Honours Research Project

Exploring political intolerance in South Africa: An Integrated Threat Theory approach.

Melina A. N. Ojiambo
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Liberty Eaton and Ross Balchin
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ABSTRACT

Political intolerance is a pertinent issue for many African nations. This study investigates the influence of perceived inter-group threat on political intolerance, using the Integrated Threat Theory framework. Integrated Threat Theory proposes that four different kinds of perceived threat from outgroups predict negative attitudes towards these outgroups: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes. This study focuses on realistic and symbolic threat, and sought to develop and pilot a new questionnaire measure of political identification, intergroup threat and political tolerance — the Political Attitudes Questionnaire. Based on a sample of one hundred and thirteen university students drawn from both student political party organisations and the general student population, from the University of Cape Town and the University of Western Cape, quantitative analysis was used to pilot the new questionnaire and to begin to evaluate whether perceived threat predicts political intolerance. Realistic threat was found to comprise sub-types of threat: economic threat, marginalisation threat, and security threat. The results further show that perceived intergroup threat is not a significant predictor of political tolerance within this sample. Strength of political identification was not found to exert a large influence on the relationship between intergroup threat and political tolerance. It is concluded that further studies are required to refine and validate the Political Attitudes Questionnaire further and that similar studies are needed to explore the relationship between perceived threat and political intolerance further, in order to expand knowledge in this area.

Key words: political intolerance; Integrated Threat Theory; political identification; intergroup threat; outgroup bias.

Today's world is rife with inter-group competition and conflict. Conflict is present across a varied range of groups: between nations, between races, and between tribes, with the South African context being no exception from the rest of the world. This society has witnessed high levels of inter-group competition and conflict. South Africa's history has to a great extent been characterised by division between groups, as was seen during apartheid. Though the apartheid regime is no longer in power, divisions between groups remain. Divisions along racial lines and ethnic lines, and between class and gender, to name but a few, are still evident and are a part of everyday life in South Africa (Gibson & Gouws, 2003).

The period leading up to the 2009 general elections witnessed high levels of intolerance towards different political groups. In many cases this intolerance led to violence between members of different political parties. Violence was witnessed between the African National Congress (ANC) members and Congress of the People (COPE) members as well as between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members and ANC members. Members of smaller political parties also claimed that they were victimised because of their political affiliation (Du Preez, 2009, February 12). Political intolerance is not a new feature of the South African political context, political intolerance has characterised South African politics for many years. In 1995, for instance, the province of KwaZulu Natal witnessed high levels of violence arising from political intolerance. Over one hundred people died per week as a result of politically related violence (Gibson & Gouws, 2003). There is therefore a need to foster political tolerance within the South African society for the sake of peace. However, for political tolerance to be achieved, it is important to understand the mechanisms that lead to the breakdown of tolerance and the precipitation of intolerance.

In this study, the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) framework is used to investigate the possibility of the existence of a relationship between inter-group threat and political intolerance. Intolerance occurs when certain groups in society are denied the opportunity to express themselves and their views. This applies especially if their views are not in line with the general norms of society. Intolerance is therefore in direct opposition to diversity, as it dictates that people must think, act, or be a certain way in order to be allowed to express their views in society (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007).

Political intolerance occurs when certain political groups and/or members of these groups are denied the opportunity to express themselves and their views in society (Gibson & Gouws,

2003). Political intolerance has been rampant in the South African context. Members of different political parties have attacked each other, members of opposing parties have disrupted political rallies, and no-go zones for certain political parties have been created. For example, in KwaZulu-Natal, posters of political parties were vandalised by activists belonging to rival political parties, violent clashes were also common between different political party members (Du Preez, 2009, February 12).

As people interact with each other in everyday life, they naturally form different social groups. Individuals become affiliated with these different social groups and this leads to the formation of ingroups and outgroups. When individuals feel that they are part of a group, this group becomes their ingroup. On the other hand if they feel like they do not belong to certain groups, these external groups form their outgroup (Gaertner et al., 2000). In the context of this study, the ingroup is taken to be the political party which each participant supports, while the outgroup is the political party that each participant likes least.

In many instances, outgroups are regarded negatively by ingroups and this has often been found to lead to negative behaviour towards these outgroups. The negative consequences of political intolerance can therefore be said to arise from the development of negative attitudes towards "othered" parties that form an outgroup — this is termed outgroup bias (Mummendey, Klink, & Brown, 2001). Outgroup bias has been found to be precipitated by a number of factors like inter-group comparison, competition and threat (Sherif, 1966).

The influence of inter-group comparison, competition and threat

Different theories have been put forward to try to account for the existence of outgroup bias. Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT), for example, proposes that inter-group conflict and hostility are precipitated by inter-group competition over resources. When different groups desire to achieve the same goal but the resources to do so are limited, the outgroup is viewed as a threat, and so inter-group hostility arises. This leads to the negative stereotyping of the outgroup (Jackson, 1993; Sherif, 1966).

However, it has also been found that outgroup bias develops in the absence of this inter-group competition over resources, thereby indicating that outgroup bias may be determined by multiple factors. Empirical research has found that different kinds of threat influence the development of both outgroup bias and negative behaviour towards outgroups (Riek, Mania, &

Gaertner, 2006). A study on *cultural threat* found that such threat may lead to the development of prejudicial attitudes. The study investigated the influence of perceived inter-group similarity and difference on the attitudes of American nationals towards Mexican immigrants. When cultural intergroup differences were made salient, prejudicial attitudes towards the Mexican immigrants were found to increase. However, when the American participants perceived the Mexican immigrants to be culturally similar to their ingroup, prejudicial attitudes were not as high (Zarate, Garcia, Garza & Hitlan, 2004). A meta-analysis by Riek and colleagues (2006) also found that different kinds of inter-group threat were related to negative attitudes towards outgroups. Some of the threat types that were reviewed in this meta-analysis are group esteem threat, distinctiveness threat, and the ITT.

Group esteem threat encompasses anything that threatens the worth, value or 'self-esteem' of the group. These kinds of threat were found to be related to outgroup derogation for individuals with high levels of ingroup identification. For example, Branscombe and Wann (1994) found that when American participants watched a film in which an American boxer was beaten by a Russian boxer, participants with high American identification were more likely to derogate Russians as a group — the defeat of the American was assumed to be a threat to the Americans' group esteem, thus the threat to the Americans' group esteem resulted in devaluation of the Russian outgroup.

Distinctiveness threat refers to anything that threatens the uniqueness of the ingroup. If the outgroup is perceived to be quite similar to the ingroup this could result in more competitive comparisons between the groups leading to outgroup bias. These threats were also found to be related to negative outgroup attitudes (Riek et al., 2006). A study by Zarate et al.(2004) found that when American nationals perceived themselves as quite similar to Mexican immigrants in terms of economic skills, prejudicial attitudes increased towards these immigrants.

Overall, perceived threat has been found to be a good predictor of negative attitudes towards various groups of people, including immigrants, people of different races and stigmatised groups, specifically gay individuals (Bromgard & Stephan, 2006; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer, & Perzig, 2003). Various theories and models that integrate different kinds of threat have been developed with the aim of gaining a more holistic understanding of threat.

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT)

The ITT provides a comprehensive explanation of how inter-group threat influences the development of negative attitudes and behaviour towards outgroups (Riek et al., 2006). This theoretical model proposes four different kinds of threat that influence attitudes towards outgroups: realistic threat, symbolic threat (inter-group threats), inter-group anxiety and negative stereotypes (inter-personal threats). Inter-personal threats pose more of a danger to the individual than to the group, while inter-group threats pose more of a danger to the group as a whole than to the individual (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Riek et al.'s (2006) meta-analysis on inter-group threat found that thirty-six percent of the variance in attitudes towards outgroups can be accounted for by these four types of threat, thereby showing the ITT model to be a good predictor of outgroup attitudes.

Realistic threats include anything that is seen as a potential danger to the economic and physical well-being of a group. As well as anything that poses potential danger to the power of the group and the quantity of resources available to them. Realistic threats therefore encompass various dimensions, including: employment (job retention and availability), physical security, political power and economic costs. Perceived threat to any of these variables has been found to produce negative attitudes and behaviour towards the outgroup. For example, in Israel, when native Israelis perceived Russian immigrants as an extra economic burden, and a threat to both their jobs, and the security in their society, prejudice towards the immigrants increased. Realistic threat therefore predicted the prejudicial attitudes of native Israelis towards Russian immigrants (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). Realistic threats have also been found to be good predictors of opposition to public policies (such as affirmative action) that benefit certain groups. This is possibly because the enactment of these policies could potentially lead to a reduction in resources available to the ingroup. The greater the perceived threat posed by public policies, the greater the opposition to these policies (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006).

