

**APARTHEID AND IDENTITY REDEFINITION:
A CONFLICTUAL ANALYSIS**

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Abstract

This study has attempted to examine how the imposition of Apartheid identity constructs has adversely impacted upon the processes of identity redefinition in a sample of oppressed youth (N = 40), and to describe the extent to which the participants have allowed the present hegemony to influence the structuring of their consciousness. The structural inequalities inherent in the system of Apartheid have required the conceptualization of identity construction as a process mediating important choices, rather than the uncritical acceptance of the existing structural arrangements. The conflictual perspective adopted facilitated a more complex and differentiated picture of social representation , on the assumption that individuals and groups be understood in terms of being constituted through the social domain and actively engaging with and challenging the restrictive aspects embodied in it.

The qualitative phase sought to examine the extent to which two levels of consciousness, the personal or systemic causal attribution of their circumstances , had influenced their agendas. A self-administered interview schedule, consisting of open-ended questions, provided the basic demographic information with regard to age, sex and organisational affiliation. The major issues which were perceived to cause both personal difficulty and which presented problems for their cohort were also elicited.

An analysis of the reasons which induced both pessimism and optimism about the present condition of society provided an account of the trepidations with which oppressed youth view adult society. The descriptive categorisations of the three societal components , I, We, and They, as South Africans now , were intended to further clarify how the sample perceived the sociopolitical arrangements of our polarised and estranged society.

Emergent conceptual themes were generated through a content analysis of the protocols provided in response to the predetermined categories. The most prominent themes indicated significant differences in the construction of reality . Even where the themes appear similar semantically, the discourse appears to suggest that the two groups have opted for divergent strategies .

Quantitatively, an application of the Repertory Grid Technique (Kelly, 1955) enabled the researcher to examine the systems of constructs through which the participants orient themselves in the social world. This phase of the study provided the information about the extent to which these young people are engaged knowingly in the political discourses which impinge upon their development. A comparison was made on the basis of the participants' affiliation and active involvement in political organisations . The different styles of construing displayed supported the notion that the activist group would have a more focussed and radical

interpretation of the issues which confronted them. The findings were visually presented according to the model outlined by Norris and Makhlouf-Norris (1977), and identity plots drawn in order to depict the patterns of identification with selected political images.

A critical synthesis of the qualitative and quantitative phases indicates that the sample as a whole are forced to confront the debilitating consequences of having been ascribed Apartheid identity constructs, but are not irreversibly stigmatised and damaged by the imposition. Their levels of consciousness and explicit identification with symbolic political images informs the repertoire of strategies and coping mechanisms that have evolved in rejection of the restrictive identity frames . In conclusion, suggestions are made for a refinement of the conflictual analysis adopted in the present study.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE POSITION OF DISENFRANCHISED YOUTH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The relevance of psychology to the South African context has recently been intensely debated (Lambley, 1973; 1980; Holdstock, 1981; Moll, 1983; Dawes, 1985; 1986; Foster, 1983; 1986; Dommissie, 1985). In attempting to become more responsive to its African context and the needs of the majority of its citizens , Dawes (1986) has argued for a more appropriate contextualisation of both theory and practice. In this regard Foster (1983) refers to the conceptual diversity and confusion prevalent in contemporary psychology. More pertinently, he remarks that psychology has also demonstrated a varying, but nevertheless, systematic reluctance to confront serious and relevant social issues.

Psychologists have further been directly challenged to examine the extent to which their production of knowledge and provision of services has unwittingly or directly supported the Apartheid state and capitalist industry (Savage, 1981; Moll, 1983; Dawes, 1985). Various theorists agree that the need for a critical analysis of the specific sociopolitical circumstances of our own oppressive society , and the concomitant dehumanising psychosocial effects have yet to be seriously addressed (Ivey, 1986; Savage, 1986; Swartz, 1987) .

1.2 THE TOTAL IDEOLOGY OF APARTHEID

The narrow and ethnocentric framework of Apartheid is " clearly in a paradigmatic crisis when confronted with a heterogenous society of multi-ethnic and multi-racial complexity " (Degenaar, 1977, p. 151) . According to Le Roux (1986, p.204) , the very measures designed to ensure domination for the Afrikaner Nationalist " in the centuries ahead have in fact had unintended consequences " (emphasis mine) . Various writers argue that the struggle for self-determination and preservation had resulted in the concept of volk becoming radically changed from a symbol of emancipation for the Afrikaner minority into a symbol of domination and repression for the oppressed majority (Du Preez, 1980 ; Manganyi, 1981 ; Dawes, 1985 ; Booysen and Kotze, 1985 ; Savage, 1986) . This leaves unanswered what Du Preez (1979, p.363) refers to as :

The great question, in the life and death of a nation, is how to achieve community - a sense of common identity for all its people.

Through a myriad of laws and regulations (Riordan, 1981 ; Dommissie, 1985 ; Burman, 1986 ; Swartz, 1986) nationalist ideology exerts almost unrivaled control over most aspects of public and private life. The regime has often resorted to direct and coercive intervention to organise even the most personal detail of its subjects' lives (Lambley, 1973 ; Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts, 1981 ; Bundy, 1986a) . The extent to which the system has

appropriated various facets of life is perhaps captured most adequately in a recent definition. Savage (1986, p.3) refers to the political structure as a system of :

minority domination over statutorily defined colour groups on a territorial, residential, political, social and economic basis. It embodies structural inequalities which support and favour particular classes and groups of people at the expense of others.

Brittan and Maynard (1984) further refine the notion of minority domination. They argue vehemently that the racist South African regime does not represent an unfortunate case of cultural misunderstanding between white minority and black majority groupings. Their analysis implies that the more powerful group oppresses the subordinate group by virtue of the power that they wield. Bulhan (1985) contributes to an understanding of how racism is institutionalised within the South African setting. The symbols, myths and structure of a society are considered to be racist if they subscribe to any of the following criteria.

