Chief
55 Engineer
56 Self employed builder
57 Dispatcher
58 Welder (NB! 19)
59 Cashier/Teller
60 Stock taker
61 Switchboard operator
62 Secretary
63 General Manager
64 Postmaster
CONFIDENTIAL

SITUATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

(Adapted Edition, 1994)

GROUP: SOCIAL DYNAMICS

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL, 1994
134 Pretorius Street
PRETORIA
SITUATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

What you must do

In this booklet a number of situations are described which can occur in anybody’s life; then five possible ways of reacting follow. Next to each one of the five different ways of reacting you must indicate whether this is how you usually act in such a situation or would act if such a thing happened to you. For some people it should be characteristic to answer "Yes" to all five the possibilities while others may answer "Yes" to only one or two of the possibilities in similar situations. Just remember to indicate next to every possibility whether that is what you usually do or probably would do if you were in such a situation.

Indicate on your questionnaire next to the right number whether your answer is YES or NO by making a circle over the Y or N as it applies to you.

EXAMPLE

When I lose my temper

a I am inclined to slap (hit) somebody
b I am inclined to cry
c I am inclined to remain silent
d I am inclined to curse the person
e I am inclined to feel unhappy

You must now decide whether you want to mark YES (Y) or NO (N) on your questionnaire

1a Y N
1b Y N
1c Y N
1d Y N
1e Y N

This person who has marked here is not inclined to cry or keep silent when he loses his temper; he is inclined to slap somebody, to curse the person and to feel unhappy.

As you can see from the example there are no right or wrong answers. Each person is different and you must say only what is true for you.
When you are told to turn over the page, start at Question 1 and continue until you have answered all the questions.

Remember that each question consists of five parts and you thus have to answer each item. You must answer each question next to the corresponding (same) number on the questionnaire. Rub out completely when you want to change an answer.

DO NOT WRITE IN THE BOOKLET.

Keep in mind the following three points when you answer the questions.

1. Answer the questions honestly. You will gain nothing by trying to create the wrong impression.

2. Answer the questions as quickly as possible. Do not waste time by pondering (thinking) too long over them. Give the first answer that comes to your mind. Some questions appear to be very much alike but no two are exactly identical and in such cases your answers may often differ.

3. Do not skip questions. It will sometimes seem as if a statement or question bears no relationship to the situations in which you find yourself, but answer the question nevertheless.