Symbolic threat refers to anything that is perceived to be a potential danger to a group's values, beliefs, norms and general way of life (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). Symbolic threats have been associated with outgroup bias towards individuals and groups. In the United States of America, for example, symbolic threats were found to predict prejudicial attitudes of Americans towards immigrants from Cuba, Mexico and Asia. When the American participants perceived their values, beliefs and way of life to be different from that of the immigrants,

negative attitudes towards the immigrants increased. Thus difference in way of life, beliefs and values was perceived as a threat to the "American way of life" by the participants (Stephan et al., 1999).

Symbolic threat does not only influence individuals' attitudes but also influences their behaviour. A study on the response of individuals to the stigmatized (specifically gay individuals) found that in a context of symbolic threat, participants on average were more likely to keep physically farther away from stigmatized individuals. In the non-threatening situation, participants chose to keep closer proximity to the stigmatized individual (Bromgard & Stephan, 2006).

Inter-group anxiety is the third type of threat in the ITT framework. It refers to the feeling of being uncomfortable and uneasy around members of the outgroup. This makes the expectation of interaction (or the actual interaction) with the outgroup anxiety inducing and threatening and may lead to the development of negative attitudes towards the outgroup (Riek et al., 2006). In Canada, inter-group anxiety was found to predict the negative attitudes of EuroCanadians towards native Canadians and vice-versa. Historical conflict and unpleasant interactions between these two groups in the past has led to the development of fear and other negative emotions towards individuals in the outgroup. Contact between the individuals in the two groups was therefore seen as unpleasant and anxiety provoking, leading to the preponderance of prejudicial attitudes especially amongst EuroCanadians (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

Negative stereotyping occurs when the ingroup has negative expectations of the general behaviour of members of the outgroup (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). These negative expectations to a certain extent make the outgroup feel threatened and may therefore lead to the development of negative attitudes towards the outgroup. The presence or absence of negative stereotypes was also found to predict the negative attitudes of both EuroCanadians and native Canadians (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001).

Inter-group threat does not influence attitudes and behaviour towards outgroups in isolation. Other factors have been found to influence this relationship between inter-group threat and attitudes towards outgroups. These factors have been proposed to be either antecedents, mediators or moderators of the four types of threat specified in the ITT model (Riek et al., 2006).

Antecedent, mediator and moderator variables

Antecedent variables are variables that have been deemed to be possible precursors to the establishment of threat. Previous research and theories on intergroup relations were used to select specific antecedent variables which are also referred to as "distal factors" (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001, p.254). Four specific antecedent variables are believed to be associated with the four types of threat in the ITT, these being: inter-group status differences, history of inter-group conflict, negative outgroup contact and strength of ingroup identification.

When inter-group status differences are large, inter-group contact is negative and there has been a history of conflict between groups, the level of perceived threat from individuals in the outgroup has been found to increase (Riek, et al., 2006). Inter-group threat (realistic and symbolic threats) has been found to be more relevant to individuals who identify strongly with their ingroup than those individuals whose ingroup identification is low (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). This is possibly due to the fact that high ingroup identifiers are more concerned with the welfare of the group as a whole than low ingroup identifiers. On the other hand, inter-personal threat (inter-group anxiety and negative stereotypes) has been found to be more relevant to low ingroup identifiers than high identifiers. This is possibly because low identifiers are more concerned with threats that pertain to themselves rather than to the group as a whole. When it comes to political intolerance it would be important to investigate whether the pattern is similar for the relationship between strength of political identification, inter-group threat and political intolerance.

Inter-group threat has also been found to mediate the effects of individual difference variables like racism, political conservatism and personal relevance on behaviour and attitudes. For instance in Renfro et al.'s (2006) study, the influence of political conservatism on attitudes towards affirmative action was mediated by perceived threat. Therefore, the more politically conservative participants were, the more threat they experienced, and the more likely they were to oppose affirmative action.

The South African Context

The study of perceived threat in relation to political tolerance is not completely new to the South African context. Previous empirical research has looked at the influence of *socio-tropic* and *egocentric* threats on political tolerance in South Africa. Socio-tropic threat is defined as the

perceived threat to an individual's perspective of what the ideal South African society and political system should look like. This kind of threat therefore includes anything that poses a danger to the development of the "ideal" South African society and political system. A threat to democracy, for example, would be a socio-tropic threat. *Egocentric* threats, on the other hand constitute perceived threats to the well-being of the individual. Socio-tropic threat was found to be a better predictor of political intolerance than egocentric threat — the perceived danger posed by a political group to society was strongly associated with the level of political tolerance towards that group. Higher perceptions of danger were related to higher levels of political intolerance and vice versa (Gibson & Gouws, 2003).

This study on political tolerance in South Africa was carried out in 1996, which was only a few years after the abolishment of apartheid. The struggle for the abolishment of apartheid was largely fought on the political front through the mobilisation of political parties and the political climate at the time was probably quite different to the present. During apartheid, the political had a direct effect on the personal, as the lack of political power led to the social and economic marginalisation of certain ethnic groups. The impetus to be politically active and intolerant of rival parties during this period was therefore probably much higher than it is at present (Gibson & Gouws, 2003). It is pertinent to explore whether the relationship between perceived threat and political tolerance has remained constant over the years given the changing political and social climate. There is also a need to investigate whether this relationship is the same for the new, younger generation of South Africans.

A new understanding of the possible causes of political intolerance would be very useful information for the development of up-to-date interventions, aimed at fostering amicable relations between groups in society. This is of great importance in the African context as a whole, where countries are constantly faced with political intolerance, and where the levels of political violence between groups are extremely high.

Political intolerance is to a great extent a group phenomenon. It is more concerned with the suppression of the expression of certain groups' (political parties) views rather than the suppression of individuals' views. Most party members seem to act, not out of a protection of self, but rather out of a desire to protect the well-being of the group as a whole from threat. Inter-group threats have been found to be more relevant to the entire group rather than to individuals in the group (Bizman & Yinon, 2001). It is likely that inter-group threat has more of an influence

on levels of political intolerance than inter-personal threat. This study is based on this assumption and it is for this reason that the focus is on perceived inter-group threat rather than perceived inter-personal threat.

As mentioned earlier, ITT specifically predicts that strength of ingroup identification influences the relationship between perceived threat and attitudes towards outgroups. This prediction has been empirically supported by numerous studies. Most of the studies which have been done are correlational studies. Correlational studies prove to be problematic when it comes to determining the direction of the relationship between factors. It is possible that the factors that have been proposed to be antecedents of threat could in fact rise out of the presence of inter-group threat. Negative outgroup contact, for example, may precipitate inter-group threat, on the other hand inter-group threat may lead to negative contact between groups (Riek et al., 2006). It is for this reason that the term ‘moderator variable’ is preferred to the term ‘antecedent variable’ in relation to political identification in the present study.

Aims

This study has three primary objectives. Firstly to design and develop a questionnaire (the Political Attitudes Questionnaire) to measure intergroup threat, political tolerance and political identification. Secondly to pilot the Political Attitudes Questionnaire on a sample of politically active students. Thirdly, to begin to investigate whether inter-group threat is related to political intolerance in South Africa and finally to investigate the influence of political identification as a moderator variable.

It is hypothesised that two key components of inter-group threat — symbolic threat and realistic threat — are related to political intolerance, i.e. the more threatened participants feel, the more intolerant they will be towards rival political parties. The second hypothesis that is proposed is that the strength of political identification moderates the relationship between inter-group threat and political intolerance, i.e. intergroup threat is expected to be more relevant for high identifiers than low identifiers. Therefore in the face of inter-group threat, high identifiers are expected to be more politically intolerant than low identifiers.

METHOD

Sample

One hundred and fifty questionnaires were given to participants. Completed questionnaires were gathered from one hundred and thirteen participants. These participants were recruited from the general student population and the student wings of political parties at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The criterion that was used to select participants for the study is political affiliation. That is, participants needed to either have voted in the 2009 elections or be members of a student political party. It was assumed that these participants are generally more interested in politics than the general student population, and that they would to an extent reflect the views and the political stance of the general wider parties that they either voted for or are part of.