Firstly, an assignment of values to real or imaginary differences between people and the accentuation of race as the discriminating variable. Secondly, the assumption that these differences are assumed to be absolute and evaluated in terms of superior and inferior. Finally, when the racial categorisation is used in order to justify a state of privilege, inequity, exclusion and domination. It is hardly likely that political developments within

this country have occurred accidentally and unintentionally. Ivey (1986, p.8) argues in agreement that " Domination serves hegemonic sectarian socio - economic interests at the expense of other individuals and groups ". Traditionally, the mode of domination in capitalist societies centers around the economic exploitation of the workers by the bourgeoisie. The South African experience is further complicated by the inclusion of racial exploitation. *u*

Dawes (1985, p.58) observes in this connection that " South Africans have a legally defined identity above their South Africaness " which profoundly circumscribes existence, "as from early childhood race means privilege and power or the lack of it". He introduces the term Apartheid identity constructs to highlight the implications it has for the nature and quality of existence.

Swartz (1987) agrees that Apartheid experiences must form a crucial part of each individual's developmental experiences.

Ivey (op cit) mentions the need to consider the extent to which ideological constraints adversely impact upon the self - formative processes of its victims. Both writers agree that although the South African situation does contain universally acknowledged pathogenic features, it would be extremely difficult to infer a simple causal relationship between the social macrosphere and the ontogenetic personality development of its victims.

Although it is debatable whether or not the macrosystem does impinge upon the microsystem in which the individual is contained, it does, however - to resort to an ecological metaphor (Trickett, 1984; Gabarino, 1985; Muuss, 1988) - embody the cultural blueprint which undergirds the organisation of institutions in a society. The macrosystem reflects the societal conceptualisation of ecological space for human development, and a peoples' shared assumption about how society is ordered and the institutions that represent those assumptions. It also refers to the general organisation of reality as it is and as it might be, according to those in a position of power.

Sharp (1980, p.8) proposes in this regard that in order to gain a better understanding of the complex interlinkages and interdependent relationships within the political arena, we would need " an examination of the bases upon which members of various categories ... are mobilized for action in relation to other strata ". Tajfel (1981) proposes three criteria intended to facilitate such an understanding :

- (1) knowledge about the manner in which groups are constructed in a particular social setting
- (2) the psychosocial effects of these constructions, and
- (3) how the actual constructions and their effects depend upon and relate to other forms of social reality.

In this connection various writers comment upon the deep cleavages and inequalities which have been sown and nourished within the system. The increasing autocracy and intolerance, they argue, has resulted in a diseased national outlook in which any capacity for pursuing a national goal becomes vitiated by illusion (Welsh, 1981 ; O' Meara, 1983 ; Savage, 1986) .

Van Vuuren (1985, p.47) further considers the subtleties and thoroughness with which the architects of Grand Apartheid had designed and implemented the system - " the intergroup relationships of domination and subordination are imposed both structurally on an institutional level through formal and concrete constitutional arrangements, and on an attitudinal level, through symbolic but efficacious ideological conditioning". This appears to suggest that basically every systemic level within the order would be permeated by racist ideology and economic deprivation.]

Through a process of initially having pre-empted the nature and scope of the "diverse cultures" within the South African context, the political and economic constellatory apparatuses were then developed to embody and reinforce the myth. Swartz and Foster (1984) warn that legal categories are quite easily adapted to as being reflections of legitimate cultural differences. The current institutional arrangements ensure that Apartheid racially - based political identity surpasses any conception of national identity,

since there is " no core South African identity to which the various groups can be assimilated at a grassroots level " (Du Preez, 1979, p.349). Ivey (1986, p.8) argues in this regard that such a " preformed constellation" literally provides the social matrices and possible discourses available to individuals and groups . Various other theorists agree that individuals are inclined to construct reality from the basic raw materials found in the macrosystem which contains them (Keniston, 1971 ; Tajfel, 1981 ; Harre, 1983 ; Levett, 1989).

~~2.1~~ 2.1 Some Psychological Effects of Apartheid

Bulhan (1985, p.124) provides a description of both the personal and group psychosocial consequences emanating from the basic raw ingredients of Apartheid policies :

All situations of oppression violate one's space, time, energy, mobility, bonding and identity. The oppressed finds ... physical and psychological space unacknowledged, intruded into, and curtailed ...Equally crucial ... bonding with other is subverted, weakened and rendered conflictual ... personal, as well as collective, identity is also challenged, undermined and confused.

Various writers have documented the completely different agendas and concerns for the various subgroups within the South African society. The " artificially " created reality of the South African

community has resulted in comparatively skewed and separate experiential worlds for its people (Coles, 1987 ; Le Roux, 1986). Through polarization, geographic and social estrangement, the various hegemonic apparatuses that reinforce these erroneous perceptions, has ensured that existing cultural stereotypes are confirmed and entrenched.

Earlier findings (Danziger, 1975; Geber and Newman, 1980) support the notion that the concerns and visions of the future for the different racial groups would be informed by quite opposite aspirations. More recent evidence supports the notion that completely estranged experiential worlds exist for differently defined groups. Gagliano (1986) shows that despite the disquiet and socio-political upheaval domestically, and the increasing isolation from the international community, there has been no observable effect on support for the government or its major policies from young Afrikaners.

Booyesen et al (1985, p.38) further test the premise that politically the Afrikaner youth is socialised into isolation, and concludes that the " forces working for continuity in Afrikaner political culture still outweigh those working for change ". They lament that " Young Afrikanerdom's preoccupation with interpersonal trivialities at the expense of developing a consciousness of the issues pertaining to South Africa at large was strikingly illustrated in the course of 1985 " (Booyesen et al, 1985, p.39). Kotze and Norval (1983) also report a difference in political

socialization between white and black subgroups. They affirm that the white group (the English speaking to a lesser degree) in comparison to other groups occupied the extreme poles of the spectrum as far as political attitudes regarding the system were concerned.