If you are still not sure how to answer the questions, you may ask now. If you do not want to ask anything at the moment, but come across a word later on that you do not understand, you may stop and ask.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>When I call my friend and he/she acts as though he/she doesn’t hear me</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to throw something at my friend</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>I am inclined to shout loudly at my friend</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am inclined to play a trick on my friend</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>I am inclined to think that some day my friend will land in trouble</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am inclined to think that my friend is angry with me</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>When I really want to do something exciting and my friend says it is not right to do so</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>I sometimes feel guilty because my friend is a better person than I am</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>I think that one day everyone will see how two-faced (false) my friend is</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am inclined to think that he/she is jealous</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>I am inclined to curse him/her</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am inclined to hurt him/her</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>When I am busy doing something (such as building something) and all my attempts fail</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>I become angry with myself</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>I keep telling myself that it was not worth doing anyway</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am inclined to feel bad because I was so impatient</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>I am inclined just to smash everything</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am inclined to use bad language</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>When things really go wrong for me during the day</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to kick someone or something</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>I am inclined to voice (speak about) my complaints</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am inclined to ignore other people</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>I dream of the day when others will fail while I am successful</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>I curse myself because I am so unlucky</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>If my friend does not want to give me something I really want</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>I secretly dream how I am going to be more clever than (outwit) my friend</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>I feel sorry for myself</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>I force my friend to give it to me</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>I accuse my friend of only thinking of himself/herself</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am cross (angry) with the whole world</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>When someone says mean things about me behind my back</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to have bad/unpleasant thoughts about that person</td>
<td>YES  NO  28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>I am inclined to be cruel towards that person</td>
<td>YES  NO  29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>I think it is wrong to take revenge (get somebody back)</td>
<td>YES  NO  30</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>In my thoughts I see how that person’s misdeeds will come to light</td>
<td>YES  NO  31</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am inclined to curse that person</td>
<td>YES  NO  32</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>When someone falsely accuses me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>I hit the person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>I immediately tell the person what I think of him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>I ignore the person in future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>I hope that one day the person will be punished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am sometimes afraid that I shall not be able to control my temper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>When I am scolded without a chance of defending myself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to disobey orders/rules on purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>I like to go and see a film/TV programme in which people fight or like to attend a boxing match/fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>The unfairness of life worries me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>I am inclined to slam doors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am inclined to grumble out aloud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9</th>
<th>When my employer asks (or has asked) another worker to do something that I would really like to do</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to tease the other worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>I am inclined to do my work very carelessly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am inclined to wonder why the employer doesn’t like me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>I keep telling myself that the employer will find out that the other worker is not as good as he thought he was</td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>I am inclined to feel very jealous</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10</th>
<th>When my family indicate that they do not believe me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to kick the dog or the wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>It makes me grumpy (ill tempered) with my brothers, or sisters, or friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am inclined to withdraw into my shell (to be on my own)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>I think to myself that one day they will be sorry that did not believe me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>I feel annoyed about (dislike) the unpleasant thoughts that came into my mind</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When my opponent does better than I in an important competition (e.g. tennis/football/netball)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a I am inclined to play badly on purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b I dream of the day my opponent will be defeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c I think it is wrong to become angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d I hit/kick/throw the ball wildly</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e I am inclined to express my disappointment aloud</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12 When someone argues with me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a I keep quiet because I am afraid that I will hurt the person's feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b I keep telling myself that the person is too stupid to see the weakness of his argument</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c I am inclined to turn my back on the person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d I am inclined to interrupt the person loudly</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e I am inclined to attack the person</td>
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<td></td>
<td>13 When a very good friend shows that he/she prefers someone else's company to mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a I am inclined to injure him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b I am inclined to make nasty remarks about everything he/she says</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c I act as though it does not concern (bother) me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d I think that the day will come when my friend will also be insulted</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e I feel guilty about my feelings of revenge (paying him/her back)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>14 When a worker yells at me as I go past his/her office</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a I think it is wrong to repay spite with anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b I hope the employer has seen him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c I become very angry but walk on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d I am inclined to snap at him/her (make an unpleasant remark)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e I am inclined to hit him/her</td>
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<td></td>
<td>15 When someone damages my property/belongings by accident</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a I am inclined to damage (break) something of his hers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b I am inclined to scold him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c I wonder if he/she did it on purpose</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d I pay him/her back in my imagination (thoughts)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e I am frightened at the thought that I might overreact</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>When I come to my friends and they push me around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>I am inclined to push them back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>I am inclined to make nasty remarks to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>I am sometimes afraid of what I might do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>I wish that I were stronger than them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>I laugh with them although I feel very angry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 17| When someone pushes in, in front of me in a line (queue)                 |     |    |   |
| a | I am inclined to push the person out                                    | YES | NO | 13|
| b | I am inclined to curse the person                                       | YES | NO | 14|
| c | I am inclined to curse the person in my mind                            | YES | NO | 15|
| d | I hope that the person will get into trouble somewhere else             | YES | NO | 16|
| e | I feel guilty that I did not allow the person into the line             | YES | NO | 17|

| 18| If somebody teases me                                                  |     |    |   |
| a | I am inclined to throw something at the person                          | YES | NO | 18|
| b | I am afraid I shall injure the person                                   | YES | NO | 19|
| c | I ignore the person                                                     | YES | NO | 20|
| d | I am inclined to stick my tongue out at the person                     | YES | NO | 21|
| e | I hope that one day the person will get what he/she deserves           | YES | NO | 22|

| 19| If someone takes something from me                                      |     |    |   |
| a | I take it back by force                                                | YES | NO | 23|
| b | I report the person                                                    | YES | NO | 24|
| c | I do not forget it quickly                                             | YES | NO | 25|
| d | I take it back in my imagination                                       | YES | NO | 26|
| e | I am afraid of injuring the person if I touch him/her                   | YES | NO | 27|

| 20| When someone belittles me (makes me feel inferior)                     |     |    |   |
| a | I feel that I am the one who usually is in the wrong                   | YES | NO | 28|
| b | I wish that I no longer existed                                        | YES | NO | 29|
| c | I regard myself as inferior                                            | YES | NO | 30|
| d | I criticise myself                                                    | YES | NO | 31|
| e | I sometimes feel like injuring myself                                  | YES | NO | 32|