The final sample included eighty-two females, thirty males and one participant who identified themselves as "other." The age of the sample ranged from seventeen to twenty-nine, with a mean age of twenty. The sample included participants from different ethnic groups: thirty white participants, thirty-eight black participants, nineteen coloured participants, three Indian participants, and one participant who identified themselves as "mixed". Nineteen participants regarded themselves as "other", while three did not affiliate themselves with any particular ethnic group.

The participants were recruited in various ways. Firstly, the researcher approached familiar members of student political organisations and asked them to direct them to other members of student political parties. Secondly, the heads of student political parties were approached and requested to connect the researcher to the members of their party. Finally, the Student Research Participation Programme board at UCT was used to recruit participants who were interested in the study. These participants received partial credit for their psychology courses.

Materials

Different scales were used to measure the different variables. These measures were combined into one questionnaire named the Political Attitudes Questionnaire (PAQ). Each measure comprised a mixture of items, some of which were drawn from previously published measures, while others were constructed for the purposes of this study. Items were also adapted to the

South African political context where necessary (see Procedure section). All the scales were in five point Likert Scale format ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. Approximately half of the items in each scale were reverse scored.

Realistic threat measure. The items within this measure were drawn from Stephan et al.’s (1999) realistic threat scale for measuring prejudice towards immigrants (Cronbach alpha of .81). Some items were also drawn from Stephan’s racial attitudes questionnaire (http://psych.nmsu.edu/faculty/Walter/White-black.pdf). The preliminary realistic threat measure consisted of 32 items: items fifteen to forty-six in the questionnaire (see Appendix A). The items covered different aspects of realistic threat for example economic threat, threat to power and threat pertaining to lawlessness in society.

Symbolic threat measure. This measure was also a modified version of Stephan et al.’s (1999) symbolic threat measure. This measure has been used in a number of different studies and has been found to have high internal consistency with a Cronbach alpha of .71. The preliminary symbolic threat measure consisted of fourteen items: items forty-seven to sixty in the questionnaire (see Appendix A). The items covered different aspects of symbolic threat, like the values, morals and beliefs of the participants’ political parties.

Political Tolerance measure. The items in this measure were partially drawn from Gibson and Gouws’ (2003) political tolerance scale. This scale was created for use in the South African context and is therefore relevant to the context of the study. It has also been found to be a valid and reliable measure of political intolerance with a high Cronbach alpha of .77. The preliminary political tolerance measure consisted of thirteen items: items sixty-one to seventy three in the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Political identification measure. The measure for political identification was drawn from Mael and Tetrick’s (1992) (as cited in Greene, 2004) Identification with a Psychological Group (IDPG) scale. This scale has been found to be applicable to a diverse range of social groups “including political parties” and is therefore suitable (Greene, 2004, p. 140). This scale also has high internal consistency with a Cronbach alpha of .85. The preliminary measure consisted of eleven items: items one to eleven in the questionnaire (see Appendix A).

Design

This exploratory study adopted a quasi-experimental, cross-sectional design. The independent variable, intergroup threat, was comprised of two levels: *realistic threat* and *symbolic threat*. The level of political tolerance was the dependant variable and political identification was investigated as a potential moderator variable. This kind of design allowed for the exploration of different relationships between variables. It also allowed for the analysis of multiple variables at one time and was therefore suitable.

Data Analysis

Principal factors analysis (PFA with communalities) and inter-item reliability analysis were used to develop the PAQ. These two procedures were selected as they have been used in previous studies to develop similar measures. The measures that have been developed using these procedures have been found to be highly reliable and valid in different populations. Factor analysis and inter-item reliability analysis have also been found to be suitable for refining measures by weaning out weak items (Renfro et al., 2006).

Multiple regression analyses were used to explore the relationships between intergroup threat, political tolerance and political identification. This procedure was chosen as it allows for relationships between variables to be drawn. Furthermore, this analysis determines the amount of variance in the dependent variable that can be attributed to a number of independent variables. As there were a number of independent variables in this study, this statistical procedure was found to be suitable.

Procedure

The first aspect of this study was the construction of the PAQ. This questionnaire included the preliminary measures of the different variables under investigation. Published measures of intergroup threat, political tolerance and political identification were sourced and qualitatively evaluated, with those whose validity and reliability had been proven being selected as templates for the development of the preliminary measures. These measures consisted of three kinds of items. The first set of items were items which were identical to items from the previously published scales (old items). The second set of items were items which were adapted to the context by a change in their wording (modified items). The final set of items were newly

constructed based on the different aspects included in the relevant constructs. For example, in the case of *realistic threat,* items exploring economic threat, threat to power and threats to physical safety, were constructed. The old, modified and new items were then combined into the different preliminary measures and these formed the PAQ. The "least liked" group approach was used for all the measures, with the exception of the political identification measure (Gibson & Gouws, 2003). Participants were requested to select the political group that they dislike the most. All the items in the threat and tolerance scales referred to this 'least liked' group.

Realistic threat measure. Items from Stephan et al.'s (1999) realistic threat scale and Stephan's racial attitudes questionnaire (http://psych.nmsu.edu/faculty/Walter/White-black.pdf) were qualitatively evaluated. They were then used as a template for the modification and construction of items for the realistic threat measure in this study.

Symbolic threat measure. Some of the items in Stephan et al.'s (1999) symbolic threat measure were adapted to the context through changes in their wording. A second group of items which were conceptually related to the items in Stephan et al' s (1999) measure, were constructed and added to the modified items to form the preliminary symbolic threat measure.

Political Tolerance Measure. Items from the Gibson and Gouws (2003) political tolerance scale were included in this measure. Additional items relating to different aspects of political tolerance were constructed and added to the measure.

Political identification Measure. Many of the items were kept in the exact same form as items in the IDPG scale (Greene, 2004). Other items tapping affect of participants towards their preferred political party were added to these items, and this formed the preliminary political identification measure in this study.

Once the PAQ was developed, data collection began. Participants were approached and asked whether they would like to be part of study measuring students' political attitudes. All volunteers were given an Informed consent form to sign explaining the general purpose of the study and informing the participants that they were free to terminate the study at any point. This form also assured participants of confidentiality (see Appendix C). Not all the details of the study were divulged at this point, as this would possibly have affected the validity of the results due to potential social desirability bias.

The questionnaires were then given to the participants to complete. They contained standardised instructions directing the participants on how to complete them. After this was

completed, the participants received a debriefing form explaining the purpose, aims and theory surrounding the study in detail. Once all the completed questionnaires had been collected, the data was coded and entered into a statistics programme in preparation for analysis.

Different measures were put in place to ensure that the study was conducted in an ethical manner and that participants faced minimal risk (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2008). The University of Cape Town (UCT) code for research with human subjects was adhered to. The informed consent forms ensured that the participants were fully appraised and that none of the participants felt coerced into participating. Participants were debriefed and also given the opportunity to ask questions.

RESULTS

Composite scores for all the measures were computed from the means of the selected items. The scores ranged from one to five, with high scores indicating high political identification, high perceived threat and high political identification, and low scores indicating the reverse.

Political identification measure

The intercorrelations between the political identification items ranged from -.01 to .69, indicating that some items had a strong relationship with each other, while others did not (see Table 1). Most of the items however, had a correlation of above .4, suggesting that most were examining the same underlying construct. Items one, three and nine, however, had extremely weak correlations with many of the items, suggesting that they were not useful items to include in this scale.