1.2.2 The Development of Political Deviance

According to Ivey (1986, p.8) " The hold of ideology over consciousness is never complete. The contradictions inherent in society leave an opening for development of dissenting consciousness and subversive action that may be furthered toward critical ends ". For the past decade particularly, South Africa has witnessed segments of it youth become increasingly assertive, culminating in " resistance " and mass revolt against the state on the largest scale since the establishment of colonial authority in the eighteenth century (Hall, 1986, p.1). Ironically enough, since the early eighties the South African polity has embarked upon a policy of " reform " which Gagiano (1986, p.3) imagines is " accompanied by the relaxation of the rigid ideological model of Apartheid that defined the socio-political ideal of Afrikanerdom ". Savage (1986, p.3) agrees unreservedly that recent significant changes have been made to facets of the apartheid system, but insists that these cosmetic changes amount to nothing else but " adaptive reforms " . The basic tenets of apartheid ideology remain immutable and intact (Van Vuuren, 1985). Boulle (cited in

Van Vuuren, 1985 , p.51) concludes : " The government has sought to extend political rights more widely without jeopardizing its structural dominance....".

In such a polarized society characterised by conflict on various levels, the dominant classes are thought to retain power, but as their repertoire of control is progressively challenged, and their legitimacy undermined, a shift from mechanisms of consent to strategies of coercion results (Bundy, 1986b). According to Clarke et al (1981) this pinpoints a crisis in the hegemony of the ruling class. To understand the more complex, deeper structural crisis, " the real, not imagined, social arrangements in which full human lives may be lived " (Foster, 1986b, p.65), one would need to understand the crisis in terms of a dysjunction between existing institutions and practices of the ruling class and the changing circumstances of socio-political reality as experienced by its victims.

According to Bundy (1986a) it is hardly necessary to stretch the sociological imagination to any extent in order to understand the marginalisation and alienation of the present generational cohort . He argues that generalized trends in demographic, economic, political and cultural changes have been captured in the form and substance of the collective experiences of youth, and indelibly colour the future they envisage.

Take politically rightless, socially subordinate, economically vulnerable youths ; educate them in numbers beyond their parents' wildest dreams, but in grotesquely inadequate institutions ; ensure that their awareness is shaped by punitive social practices in the world beyond the schoolyard - and then dump them in large numbers on the economic scrap - heap (Bundy, 1986a, p.10).

According to Bundy (1986a) , the political lessons of particularly 1985 were learned in a hard and punitive school. Ivey (1986) contends that domination and exploitation in more advanced industrial societies is exercised primarily through technocratic control. The South African version is not subtly applied through pseudo-legitimate technocratic rationality, but brutally through police and military action, bannings, restrictions, detention and racist legislation. In the situation of having had to contend with the retributive violence of the state, some of the most important gains from the experiences of being involved in pavement politics had been at the level of consciousness. The realisation that society was bent upon maintaining the status quo and certainly did not encourage or accommodate, social and self-relexive criticism (Du Preez, 1979 ; Merelman, 1985) aroused many young people from a state of false consciousness.

Through a process of actively discarding and fundamentally reconstructing their imposed identity frame many " young people have managed to resist and challenge the deleterious effects of a

pervasive racist ideology in South Africa" (Foster, 1986a, p.183). The emergence of radicalised youth indicates that even though oppressive political and social structures have predetermined material and cognitive limits on the optimal development for certain sections of society, it has also engendered in youth the strength and courage to resist the yoke of oppression (Lazarus, 1983 ; Coles, 1987). According to Foster (1983, p.54) the really important psychological and social processes influencing change " are being played out on a slower and deeper level ". The intensely active and oppositional relation between a subordinate and dominant culture bring to the " theatre of struggle " (Clarke et al , 1981 , p.63) a repertoire of strategies and response methods of coping and rejecting continued subordination (Swartz, 1987).

Du Preez (1979) considers such political deviance to be an alternative source of growth. In Kellian terminology, couched in specifically the formulations of Mc Coy (1979), Du Preez (op cit, p.346) asserts that :

The position of a dominated person is this : his shame is that he is not what he ought to be ... and his guilt is that he is dislodged from the self he wishes to be ... free, independent, and equal among others.

To end his shame the others imposition has to be rejected and the system prevented from determining the discourse within which identity could be redefined. To end his guilt the victim has to be

what he or she is or wants to be. Staking out such a claim and asserting the right to self-redefinition is a complex transitional process. A number of theorists have argued that individuals are able to emerge from threatening identities through a process of redefining themselves in relation to the prevalent discourses available in the surrounding culture (Turner, 1982 ; Harre, 1983 ; Breakwell, 1983) . This appears to imply that individuals would have to engage with the various imposed conceptions of who they are from an understanding of exactly who they think themselves to be. A prerequisite for enabling this process appears to assume a dialectical relationship between personal and social identity.

Breakwell (1983) suggests that the distinction theoretically is unproblematic. Social identity is ordinarily considered to be derived from group membership and its ascribed roles and identities (Babad, Birnbaum and Benne, 1983; Hitch, 1983). Personal identity refers to the self free of role or relationship determinants. Theoretically the existence of social and personal identity is a definitional trick. In reality, it is difficult to conceive of personal identity in isolation, except in terms of its social history and context. Various writers appear to suggest that the dichotomy between the personal and social aspects of identity are most evident during situations of conflict. The individual realizes that social roles demand a conflicting course of action to that which would personally be desired and pursued. When such a

mismatch arises, either aspect of identity has to be redefined.

The South African context is considered to maximise the possibility of such a mismatch (Geber et al , 1980 ; Burman, 1986).

Harre's (1983, p.259) profound analysis of the psychological conditions necessary for self-development suggests how the psyche and wider socio-political environments could be related :

There must be an apparatus of self-referential devices available, and there must be a conceptual system providing the wherewithal for identifications, predictions, and so on, itself dependent on the concepts available in the culture and the extent of individual appropriations therefrom .

Baumeister (1986) contends that the information and understanding we have of what is embedded in structures directly affects the quality and the scope of our being. Breakwell (1983) insists though that attention be given to the processes whereby feedback from others is subjectively encoded and assimilated. Ivey (1986) proposes a critical psychological framework to counter the orthodox separation between the individual and society. Lazarus (1988) elaborates upon the components of such a perspective and suggests two main approaches which inform the contemporary debate about the extent to which the individual is socially construed and the process through which this occurs. The symbolic interactionist position retains the dualism and opts for a focus on microscopic interactionism at the expense of macrostructural factors. A

dialectical approach, fundamental to the critical perspective ,
dissolves the duality and posits instead a relationship of
transformation . The individual is not only constituted through the
social domain but actively engages with and challenges restraining
factors (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine, 1984).

Turner (1982) provides a useful cognitive conceptualisation of
both social and personal identity when viewed as subsystems of the
self-concept. He distinguishes between the self-concept as a
set of psychological processes (personal identity) and as a
cognitive structure (social identity). He appears to use the term
self-concept in a similar manner to which this thesis understands
the wider concept of identity. " The self-concept is a
hypothetical cognitive structure which mediates under appropriate
circumstances between the social environment and social
behaviour ... Once functioning , social identity monitors and
construes social stimuli and provides a basis for regulating
behaviour. Its cognitive output seems to be uniquely implicated in
intra- and intergroup behaviour " (Turner ,1982, p.21) .

1.3 THE THEORETICAL FOCUS OF THIS STUDY

To understand the more complex and deeper structural social arrangements in which full human lives may be lived is unquestionably a challenging task. Psychology as a scientific endeavour has not only been "reluctant" (Foster, 1982) to accommodate such complexity, but has been guilty of analytic - reductionism. This bias assumes that complex human experiences are better studied in their elemental units and consequently produces a psychological reality which is decontextualized, reified and trivialized (Bulhan ,1985).

The theoretical aim of this study will be to seek for a critical perspective capable of articulating the complexities of identity redefinition within a hostile and discordant environment. The present hegemonic structure has undoubtedly provided " an ideological tool giving almost absolute prominence to the perspective of some powerful identity groups in society " according to Zavalloni (1972, p.74). She argues further that it legitimizes their power since their conceptions of social reality are used as the benchmark against which the less powerful groups are compared. " Power thus affects consciousness itself and has repercussions on the inner core of identities " (Zavalloni, op cit , p.74).

The attempt to understand the psychosocial effects of Apartheid on oppressed youth and the process through which this happens is primarily informed by a cognitive emancipatory discourse . Such a discourse assumes that the " self-formative capacity " of both individuals and groups had been " radically truncated by the constraints of ideological forms of consciousness " (Ivey, 1986, p.7). An attempt is made to facilitate the critical understanding of how the system of Apartheid had adversely impacted upon optimal development , and to explore more critically the extent to which oppressed youth have allowed the present hegemony to influence their development.

1.4 DELIMITATION OF CONCEPTS

1.4.1 Oppressed

Definitively, the term oppressed is used partially in the sense that the notions of minority and marginality have been conceptualized in the literature. These concepts have been used to describe the relative positions of groups in the political power structures of a society. Various writers insist that these notions consist of a series of myths used to describe groups of people consciously excluded from society's resources. The dominant group, within this discourse, is perceived to be more powerful and influential and not victimized or directly threatened by other groups (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Babad et al , 1983 ; Brittan et al, 1984 ; Ccles, 1986).

There are, however, profound consequences in terms of social arrangements when a cognitive shift occurs within such a minority group. Moving from a deprived / victimized minority perspective to a conscious / discriminated against perspective has radical implications for the legitimacy of the present hegemony (Clarke et al, 1981 ; Bundy, 1986a ; Foster, 1986). Oppression is defined objectively within these terms as being the imposition of identity from those in a position of power (Du Preez, 1979 ; 1980 ; Breakwell, 1983). The more important focus for this thesis is the subjective component, more specifically the ideological content of the group. This is captured rather appropriately in Keniston's (1971, p. 174) psychological definition of alienation as " the

explicit rejection of what are seen as the dominant values of the surrounding society ". He further suggests that alienation is the response of a growing individual to an " experienced failure of his search for people, ideals, groups and institutions that genuinely merit his commitment " (Keniston, 1971, p. 173).

1.4.2 Identity

Various writers have referred to identity as being the complex of those aspects whereby the individual and others identify the person. They also emphasize the difficulty in maintaining a consistent definition in the face of continual disconfirmation (Laing, 1961 ; Bannister and Mair, 1968 ; Du Preez, 1980 ; Breakwell, 1983). The distinction made by Turner (1982) between the self-concept as a cognitive structure and the transient self-images produced as a result of its dialectical interaction with the social world is of note here :

... the self-concept is a relatively enduring, multifaceted system which is carried about in the head from situation to situation. It has the overall coherence and organization which produces a sense of unity and consistency and yet structurally and functionally its parts are highly differentiated (Turner, 1982, p.19).

For the purposes of the thesis , identity is conceptualized as being an evolutionary process informed by the individuals dimensions of consciousness and the extent to which appropriations

are derived from conceptions available in the various social systems. In Kellian terminology (Kelly, 1955), we employ our personal constructs - our self-knowledge and cognitive representations of reality - as the core unity from which we attempt to further construe the world and to understand who we are, as individuals and groups, in relation to others who share our world. The most superordinate or core constructs, serve to govern our maintenance processes and forms the base from which the construing individual comes to posit an identity (Harre, 1983 ; Palmonari et al, 1984). The individual is portrayed as being " refreshingly free " (Tyler, 1981 , p.31) in creating ways of interpreting the world and continually experiments with these structures, revising and adapting them (Landfield, 1976 ; Beail, 1985).

1.4.3 Redefinition

At the juncture of entering adult life it is claimed that young people often express what adults have become insensitive to - anxiety about the nature of the society they have to identify with (Meyerson, 1975 ; Wilson and Ramphale, 1987) Oppressed youth , particularly , appear to be involved in a comprehensive and fundamental redefinition of their imposed identity frame (Du Preez, 1979 ; Baumeister, 1986). According to Epting and Amerikaner (1980) young people characteristically involve themselves in discarding constricting personal and social impositions that have outlived their anticipatory usefulness. It is

only through renegotiating the outer growing edges that people are able to reconstruct reality (Levett, 1989). As had been expressed in the previous section, the ability to creatively anticipate events depends upon the personal dimensions of awareness or consciousness, which are deeply embedded in the subjective culture of which the individual forms a part (Harré, 1978 ; 1983 ; Landfield and Leitner, 1980 ; Epting and Amerikaner, 1980 : Foster, 1983).