A principal factors analysis (PFA, with communalities) confirmed that there was indeed one underlying factor (Eigen Value=3.98) which accounted for 44.27% of the variance in the items (see Table 2). This factor was named political identification. All of the political identification items except items three and nine loaded quite strongly onto the factor, further suggesting that they were measuring the same underlying construct. The communalities confirmed this.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix for Political Identification Items

Item	*M(SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	3.62(1.0)	–	.47	.18	.39	.37	.37	.35	.30	-.01	.19	.34
2	3.24(1.26)		–	.48	.46	.51	.46	.62	.56	-.01	.37	.49
3	2.81(1.16)			–	.24	.42	.17	.39	.41	.03	.25	.30
4	3.07(1.14)				–	.29	.50	.47	.41	.03	.42	.35
5	3.03(1.22)					–	.47	.49	.52	-.12	.35	.46
6	3.38(1.14)						–	.47	.38	.07	.31	.45
7	3.98(0.78)							–	.69	.18	.41	.53
8	3.99(0.76)								–	.12	.42	.47
9	2.68(0.94)									–	.14	.19
10	3.59(0.86)										–	.53
11	3.20(1.07)											–

Table 2

Factor Loadings For Political Identification Items

Item	Factor 1
1	-.504
2	-.767
3	-.495[a]
4	-.610
5	-.669
6	-.624
7	-.788
8	-.738
9	-.103[a]
10	-.565
11	-.682

Note. Marked loadings are >.50

[a]Items loading at <.50

An Inter-item reliability analysis revealed that the political identification measure had high internal consistency, with a Cronbach Alpha of .849. This analysis also revealed items three and nine as weak, with low correlations with the scale as a whole (see Table 3). With items three and nine removed from the political identification scale, the inter-item reliability of the final scale increased, with a Cronbach Alpha of .866 (M=3.46, SD=.724). The high mean indicates that on average, political identification was high in this sample. The final political identification measure was normally distributed (K-S d=.05, p>.20) with a maximum score of 5.00 and a minimum score of 1.777. The final measure comprised nine items.

Table 3

Inter-item Reliability For Political Identification Measure

Item	Item-Total correlation	Alpha if deleted
1	.465	.842
2	.706	.820
3	.442	.845
4	.555	.835
5	.592	.832
6	.577	.833
7	.731	.826
8	.676	.830
9	.075	.868
10	.525	.838
11	.642	.827

Threat measure

The correlations between the threat items were all positive, with some of the items highly related to each other while, possibly weak items, were not.

A PFA with communalities revealed that there were eight underlying factors for the threat items (See Appendix B, Table B1, for loadings), with Eigen values ranging from 1.090 to 14.245 (see Table 4). These eight factors accounted for 55.69% of the variance.

Table 4

Threat Measure Eigen Values

Factor	Eigen Value	Percentage Total Variance	Cumulative Percentage	Number of items loading
1	14.245	30.967	30.967	7
2	2.473	5.376	36.342	4
3	2.062	4.483	40.826	1
4	1.827	3.971	44.797	3
5	1.504	3.269	48.066	5
6	1.306	2.839	50.905	4
7	1.113	2.419	53.324	1
8	1.090	2.369	55.693	11

Though the factor analysis proposed an eight factor solution, some of the factors had only one item loading onto them. These factors were left out of the final threat measure. Of the remaining six factors, five seemed to have a conceptually logical underlying structure; these factors were named according to this conceptual structure (see Table 5).

Table 5

Threat Factor Names

Factor	Name
1	Economic threat
2	Symbolic threat
3	Marginalisation Threat
4	Security Threat
5	Abstract Threat to SA[a]

[a] SA is an abbreviation for South Africa

The remaining factor had only three items loading onto it. These items did not seem to be conceptually related, suggesting that the factor should be left out of the final threat measure. The cumulative percentage variance of a five factor solution to the threat measure still accounted for a large percentage of the variance amongst the threat items (48.07%). For these reasons, this undefined factor was left out of the final threat measure, leaving a five factor solution.

The items which loaded strongly onto the five threat factors were included in the final threat measure and five threat sub-scales were computed. The correlations between the items in each threat subscale were positive and ranged from moderate to strong correlations suggesting that the items within each subscale were conceptually related to each other (see Tables 6 to10).

Table 6

Inter-item Reliability and Correlation Matrix for Economic threat

Item	Item-Total Correlation	alpha if deleted	16	18	20	21	24	25	33
16	.494	.799	–	.582	.275	.538	.234	.268	.215
18	.571	.787		–	.394	.508	.310	.307	.303
20	.506	.797			–	.388	.431	.222	.439
21	.688	.766				–	.488	.384	.476
24	.577	.786					–	.377	.566
25	.464	.806						–	.420
33	.588	.784							–

Table 7

Inter-item Reliability and Correlation Matrix for Symbolic Threat

Item	Item-Total Correlation	alpha if deleted	55	56	58	60
55	.547	.845	–	.482	.483	.472
56	.696	.784		–	.643	.621
58	.735	.769			–	.689
60	.714	.775				–

Table 8

Inter-item Reliability and Correlation Matrix for Marginalisation Threat

Item	Item-Total Correlation	alpha if deleted	22	32	34	41	43
22	.637	.758	–	.493	.478	.543	.424
32	.553	.784		–	.424	.488	.316
34	.570	.778			–	.425	.446
41	.659	.750				–	.543
43	.555	.783					–

Table 9

Inter-item Reliability and Correlation Matrix for Security Threat

Item	Item-Total Correlation	alpha if deleted	36	38	39	42
36	.436	.647	−	.343	.333	.328
38	.484	.615		−	.358	.393
39	.475	.621			−	.387
42	.490	.610				−

Table 10

Inter-item Reliability and Correlation Matrix for Abstract threat to South Africa

Item	Item-Total Correlation	alpha if deleted	27	29	30	31	44	46	50	53	54	57	59
27	.699	.896	–	.565	.511	.540	.547	.567	.442	.522	.503	.359	.495
29	.642	.899		–	.450	.453	.472	.528	.408	.422	.382	.414	.571
30	.683	.897			–	.682	.457	.559	.443	.279	.591	.520	.512
31	.674	.897				–	.468	.515	.388	.424	.490	.482	.478
44	.689	.896					–	.728	.455	.525	.429	.481	.436
46	.736	.894						–	.514	.425	.433	.541	.516
50	.555	.904							–	.347	.435	.235	.442
53	.601	.902								–	.477	.501	.470
54	.646	.899									–	.468	.490
57	.609	.900										–	.485
59	.674	.897											–

The inter-item reliability analysis revealed that all the threat subscales had high internal consistency, with Cronbach alphas ranging from .688 to .907. The threat subscales were all normally distributed with means ranging from 3.64 to 3.20 and a standard deviation range of .64 to .83. The subscale means indicated that intergroup threat was quite high in this sample (see Table 11). The subscales were positively correlated to each other, showing that they were possibly all tapping an overarching construct: threat.

Table 11
Cronbach Alphas and Descriptive Statistics for Threat Subscales

Subscale	α	*M*	*SD*	Maximum Score	Minimum Score
Economic Threat	.814	3.64	.64	5	2
Symbolic Threat	.838	3.50	.83	5	1
Marginalisation Threat	.808	3.53	.69	5	1.6
Security Threat	.688	3.20	.70	5	1.25
Abstract Threat to SA [a]	.907	3.39	.72	5	1.45

[a] Abbreviation for South Africa

Political tolerance measure

The intercorrelations of the political tolerance items range from 0 to .73 suggesting that some items were either weakly related or not related at all, while others were strongly related to each other (see Table 12).

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix for Political Tolerance Items

Item	*M(SD)*	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73
61	3.24(1.22)	−	.49	.50	.19	.25	.17	.19	.32	.26	.00	.05	.08	.42
62	3.56(1.11)		−	.73	.50	.44	.16	.25	.40	.38	.15	.05	.27	.28
63	3.12(1.23)			−	.51	.44	.24	.20	.47	.47	.15	-.09	.31	.28
64	2.64(1.28)				−	.36	.26	.13	.29	.27	.25	-.07	.21	.16
65	2.91(1.18)					−	.34	.15	.38	.24	-.01	-.12	.16	.08
66	2.65(1.37)						−	.19	.34	.31	.15	.09	.20	.17
67	3.08(1.28)							−	.37	.22	.17	.19	.32	.27
68	3.46(1.11)								−	.45	.18	.16	.29	.26
69	3.82(0.92)									−	.28	.04	.38	.37
70	4.18(0.90)										−	.13	.42	.37
71	3.24(1.11)											−	.13	.20
72	4.17(0.95)												−	.30

73	3.48(1.17)	–

A PFA with communalities revealed that there was one underlying factor (with an Eigen value of 3.71) onto which many of the tolerance items were loading. It accounted for 28.55% of the variance. Some of the items, did not load strongly onto this factor and were thought to be weak items (See Table 13). An inter-item reliability analysis confirmed that some of the items in the political tolerance measure were weak items, as they did not correlate strongly with the scale as a whole (See Table 14). The Cronbach alpha of the measure was .810 indicating that the scale had high internal consistency. When the weak items were removed from the political tolerance measure the internal consistency remained high with a Cronbach alpha of .814 and the percentage of variance that the factor accounts for greatly increased to 40.45%. The final political tolerance measure was normally distributed (*K-S d*=.08168, *p*>.20) with a mean of 3.25 and a standard deviation of .796, indicating that on average, political tolerance was high in this sample. The maximum score for this scale was 5 while the minimum score was 1. This measure comprised 7 items.