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

2.1 The Intrapsychic Model

It is generally accepted that the psychoanalytical tradition has, through its careful and precise examination of intrapsychic processes, demonstrated the powerful influence of society within and over the individual. It has aimed to theorize how social processes interpenetrate the workings of the psyche (Henriques et al, 1984 ; Ivey, 1986). For the purposes of this study, Erikson's (1963 ; 1968) psychosocial model of identity formation during late adolescence provides the most appropriate account.

2.1.1 Erikson's Psychosocial Model

Various writers agree that for a considerable period Erikson (1963 ; 1968) towered above all other theorists in the area of identity development. His construct of identity had become the primary tool for understanding the unfolding sequence of development from adolescence to adulthood (Bourne, 1978a ; Coleman, 1980 ; Bernard, 1981 ; Waterman, 1982 ; Baumeister, 1986 ; Muuss, 1988). Although Erikson's background was primarily rooted in psycho-analytic ego psychology, his formulation of the construct of ego-identity extends beyond the boundaries of that traditional framework.

Following Bourne (1978a) and Muuss (1988) there are especially three additional perspectives which are the distinguishing features of his formulation of ego-identity. Firstly the concept of psychosocial reciprocity describes how the individual engages

in a relationship with the social environment. Reminiscent of earlier formulations of the "looking glass" self, Erikson suggests that young people experiment with the various role opportunities afforded by the cultural milieu and investigate which images are compatible with their self-definition. In this regard, Muuss (1988, p.69) asserts that "the struggle for identity must be acquired through sustained individual effort" and is decidedly not a maturational or intrapsychic phenomenon. The sense of personal worth which the individual experiences is mediated and reinforced by the certainty of recognition from people deemed to be influential and powerful. The dynamic efficacy of ego-identity, in this respect, is to be distinguished from the more general testing functions of the ego. The former is thought to be more directly related to the changing circumstances of social reality.

Secondly, at the interface of the individual and society, a subjective or experiential cohesiveness provides a sense of unity and continuity from which confident actions and decisions could be taken. Identity is accorded a structural role in the personality. The creative synthesis of earlier crises which had been successfully resolved facilitates identity achievement. From this relatively stable frame of reference the young person is able to confidently proceed into the adult world. The opposite extreme of identity diffusion, characterised by a distortion of time perception, lack of initiative and undirected activity towards future goals, implies an intrapsychic structural deficit.

Self-doubt, role inhibition and a sense of futility may then contribute to an experience of alienation and identity confusion. It becomes increasingly clearer that ego - identity is not simply a composite of intrapsychic self - representations, but the understanding of oneself in a socially acknowledged way.

This emphasis upon the social construction of self-definition is what sets the concept of ego-identity apart from most other formulations of the self or identity. The existential interpretation of ego-identity explains how the individual establishes its place in the world and satisfies the need for a meaningful world. One way of examining the extent to which a meaningful world has been created would be to investigate how committed the individual is to the course of action chosen. Bourne (1978a) suggests that we could estimate the degree of identity achieved by enquiring about the basic life commitments which are valued highly. Unfortunately Erikson preferred not to devote himself to explicitly operationalizing the concept of ego - identity. It has been left to others to translate his ideas into a form which lends itself to empirical verification. James Marcia (1966 ; 1976 ; 1980) is undoubtedly the most notable in this group (Coleman, 1908 ; Muuss, 1980 ; Bernard, 1981).

2.1.2 Marcia's Identity Status Paradigm

The identity status paradigm developed by Marcia (1966) has dominated empirical research on ego-identity and scarcely any studies after 1970 have adopted another approach (Bourne, 1978a ; Bernard 1981). Marcia and his collaborators have attempted to operationalize the construct of identity by expanding and elaborating upon Erikson's theoretical construct of identity versus identity confusion. They describe four modes of response to the complex intrapsychic and social demands surrounding identity formation (Bernard, 1981 ; Baumeister, 1986).

On the basis of a semi-structured interview assessment technique the individual is assigned to one of four identity statuses. These categorisations revolve around the criteria of crisis and commitment. "Crisis" is characterised by the serious contemplation of alternatives, experimenting with alternative roles and occupations and eventually selecting beliefs and guiding values. "Commitment" refers to the relatively firm, unwavering choices and commitments which the individual is prepared to be bound to. This serves to complete the process of self-definition and provides a place in the community since the search for identity had been forged within the context of the social world the individual is to become a member of.

Reference is also made to the degree of personal investment which the individual attaches to the choices made. The four statuses provide the conceptual structure of Marcia's taxonomy and are

further defined in the following way. Identity achievement indicates a past crisis and relatively firm personal commitments. The moratorium status reflects an acute current state of crisis and exploration of alternatives. The foreclosed phase indicates superimposed commitment based upon the values, standards and wishes of parental and other authority figures, without preceding crisis or questioning. During the diffusion phase no firm commitments are evident and the individual is not actively trying to form them. There may never have been a crisis or the person may have had a period of doubt and questioning but had been unable to resolve it.

Although Marcia and his collaborators initially focussed on an overall identity status, they have increasingly come to recognise that the four statuses may be viewed as different degrees along a continuum ending in identity formation (Bourne, 1978a ; Bernard, 1981). Matteson (cited in Coleman, 1980) further raises a number of methodological queries. He believes that the four categories are conceptually different. Moratorium refers to a process, whereas the other three statuses represent outcomes of a process. In addition, the assumption that a single, definable phenomenon constitutes an identity crisis, is also challenged (Coleman, op cit ; Baumeister, 1986). There is considerable evidence to suggest that adolescents experience a series of crises of varying intensity. Different facets of their lives may also be characterised by strikingly different levels of stability or disharmony at any one particular time. Muuss (1988) argues

further that only the moratorium stage appears to be an essential prerequisite for the achievement of identity.

According to Marcia (1976) his identity status interview does not purport to encompass Erikson's conception of identity, but operationalizes only two facets of it. In agreement Bourne (1978a) remarks that though numerous other aspects of commitment may be involved in the process of identity formation, occupational and ideological are assumed to be the salient concerns for Marcia. Marcia (op cit) admits that although his intention of dealing explicitly with the psychological criteria for determining the degree of ego-identity has its merits, it appears to reveal only surface manifestations. The inherent limitation of a structural, typological approach , nevertheless, strikes an optimal compromise between Erikson's clinical, idiographic form of inquiry and that prescribed by nomothetic, empirical science. The categorization of the profound and broad construct of identity into subtypes has generated a proliferation of studies which have sought to investigate the differences between the four statuses. The aim of the majority of these studies has been to establish cognitive, personality and behavioural correlates of "identity achievement", or of certain cross-sectional pathways along the road to an integrated identity (Bourne, 1978a ; 1978b; Bernard, 1981 ; Waterman, 1982 ; Baumeister, 1986).

Bernard (1981) contends that there appears to be substantial evidence which indicates that the successful resolution of the identity crisis is positively correlated to overall psychological adjustment. Identity achievers performed significantly better on cognitive tasks, when measured against the other statuses and generally reflected "healthier" relationships with adults and authority figures, to mention two examples. Bernard (1981) is convinced that we need seriously to consider what constitutes a milieu which encourages progressing toward the formation of an identity, and actively intervene to facilitate the process.

2.1.2.1 Refined Categorizations of the Moratorium Phase

The dissatisfaction with and critique levelled at Marcia's (1966) taxonomy led to further refinements of the moratorium process and attempts to clarify the extreme position of identity crisis.

Concepts such as identity confusion, identity deficit and identity conflict have been introduced to explain the different circumstances individuals may encounter and the accompanying processes involved in the reconstruction of identity.

Reference is made in this section to the work of Baumeister (1986) who further examines the subjective implications of identity crises. In conclusion Coleman (1980) offers some considerations for resolving the identity issue.

Baumeister (1986) proposes basically two distinct kinds of identity crisis. He extrapolates from the definitions of "legitimation crisis" and "motivation crisis", two definitions

which had been applied to the crises of countries and other large social systems. In directing his attention to individuals, Baumeister (op cit) diagnoses the identity deficit and the identity conflict. The identity deficit refers to the inadequately defined person lacking in values and commitment to goals. Here the problem is not having enough identity. The other extreme of having too much identity results in the identity conflict.

Related to the notion of legitimation crisis, the identity conflict refers to the multiply defined self whose definitions are incompatible. The key for distinguishing between the conflict and the deficit is to determine whether or not there are commitments.

A meaningful aspect of Baumeister's (1986) work for the purposes of this thesis is his analysis of the subjective experience of identity crises. He reports recurrent themes mentioned by those who have studied identity deficits. Themes such as "vascillating commitments and confusion about values ... preoccupation with great, seemingly unresolvable questions ... anxiety ... self-consciousness, including rumination about the meanings and implications of one's actions, leading to an overexamined life ... " (Baumeister, 1986, p. 213) , appear to provide support for Bulhan's (1985) earlier observation. Bulhan (op cit) has agued that the particular circumstances of Apartheid reality violates personal and collective identity and

is responsible for the psychological intrusion into private lives.

Coleman (1980) offers some considerations for resolving the identity issue and defeating identity diffusion. He discusses the four major components of identity diffusion, drawing from the work of Erikson (1969). Firstly, intimacy is regarded as fearing commitment or involvement in close interpersonal relationships. This fear could lead to stereotyped, formalized relationships or isolation. Secondly, the occurrence of a diffusion of time perspective may be a problem. The young person may find it difficult to plan the future, or retain any sense of time. This problem is thought to be associated with concerns about changing and anxieties about becoming an adult. Thirdly, diffusion of industry, makes it difficult for the young person to harness resources in a realistic way, or to apply themselves meaningfully. Finally, in selecting a negative identity or alter identity, the young person diametrically opposes that preferred by adults or other important authorities. Apter (1983) presents a case for considering negativism to be vitally important for healthy psychological development and maturity. His central argument is that the development of a sense of identity , " and its maintenance in the face of threat, is fundamentally dependent on the capacity to feel , think and act in a negativistic way " (Apter, op cit, p. 75). Particularly if the external source is understood and experienced to be limiting one's freedom, one is compelled to regain this freedom. Opposition and contrast are considered to be

essential for meaning and serves to inform one's sense of distinctiveness. These four elements are thought to constitute the main features of identity diffusion and may be experienced separately or in various combinations by each individual.

2.2 Critique of The Psychoanalytic Tradition

In an attempt to relate the theoretical position of theorists working within this tradition to the South African situation, one would seriously need to consider the underlying and implicit assumptions of this research tradition. There is hardly any doubt that they would all subscribe to the "acquisition of identity in terms of an individuation of a wide and complex representation of the social and the physical world" (Palmonari et al, 1984, p.114). There exists, however, a definite bias in favour of facilitating identity achievement since this correlates highly with general psychological well-being. Henriques et al (1984) further challenge the liberal ethic upon which these theories are based. They argue that this social psychoanalytic account assumes a conformity between the individual and the values and regulatory systems of society. Conformity and submissiveness are deemed necessary for both the maintenance of the social order and harmonious existence.

It is further argued in this thesis that their expositions are uncritically based on the normative assumption that there exists a relatively stable and consensually validated wider society into which the late adolescent will become assimilated and integrated.

This is hardly appropriate for a society plagued by conflict and repression. One would need to search for a perspective which deals directly with identity " as a process mediating important and responsible choices rather than serving as a mechanical tool for adapting to the existing realities of the status quo " (Palmonari et al, 1984, p.115).

Although a concept such as psychosocial reciprocity begins to explain the social construction of identity, and attempts a balanced portrayal of the individual / social dichotomy (Baumeister ,1986), it is not profound enough to depict the conflictual nature and ideological differences within the social order. The different prerogatives and power bases of the various groups enmeshed within the South African context give rise to conflicting and opposing interests which seriously challenge this value-consensus assumption (Du Preez, 1979 ; Anon, 1986).

Tajfel (1981) insists that a clear distinction be made between theories which are individualistic and those concerned with socially shared patterns of individual behaviour. The former contains the often unstated assumption that persons live and behave in a homogeneous social structure. This precludes any cognitive and socially-shared understanding of the system, and could only furnish an inadequate explanation of conflict, change, social movements or social unrest.