Table 13

Factor Loadings For Political Tolerance Items

Item	Factor 1
61	-.532
62	-.746
63	-.785
64	-.545
65	-.505
66	-.414[a]
67	-.402[a]
68	-.635
69	-.609
70	-.343[a]
71	-.096[a]
72	-.479[a]
73	-.491[a]

Note. Marked loadings are >.50

[a] Items loading at <.50

Table 14

Inter-item Reliability For Political Tolerance Measure

Item	Item-Total correlation	Alpha if deleted
61	.447	.797
62	.636	.782
63	.644	.779
64	.458	.796
65	.418	.799
66	.388	.803
67	.386	.803
68	.598	.785
69	.551	.791
70	.316	.806
71	.103	.823
72	.448	.797
73	.460	.796

Multiple regression analysis

The intercorrelations between the threat subscales ranged from .20 to .69 with most falling below .50, thereby indicating that multicollinearity would not be a problem for the regression analysis. The correlations of the threat subscales with political tolerance were weak, negative correlations, ranging from -.10 to -.17 (see Table 15). The partial correlations of the threat subscales with political tolerance were even weaker, suggesting that a regression model would probably not be successful (see Table 16).

Table 15

Intercorrelations Between Threat and Political Tolerance Subscales

Subscale	*M(SD)*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Economic threat	3.64(0.64)	−	.40	.56	.39	.69	-.15
2.Symbolic threat	3.51(0.83)		−	.49	.20	.41	-.17
3.Marginalisation threat	3.53(0.69)			−	.37	.57	-.12
4.Security threat	3.20(0.69)				−	.50	-.10
5.Abstract threat to SA	3.39(0.72)					−	-.11
6.Political tolerance	3.25(079)						−

Table 16

Redundancy of Threat subscales

Variable	Tolerance	R-square	Partial Correlations	Semi-partial correlation
Economic threat	.477	.523	-.077	-.075
Symbolic threat	.727	.273	-.111	-.109
Marginalisation threat	.556	.444	-.003	-.003
Security threat	.734	.266	-.054	-.053
Abstract threat to SA	.420	.579	.032	.031

The assumption of normality was upheld for all the variables. Tolerance was high enough to proceed with a simultaneous regression with the threat subscales as the predictor variables and political tolerance as the dependant variable. The regression analysis revealed that the overall regression model was not statistically significant (R^2=.039, $F(5,107)$=.884, p<.494). None of the independent variables (threat subscales) in the overall model were statistically significant (see Table 17).

Table 17.

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Political Tolerance (N=113)

Variable	β	B	*SE* B	*p*
Economic threat	-.109	-.135	.169	.428
Symbolic threat	-.128	-.122	.106	.252
Marginalisation threat	-.004	-.004	.146	.977
Security threat	-.062	-.071	.126	.574
Abstract threat to SA [a]	.048	.054	.162	.742

[a] SA is an abbreviation for South Africa

The distribution of the raw residuals was normal with little evidence of outlying values. However, a case wise plot of residuals revealed that there were some cases with unusually high or low standard residuals (see Table 18). The predicted versus observed values scatter plot showed that though these values were outliers, most of them did not lie too far away from the rest of the cases (see Appendix B). This indicated that their scores were not too extreme and they were not deleted from the regression analysis.

Table 18

Casewise Plot of Residuals

Case name	Observed Value	Predicted value	Standard Residual
13	5.00	3.08	2.41
23	1.43	3.14	-2.15
74	5.00	3.29	2.14
82	1.00	2.84	-2.30
84	5.00	3.09	2.39

Regression analysis with political identification as the independent variable

A simple regression analysis revealed that there was a weak negative relationship between political identification and political tolerance; however, this relationship was not statistically significant (r=.014, p<.876).

Simple regression analysis for political identification predicting the different kinds of threat, revealed weak positive relationships between most of the different threat types and political identification. However, *marginalisation threat* was found to have statistically significant positive relationship with political identification (see Table 19).

Table 19

Summary of Simple Regression Analysis for Political identification Predicting Threat (N=113)

Threat type	*R*	R^2	*F* (1,111)	*P*
Economic threat	.001	0	0	.989
Symbolic threat	.146	.021	.434	.122
Marginalisation threat	.193	.037	4.299	.040
Security threat	0	0	0	.999
Abstract threat to SA[a]	.065	.004	.474	.492

[a] Abbreviation for South Africa

DISCUSSION

This study's central focus was to design, develop and pilot a questionnaire to measure intergroup threat, political tolerance and political identification. The second objective of this study was to begin to investigate whether intergroup threat is related to political intolerance in South Africa, and to examine the influence of political identification as a potential moderator variable.

Questionnaire development

The pilot study and data analysis led to the refinement of the measures in the PAQ and revealed that the final measures were largely reliable and valid. The inter-item reliability analysis revealed that that the items within each final measure were related to each other regardless of whether they were old, modified or new items. The internal consistency for all the final measures was found to be high, thereby indicating that all the items within each measure were tapping the same construct. The old items have already been proven to be reliable and valid. The fact that both the new and modified items were found to correlate quite strongly and positively with the old items indicates that these new and modified items may also be regarded as reliable and valid.

Secondly, the methods this study adopted to develop and refine the various measures in the PAQ are very similar to those used by other researchers in the development of valid and reliable measures. For example, Stephan et al., (1999), used factor analysis and inter-item reliability analysis in the development of realistic and symbolic threat measures in their study on the relationship between perceived threat and attitudes towards immigrants. These two measures have been used widely by various researchers to tap realistic and symbolic threat (Riek et al., 2006). The same statistical methods have also been used to develop measures investigating perceived intergroup threat amongst Canadians and measures tapping political tolerance in South Africa (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Gibson & Gouws, 2003).

The findings regarding the development of measures in this study are quite similar to the findings of previous studies. In the case of the political identification and political tolerance measures, the items all loaded onto one factor as predicted; however, only items loading above .50 were included in the final measures to ensure that the items within the different measures were strong, and that they were measuring the same construct. Alternatively, the items in the threat measure did not load onto two separate factors as expected, but rather loaded onto eight factors (which could logically be brought down to five legitimate factors).

At first glance, one may be tempted to conclude that this measure was not a suitable measure of intergroup threat, (specifically realistic and symbolic threat). However, when the items within the five threat factors were qualitatively evaluated, it was found that the symbolic threat items loaded onto one factor as expected. Realistic threat items on the other hand, loaded onto three different factors. The items within each realistic threat factor were found to relate to particular aspects of realistic threat, as postulated by the ITT. The first factor consisted of items revolving around threat to the economic well-being of individuals in

society. The second factor consisted of items to do with issues of disempowerment, oppression and the devolution of power in society, while the final factor consisted of items revolving around lawlessness, safety and stability in society. These three factors were found to be independent enough to be regarded as separate factors, measuring different kinds of threat. They were therefore re-conceptualized as sub-types of realistic threat: economic threat, marginalisation threat and security threat. These threat sub-types were positively correlated with each other, showing that overall they were measuring the same overarching construct of intergroup threat.

This pattern of intergroup threat items loading onto multiple factors is not a new phenomenon. Past empirical research has found that realistic and symbolic threat items in many cases load onto a number of factors (Stephan et al., 1999). For example, Renfro and colleagues (2006), in the development of their realistic threat measure, designed items that revolved around economic and political power. A factor analysis on these items revealed that they loaded onto two correlated factors. The authors, however, combined these items into one final realistic threat measure. It is possible then, that intergroup threat items load onto multiple factors because both realistic and symbolic threat are comprised of sub-types of threat. These sub-types of threat may have differential influence on the attitudes and behaviour of individuals — for example, economic threat may lead to the development of more prejudicial attitudes than marginalisation threats, or vice versa. Further research is required to investigate whether the sub-types of threat have a differential influence on peoples' attitudes and behaviour.

The fifth intergroup threat factor consisted of items revolving around a more abstract form of threat in South Africa. These items pertained to issues of freedom, democracy and respect of the constitution. This factor represented a type of threat that is similar to Gibson and Gouws' (2003) socio-tropic threat as it comprised items that could be seen as posing a threat to one's perceived "ideal" South African society and political system.