2.3 Patterns of Identification

It is argued that the construct of identification relocates the search for identity from the realm of philosophical and individualistic conjecture into the real world. Young people would depend upon their current understanding of their situation to form idealistic alignments with certain individuals or groups, or alternatively, actively seek not to be identified with certain individuals or groups. This would bring us closer to an understanding of socially-shared individual behaviour. The following discussion draws heavily from the work of Weinreich (1979 ; 1986) and concludes by introducing Hitch's (1983) concept of the orientational other.

Weinreich's (1979) investigation into patterns of ethnic identification conflicts in a heterogeneous sample of British, Asian and Caribbean school-leavers, provides two distinct conceptualizations of the term identification. Idealistic - identification refers to the perceived similarity with the person's current self-image as reference point. We desire to possess as part of an ideal self-image attributions made to others. The second usage of the concept, contra-identification, refers to the ideal self-images in relation to reference models or groups, which are used as contrasting standards for comparison. Contra-identification explains why we dissociate ourselves from certain negative models. An individual's current identifications are usually spread across a number of significant others. A

dialectic tension exists between the individual and the realm of his situation from which he draws his knowledge about himself and others. Patterns of identification conflicts emerge when individuals are currently located and identified with someone or a group which embodies negative characteristics for them.

By conceptualizing a person's conflict in identifications in relation to particular individuals and groups, Weinreich (op cit) claims to have refined the ambiguous notion of "identity conflict" . The latter could be used only to refer to a rather diffuse and vague idea of conflict associated with a person's self - concept. Conflict in identification with another could be clarified according to whom the individual identifies with, and avoids being connected to. This is considered to be of utmost importance in investigating patterns of relationships which exist beyond the immediate microsystem. Gurin, Miller and Gurin (1980) suggest that identification be considered as the cognitive representation of a persons' relationship to others within a stratum. The term also incorporates an awareness of sharing similar ideas, feelings and interests with others who belong to that stratum.

In a later study, Weinreich (1983) further explores patterns of identification between immigrant and native youths. He examines adolescent self-concept development when the relationship is characterized by exploitation of, and discrimination against, minority groups. By comparing the processes of identity

development of immigrant youth to that of the indigenous white adolescents, he claims to have brought into high relief the dynamics of various kinds of self-concept development. The inter-relationships and subtle symbolic functions the groups fulfill for each other are thought to be explained and clarified. He concedes that all individuals invest a degree of effort in their identity development, but insists that for immigrant offspring, " redefinitions of self, and renegotiations of relationships with others, are particularly salient concerns in their lives" (Weinreich, 1983, p.150). Even when there is a desire to be assimilated into the dominant culture, problems arise. Within a discordant and unaccommodating environment these are further complicated (Coleman, 1980). Weinreich (op cit) presents two general postulates which attempt to explain the processes of redefinition of ethnic identity. In resolving conflicted identifications, re-evaluations of the self in relation to others occurs. This happens within the confines of the currently existing value system. The second postulate concentrates on the formation of new identifications. This results in the broadening of one's value system and in establishing a new context for one's self-definition .

In explaining how adolescents from ethnic minorities form part of the British culture, Weinreich (op cit, p.183) further admits that because their developing identities emerge within a context of relationships, their self-concepts are drawn from a "complex amalgam of identification elements that cross ethnic

boundaries." As they begin to evolve new conceptions of themselves, many adolescents do become vehicles of social change. Through transmitting revitalized elements of their inherited traditions, they inevitably alter society's understanding and consciousness (Gurin et al , 1980 ; Weinreich, 1983 ; Burman, 1986).

Hitch (1983) supports the idea that the realm from which people attempt to make their existence meaningful is a complex amalgam not easily contained. He distinguishes between " comparative " and " normative " reference groups in this regard. He defines the former as " a benchmark against which one judges one's own status, experience and performance " (Hitch, 1983, p. 113). This conception is further refined by the qualifier " normative ", which is thought to be important for understanding how a person could be an active member of one group, but consciously list another as a source of reference. The origin of social identity could conceivably be located outside of existing group membership. This adds a new cognitive dimension to the social constructivist position.

2.4 THE INTERGROUP MODEL

2.4.1 Tajfel's Social Identity Theory

The foregoing discussion on patterns of identification has attempted to introduce the processes through which the individual strives to create a social identity. Cairns (1982) refers to one of the considerations inherent in Tajfel's (1981 ; 1982) approach in this regard. He postulates that one of the major tasks for the individual is to find, create and define a niche in the currently accessible existing networks . The aspiration to develop a social identity is based upon the knowledge of belonging to certain groups and not to others. Turner (1982) argues that a social group can be usefully conceptualized as a number of individuals who have internalized the same social category membership as a component of their self-concept. Brown (1988) argues for a refinement of this definition as the notion of social identity merely as cognitive self-definition or the sense of group membership is thought of as being too narrow. In his analysis group membership not only contributes to the self-concept and self-esteem (as postulated in Social Identity Theory) but also provides a variety of social interpretations of ideologies for the individual. The kind of intergroup attitudes and behaviour displayed to any outgroup will depend primarily on which of these meanings predominates in the individual or group (Breakwell, 1983 ; Levett, 1989).

There is every recognition that the concept of identity is an extremely complex one, hardly likely to be resolved by any single discipline in the social sciences. Although it injudiciously blends reality and unreality (Baumeister, 1986), it is still deemed to as indispensable as it is problematic (Norris and Makhlcuf - Norris, 1977; Cairns, 1982). The Tajfelian approach has tried to deal with some of the difficulties associated with the concept of identity by emphasizing the dynamic aspects of the theory :

...no social group in a complex society lives in isolation from others, and therefore the processes underlying the ways in which it compares itself with other groups are crucial to the manner in which it is defined by its members. These "comparative" notions that the individuals construct of the group or groups to which they belong contribute in turn to some important aspects of their definition of themselves, of their social identity (Tajfel, 1981, p. 165)

Cairns (1982) observes that the object of conceptualising social identity , not as an uncritical acceptance of existing realities, but as an intervening causal mechanism in social situations, highlights the complex dialectical relationship between social identity and the settings in which it occurs. The shifting salience of categories of social identity for individuals may vary from time to time within the same context. Foster (1983) suggests that an underlying premise of Tajfel's theory construes individual

actions along a continuum which ranges from purely interpersonal at the one end, to actions influenced by solely intergroup motivations at the other end. He argues further that these extreme polar positions may be more hypothetical than real and should be appropriately contextualized in terms of the social structures which embody them. Although the activating mechanisms and conditions conducive to eliciting social identity salience are not yet fully understood (Turner, 1982 ; Breakwell, 1983). Foster (op cit) proposes that the extent to which social barriers or boundaries display permeability be seriously considered. " In rigidly stratified social structures, " he argues, " mobility is restricted and identity through group membership rather than individual actions becomes highly salient " (Foster, 1983, p.47) .