The development of the different measures in this study was significant in that it revealed that perceived intergroup threat is not a simple, straightforward construct made up of two types of threat, but rather, it identified that intergroup threat is complex and may consist of different types and sub-types of threat. It is important to note that this process of developing the different measures to identify intergroup threat, political tolerance and political identification is only the beginning of an ongoing process of refinement. The replication of this study using the PAQ on similar, and contrasting samples is required to further investigate the reliability and validity of the different measures.

Exploring the relationship between intergroup threat and political tolerance

The results of the simultaneous multiple regression analyses reveal that perceived intergroup threat is not a significant predictor of political tolerance in this sample. This study's first hypothesis was therefore found not to be true. This finding is in contrast to previous empirical research. For example, Gibson and Gouws (2003, p. 71) found perceived threat to be a significant predictor of political intolerance in South Africa to such an extent that they claimed that, "South Africans like most people, rarely resist the impulse to translate perceptions of threat into intolerance." In contrast, this study highlights the idea that there may be particular situations or groups of people who are able to resist the impulse of translating perceptions of threat into intolerance. This resistance may be due to a number of factors— other variables may be influencing the relationship between perceived threat and political tolerance, the context of this study may also have influenced this finding, as might the type of sample used. The mediating role of emotion and the use of self report measures may also have influenced the findings of this study.

The influence of "other" variables

Empirical research has found that there are a number of variables that influence the relationship between intergroup threat and negative attitudes and/or behaviour (Riek et al., 2006). Political identification was hypothesised to be one of the variables that would moderate the relationship between intergroup threat and political tolerance. However, it was not found to be significantly related to political tolerance. It was also not significantly related to the different types of threat (except marginalisation threat). Even though a significant relationship was found between marginalisation threat and political identification, the relationship was very weak. Furthermore, the amount of variance in the marginalisation threat that could be attributed to political identification was quite small. In general, political identification was not highly related to either intergroup threat or political tolerance. It was therefore concluded that political identification would not be a very influential variable in moderating the relationship between intergroup threat and political tolerance in this sample.

Previous research has found strength of ingroup identification to be a strong moderator of the relationship between intergroup threat and negative attitudes. It has been found to be strongly related to both intergroup threat and negative attitudes towards the outgroup (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). It is therefore pertinent to look into why this was not the case for this study. The relationship between political

identification, intergroup threat and political tolerance may have been influenced by other variables, such as contact, personal relevance and political conservatism.

The nature and amount of contact that individuals have with outgroups has been found to mediate the relationship between intergroup threat and negative attitudes. When contact between members of the ingroup and the outgroup is positive, extensive, voluntary and on a one on one basis, ingroup members have been found to hold less negative attitudes toward the outgroup. On the other hand, if contact is negative, minimal, involuntary and not individualised, negative attitudes are more likely to arise between groups (Riek, et al., 2006). In the same vein, the nature and amount of contact that individuals have with the outgroup may mediate the relationship between political identification and intergroup threat. Positive, extensive, voluntary and individualised contact, may lead to more amicable relations between members of the ingroup and outgroup and thus impede the development of intergroup threat even in the context of strong political identification (Renfro et al., 2006).

Empirical research that has found ingroup identification to be a strong moderator variable has also found that the contact between the ingroup and outgroup is minimal, and in many cases negative (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). This kind of contact between the ingroup and outgroup may have made intergroup threat more salient and thus more relevant for high ingroup identifiers. It may also have precipitated the development of intergroup threat resulting in an increase in negative attitudes.

The nature and amount of contact may therefore have a two-fold influence: firstly, it may mediate the relationship between political identification and perceived threat and in so doing hinder or enhance the development of perceived threat and political tolerance as a result. Secondly, it may also mediate the relationship between perceived threat and political intolerance, and in so doing either hinder or enhance the translation of perceived threat into political intolerance. This influence of contact can help in understanding why intergroup threat did not predict political intolerance for this sample of university students and why political identification was not found to influential. University as a context provides a platform for small group interaction in many different circles, for instance in class, residences, sports teams and social societies. It is therefore highly probable that within this context, many students from different political parties are provided with the opportunity to engage in positive, extensive, prolonged and individualised contact. Intergroup threat was found to be high in this sample. It is therefore possible that positive contact may have led to the establishment of amicable relations between members of different political parties and in so doing hindered the translation of intergroup threat into political intolerance.

Personal relevance may also influence the relationship between intergroup threat and political tolerance (Renfro, et al., 2006). The relevance of perceived threat to individuals' personal lives may hinder or enhance the development of political intolerance. As mentioned earlier, during apartheid, the political was personal in that it affected and influenced individuals' everyday lives (Gibson & Gouws, 2003). The struggle for political power therefore was of great personal relevance to individuals in society. Presently, the political still influences the personal, however, this influence is not as direct and as evident. The loss or gain of political power may therefore not be of as much personal relevance to individuals in society as it was previously. The sample that was used in this study was a very young sample in terms of age. Their experience of apartheid can therefore be assumed to be minimal. The political may therefore not be of as much personal relevance to them as it was to the participants in Gibson and Gouws' (2003) study that was carried out a few years after apartheid. Although the participants were found to have high political identification and a high level of intergroup threat, the salience of this threat may have been reduced by a decrease in personal relevance to their individual lives.

The Role of the Context

Research has found that the context in which perceived threat is experienced has an influence on the development and expression of negative attitudes (Bromgard & Stephan, Florack et al., 2003; Zarate et al., 2000). Most of the participants in this sample were recruited from the University of Cape Town, which is known for its liberal stance (UCT values, 2001). Many of the participants were therefore part of a liberal context and may have been influenced by liberal ideas and worldviews. They are possibly ,on average, more liberal than the general South African population. Research has found that liberal individuals are less likely than politically conservative individuals to hold negative attitudes and engage in negative behaviour towards sources of threat (Renfro et al., 2006).They are therefore more likely to be tolerant in threatening circumstances. This may partially explain why the participants in this study were found to be more politically tolerant even in the context of high perceived threat.

The Role of Emotion

Perceived threat may be associated with the development of outgroup bias. However, this may not necessarily translate into negative behaviour towards outgroups. The bio-cultural model of threat proposes that emotion mediates the relationship between perceived threat and individuals' behaviour. Different kinds of perceived threat have been found to elicit different

emotional responses which in turn may elicit different behavioural responses towards outgroups. Economic threat for example, was found to elicit anger and fear. These emotions were expected to lead to more aggressive behavioural responses towards the outgroup (Neuberg and Cottrell, 2002). The different kinds of threat found in this sample may have resulted in differential emotional responses in participants which may have elicited behavioural responses other than political intolerance. Though previous research has proposed that economic threat leads to emotions that elicit more aggressive responses, further research is needed to investigate whether this holds true for this sample and all groups in society. It would be of import to investigate what emotional responses are elicited by perceived intergroup threat in different population groups, and what behavioural responses these emotions translate to.

Future research directions

The new measures of political identification, intergroup threat and political tolerance developed in this study were largely found to be reliable and valid, however it is important to note that this was an exploratory study. Further research is needed to refine and validate the measures. The replication of this study with similar, and contrasting samples, may be helpful in indicating whether the measures are indeed reliable. The validity of the PAQ can be improved by employing the help of external raters to qualitatively rate the different items and determine how far they perceive them to be valid measures of the construct that they are supposed to measure (Renfro et al., 2006).

Another limitation of the PAQ is that all the measures in it were self report measures. Self-report is subjective and may be influenced by social desirability bias (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2008). Some of the participants in the sample may have been inclined to give more socially acceptable responses to the different items in the measures rather than give their honest views. This applies especially to the political tolerance items, and may help to explain why political tolerance was quite high in this sample. Future research should consider using less subjective measures of political tolerance.

It has also been highlighted how other variables, such as contact, personal relevance, context and emotion, may play a large role in influencing the relationship between intergroup threat and political tolerance. The exploration of the potential influence of these various variables was beyond the scope of this study. Future research should investigate the role that these different variables may play on the development or hindrance of political intolerance.

Finally, the sample used here may be representative of the wider South African population. The results obtained may therefore not generalise to individuals in the wider South African population. However, the use of this particular sample brought out the fact that intergroup threat does not always lead to political intolerance. Understanding exactly why high perceived threat did not lead to political intolerance in this sample may help to unearth variables that prevent intergroup threat from translating into political intolerance. This may in turn help in the development of interventions that aim to reduce political intolerance in society. Future research should therefore not only focus on using samples from the general population, but should also carry out more extensive research with these kinds of samples.

In conclusion, this study has begun to explore a complex area of social psychology in the South African context highlighted by the fact that perceived threat has been shown to be a complex construct, consisting of many different aspects. This study has contributed towards the understanding of political intolerance through the development of a new measure to explore political intolerance — The Political Attitudes Questionnaire — and through the initial investigation of whether intergroup threat is related to political intolerance. In doing so, this study has identified directions for future research. This study's findings also tentatively suggest that *perceived threat* may not always lead to political intolerance, thereby supporting the notion that it is indeed possible to achieve political tolerance in South Africa.

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AUTHOR NOTE

Melina, A. N. Ojiambo, Psychology Department, University of Cape Town.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Questionnaire

POLITICAL ATTITUDES QUESTIONAIRRE

INSTRUCTIONS: This is a study of the political attitudes of different individuals in South Africa. Please try to be as honest as possible when answering the questions, as this will help us to better understand students' attitudes towards political issues.

Please fill in all the questions in the questionnaire to the best of your ability. Thank you for your help in advance ☺

SECTION A

What political party do you support?.....

*The questions in this section refer to the **political party that you support.***

1. I'm very interested in what others think about my political party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

2. When I talk about my political party, I usually say "we" rather than "they."

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

3. I do not have strong ties with other members of my political party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

4. When I hear someone who is not from my political party criticize my party, I feel personally criticized.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

5. Being a member of this party is an important part of who I am.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

6. When someone praises my political party it feels like a personal compliment.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

7. I feel proud to be a member of my political party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

8. I feel pleased to be a member of my political party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

9. When it comes to politics, I don't act like the typical person of my political party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

10. My political views are in line with those of my party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

11. When it comes to politics, I act like a member of my political party to a great extent.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

SECTION B

12. I am currently registered with my political party as a formal, card-carrying member

□YES □ NO

13. I have done voluntary work for my political party in the last 6 months

□YES □ NO

14. I have attended **two or more** party rallies and/or election campaign meetings in the last 6 months.

□YES □ NO

SECTION C

From the list below please select the party that you **DISLIKE** the most. Indicate this by putting a tick in the box next to the disliked party.

- □ ANC (African National Congress)
- □ DA (Democratic Alliance)
- □ IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party)
- □ COPE (Congress of the People)
- □ ID (Independent Democrats)
- □ AZAPO (The Azanian People's Organisation)
- □ FF+ (Freedom Front plus)

SECTION D

*All the questions in this section refer to the party that you selected above, that is the party that you **DISLIKE** the most. It will be referred to as **Party X**. When answering the questions, assume that this "party X" is in power.*

15. Party X is incompetent to run the economy of this country.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

16. Party X's economic policies will be good for this country.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

17. With party X in power, taxpayers' money would seriously be misused.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

18. Party X's policies will lead to an overall improvement in the standard of living in South Africa.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

19. Party X condones corruption.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

20. Party X will be ethical and not fall prey to corruption.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

21. Party X truly cares about promoting the standard of living of all groups in South Africa.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

22. Party X does not care about promoting the standard of living of people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

23. Party X's policies threaten the economic well-being of people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

24. Party X's policies disadvantage people like me in terms of job opportunities.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

25. Party X does its best to promote fair employment opportunities for all groups.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

26. Party X respects the property and ownership rights of all groups in South Africa.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

27. Party X respects democracy.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

28. Party X would abuse political power in order to obtain their objectives and agendas.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

29. I would trust party X to treat all South Africans with respect and dignity.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

30. Party X can be trusted to handle power responsibly.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

31. Party X believes in a fair distribution of power between all groups in society.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

32. Party X only wants to empower certain groups in South Africa.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

33. Party X genuinely tries to address the needs and issues of all groups including mine.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

34. I worry that Party X might seek to disempower and marginalise people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

35. I trust party X to respect and protect the rights of people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

36. Party X does not condone the use of violence and intimidation.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

37. Party X would allow the use of excessive force by the police and/or army in order to attain its objectives.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

38. Party X works towards making South Africa a safer, more stable society.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

39. With party X in power, South Africa will become increasingly lawless and violent.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

40. During election campaigns, the actions of party X promote conflict and strife.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

41. With party X in power, people like me could become the targets of state oppression and violence.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

42. Party X promotes peace between the different groups in society.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

43. With party X in power, the physical security of people like me may be threatened.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

44. Party X wishes to protect the physical safety of all South Africans equally.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

45. During elections, party X allows its supporters to target certain individuals and groups for intimidation.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

46. I believe that party X genuinely wants to protect the freedom and safety of people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

47. Party X has very different values to the majority of South Africans.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

48. Party X understands the way in which the South African people see the world.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

49. Party X has no respect for the beliefs of South Africans.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

50. I have confidence that party X respects the South African Constitution.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

51. Party X has a very biased perspective on the heritage and history of this country.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

52. Party X will try to dictate moral values for South Africans.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

53. Party X truly respects cultural diversity.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

54. Party X represents the values of the South African nation.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

55. Party X has very different values to people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

56. Party X does not value the heritage and history of my group in South Africa.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

57. The moral values of party X are similar to the moral values of people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

58. Party X does not understand the culture and beliefs of people like me.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

59. I trust party X to acknowledge and respect equally the values, views and beliefs of all groups in society.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

60. Party X's policies undermine the freedom of people like me to express our identity.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

61. Party X members should be allowed to stand as candidates for elected positions.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

62. Party X should be allowed to hold political rallies in any communities they wish, including mine.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

63. Party X should be allowed door to door campaigns in my community.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

64. Party X should know that there are boundaries as to where they can or cannot campaign.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

65. Party X should not be allowed to bring external supporters into my community for a political rally.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

66. Party X leaders should not be allowed to publicly criticise my party and its leaders.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

67. Party X leaders should be allowed to make speeches in my community, even if their speeches contradict the values of my community.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

68. Party X should be allowed to fundraise from any businesses or individuals that they would like, including those in my community.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

69. Party X should be allowed to use TV and radio to campaign.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

70. If unruly members of my party attacked Party X members, I would want those members of my party to be firmly disciplined.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

71. I feel sympathetic towards members of my party who sometimes act aggressively towards members of Party X.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

72. Party X should have exactly the same rights and freedoms as my own party.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

73. I believe in political tolerance for socially responsible parties, but Party X does not deserve to be tolerated.

□Strongly agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly disagree

SECTION E

Gender

□Male □ Female

How would you describe your ethnicity?

.....

Age:.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR INPUT ☺

.....END.....

APPENDIX B

Tables and Figures

Threat Measure Tables

Table B1
Factor Loadings For Threat Measure Items

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8
15	.194	.149	-.212	.528	-.002	.210	-.144	.072
16	.553	.155	.063	.075	-.068	.085	-.084	.212
17	.337	.098	.191	.590	.245	.089	-.011	.014
18	.587	-.071	.113	.187	.109	.101	-.002	.242
19	.128	.083	.419	.344	-.010	-.090	-.212	.084
20	.527	-.177	.421	.268	.111	.011	.100	.203
21	.684	.071	-.047	.001	.235	.049	-.021	.311
22	.327	.208	.023	.246	.603	.005	.073	.236
23	.277	.296	.087	.277	.403	.108	.101	.370
24	.507	.205	.149	.120	.485	.166	.108	.138
25	.524	.276	-.032	.043	.195	.065	.119	.201
26	.294	.105	.308	.123	.253	.186	-.059	.449
27	.170	.278	.219	.051	.127	.108	.010	.631
28	.081	.156	.192	.654	.169	-.022	.252	.174
29	.287	.190	.258	.028	.070	.047	.126	.569
30	.406	-.060	.070	.214	.149	.088	.171	.647
31	.445	.079	.109	.077	.266	.215	.210	.527

Note. Marked loadings are >.50

Table continued...

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8
32	.340	.116	.096	.205	.563	.062	.038	.160
33	.554	.313	.108	.096	.362	.050	.165	.265
34	.050	.287	-.025	.080	.645	.146	.079	.005
35	.479	.439	.043	.138	.064	-.002	.025	.294
36	.296	.125	.362	-.011	-.227	.523	-.085	-.032
37	-.004	.100	.060	.277	.107	.409	.197	-.018
38	.303	-.095	.050	.133	.073	.595	-.046	.322
39	-.097	.045	.343	.038	.206	.605	.087	.144
40	.044	.111	.607	-.087	.168	.173	-.026	.097
41	.059	.242	.177	.118	.579	.176	-.160	.417
42	.129	.089	-.007	-.119	.212	.551	-.075	.335
43	.045	.059	.318	-.133	.604	.136	.134	.282
44	.324	.080	.254	-.000	.358	.188	-.223	.509
45	-.002	.047	.474	.145	.124	.166	.105	.158
46	.387	.046	.235	.090	.336	.187	-.119	.565
47	-.027	.074	-.259	.154	.167	.262	-.085	.471
48	.410	.242	-.072	.240	.035	-.008	-.122	.434
49	-.026	.356	.208	.093	.151	.324	-.546	.308

Note. Marked loadings are >.50

Table continued

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8
50	.218	-.093	.471	.070	-.032	.059	-.101	.537
51	.107	.160	-.008	.047	.292	.405	.356	.246
52	.037	.188	.039	.057	.134	.121	.490	.140
53	.164	.353	.038	-.146	.184	.174	-.135	.599
54	.210	.127	-.013	.184	.150	.035	.019	.710
55	.138	.565	.059	.078	.124	.287	.132	-.011
56	.219	.755	-.066	.003	.265	.007	.086	.124
57	.262	.221	.024	.034	.126	.170	.200	.571
58	-.004	.704	.104	.183	.098	.006	.080	.386
59	.212	.130	.229	-.064	.050	.044	.156	.686
60	.074	.737	.134	.170	.250	-.005	-.108	.214

Note. Marked loadings are >.50

Multiple Regression Analysis tables and graphs

Figure B1

Distribution of Raw Residuals

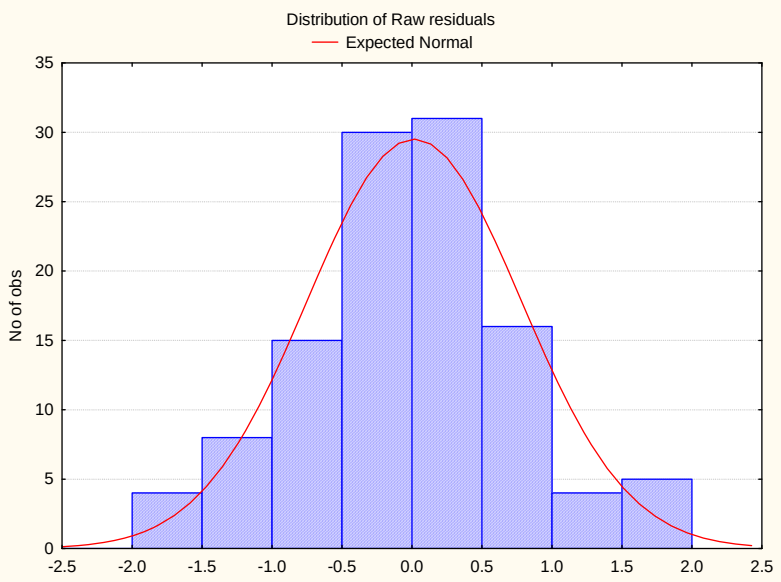
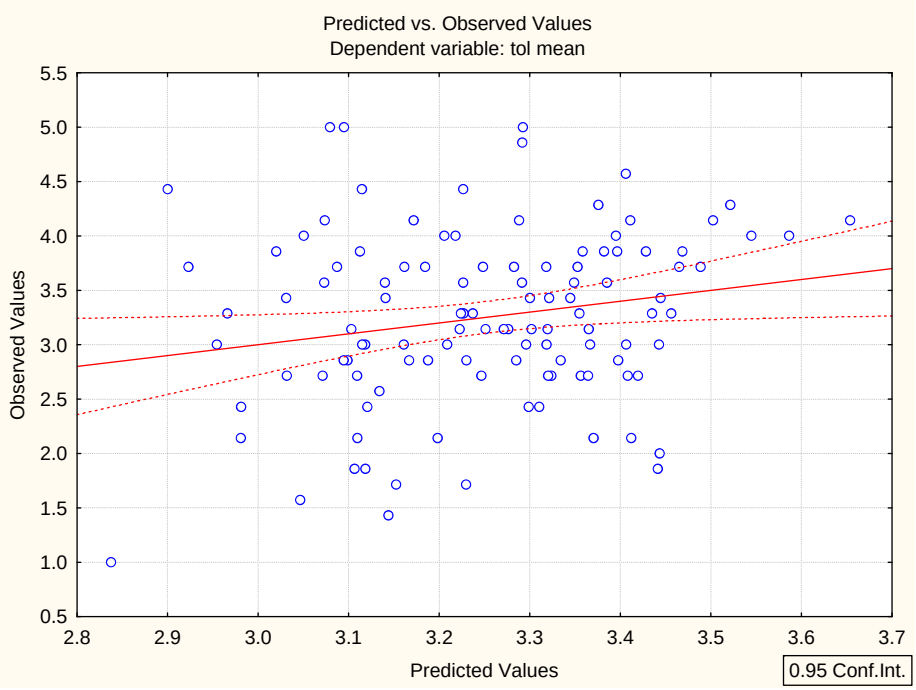


Figure B2
Predicted Versus Observed Values for Political Tolerance



APPENDIX C

Informed Consent Form

A survey of University Students attitudes towards politics and political parties

The purpose of this study is to examine the attitudes of University students towards politics and political parties. Participation in this study will help us learn more about the political attitudes of South Africans.

A questionnaire will be given to you to complete. This should take approximately 20 minutes. You will then be free to leave at your own leisure. Your identity shall be kept confidential and shall only be used for the purposes of this study.

It is important to note that participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will not involve any penalties. You are free to stop participating in the research at any time without incurring any penalties or punishments. Before you agree to either participate or not participate in this study, I will answer any questions that you may have.

For further questions or comments regarding this study please feel free to contact me
Email: menamfuts@yahoo.com
Phone number: 076 934 8913

STUDENT NUMBER:
SIGNATURE:

Thank you for your participation

APPENDIX D

Debriefing Form

This study aims to understand some of the mechanisms that could lead to political intolerance in society. Previous studies have found that perceived inter-group threat is one of the factors that is related to negative attitudes towards groups. That is if one group feels threatened by another group, they are more likely to have negative attitudes towards the group that is the source of threat. Political intolerance arises from a base of negative attitudes towards certain groups. This study will therefore look at whether there is a relationship between inter-group threat and political intolerance.

The integrated threat theory (ITT) will be used to investigate if there is a relationship between perceived inter-group threat and political intolerance in South Africa. ITT proposes that different kinds of perceived threat from groups predict negative attitudes towards these groups. Realistic threat, symbolic threat, inter-group anxiety and negative stereotypes are the four types of threat included in the ITT model. This study however, will examine only realistic threat (threat revolving around resources, power and the general well-being of the group) and symbolic threat (threats to the values and beliefs of the group).

It is proposed firstly, that realistic and symbolic threats have an influence on political intolerance. That is, an increase in realistic and symbolic threats is hypothesised to be related to an increase in political intolerance, while a decrease in realistic and symbolic threats is hypothesised to be related to a decrease in political intolerance.

Secondly, it is hypothesised that how strongly individuals identify with their political party has an influence on the relationship between perceived inter-group threat and political intolerance. The study will therefore investigate the influence of strength of political identification on the relationship between inter-group threat and political intolerance.

The questions in this questionnaire were designed to measure different things. Some of the questions measured how strongly you identify with your political party. Other questions measured how threatened you feel by a political party that you dislike while other questions assessed your level of tolerance/intolerance towards this party that you dislike. The main aim of this study was to see whether individuals who feel threatened by a political party are more likely to be intolerant of this political party eg by trying to limit the activities that this political party can do.

For more information on the integrated threat theory, consult the references below. You are also free to ask any questions that you may have about the study.

REFERENCES

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Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice towards immigrants. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29,* 2221-2237.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it's my own.
2. I have used the APA convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this essay from the work(s) of other people has been contributed and has been cited an referenced.
3. This essay is my own work.
4. I have not allowed and will not allow anyone to copy my work.

Signature……