Cairns (1982) presents two prerequisites for such social categorisation to assume salience , and describes some of the elements contained in rigid stratification :

- (a) social division along two clearly distinct and exclusive categories
- (b) serious difficulty / impossibility of passing from one group to another

Given these circumstances Tajfel hypothesized that behaviour will be determined not in terms of self but rather in terms of group. This brings into play the processes of social comparison and social psychological differentiation. It is claimed that the South

African setting has provided innumerable criteria which extends beyond any minimal group requirements (Sharp, 1980 ; Savage, 1986). The ensuing discussion of these two processes will attempt to highlight their relevance for the purposes of this thesis.

2.4.1.1 Social differentiation

Brown's (1988) analysis of social categorization and identification as an explanation for intergroup relations provides a useful starting point. He mentions the need to clarify how individuals mentally order their social world. The manner in which we differentiate between people and the consequences of such social classification have important implications. Not only is the cognitive function of simplifying and understanding the world achieved, but we are also able to categorize ourselves through this process. The presumption that groups will strive towards a positive self-image suggests a bias in group evaluations to seek out ways in which the ingroup can be favourably distinguished from the outgroups. Tajfel (1981) explains the function of such stereotyping and other cognitive biases as justifying ingroup actions and ideas. The findings of Howard and Rothbart (cited in Brown , 1988) suggest that stereotypes are also able to generate in people's minds certain cognitive sets and expectations about ingroup and outgroup characteristics.

Especially pertinent for an adequate understanding of the South African situation is Aboud's (1988) observation that heterogeneity or " ethnic mix " is psychologically represented as social

categorization. People will be inclined to resort to ethnic terms to identify themselves if and when the association leads to self - enhancement. Under such circumstances ingroup bias is facilitated at the expense of the outgroup. If group identification does not lead to self - enhancement because of the low status of the group other strategies emerge. Individuals may leave the group symbolically (see Hitch's (1983) orientational other in this regard) or pursue upward social mobility even within certain confines. Such social mobility provides an exit from the group or the movement of individuals, families, and groups from one social position to another. In this connection Tajfel (1981, p. 259) asserts that " Some or most individuals from underprivileged groups support (implicitly or explicitly) certain processes of "objective " social change which , they hope, will lead finally to structures of genuine social mobility " .

Under conditions of severe repression, where mobility or exit from unfavourable groups is impossible, the structural and psychological " inferiority " of the group may lead to genuine social creativity . This may involve a search for new constructive dimensions of social comparison . Cairns (1982) and Brown (1988) presents certain criteria thought to be characteristic of the dynamic interaction between minority and majority groups. These include disidentification with the group and opting for individualistic strategies instead ; restricting comparisons or being selective about the choice of a reference group ; side-stepping main dimensions of comparison or confronting

directly by agitating for social and economic change.

Capozza, Bonaldo and Di Maggio (1982) report that certain strategies Southern Italians resorted to for the affirmation of positive identity included the following :

- (a) " inferior " group members trying to assimilate the positively valued traits of the other identity. The linguistic standards for immigrant populations are acquired in the span of one generation, for example.
- (b) if such assimilation is blocked, a strategy of transforming the value of the traits which defines their identity from negative to positive results. This is claimed to explain the re-evaluation of negritude on behalf of American negroes, and possibly accounts for the emergence of Black Consciousness in this country (Lazarus, 1983) .
- (c) the expression of social creativity enables the oppressed group to establish new dimensions of comparison, which place it in a pre - eminent position which assures a satisfactory identity.

One of the problems encountered by oppressed groups engaging in this kind of activity is gaining legitimization of their efforts. Another more complicated process is possible when there is a close correspondence between the political order and the "social change" system of beliefs. The correspondence could conceivably be in support or in opposition of the existing order. Tajfel (1981 , p. 248), offers a fitting example :

...the socio - economic and other crucial objective differences of status and mode of life between blacks and whites in South Africa are beyond dispute, and they can easily fit in with the " social change " structure of beliefs as soon as these differences begin to lose their perceived legitimacy and stability.

Tajfel (1981) proposes a second continuum between social mobility on the one hand and social change on the other, in addition to the interpersonal-intergroup dimensions. He distinguishes between conditions which facilitate the development of a " social change " structure of beliefs :

- (a) reflection in these beliefs that the existing rigid system of social stratification is breaking down, and the
- (b) creation of a " social change " system of beliefs in social conditions which do not necessarily prevent individual movement across groups .

We are reminded of the earlier observations of Bundy (1986a) and Foster (1986) in chapter one. Brown (1988) argues that reactions to insecure status relationships by low-status groups and the effects of such inequalities on social identity processes are still imperfectly understood. They are, however, thought to fit in well with some of the consequences of relative deprivation theory (Kaase and Marsh, 1979 ; Tajfel, 1981 ; Brown, op cit).

2.4.1.2 Social Comparison

It is claimed that large group processes and wide - scale social change are not mere theoretical or sociological abstractions but have very real and very concrete social implications (Tajfel, 1981 ; Baumeister, 1986 ; Brown, 1988). The probability of social comparison follows logically as a consequence of social differentiation, and forms one of the crucial links in demonstrating the relatedness of intra-intergroup behaviour. The growing recognition of the significance of intergroup comparisons in shaping people's behavior are thought to be best explained by the perceived causes of relative deprivation and the maintenance of a positive social identity (Brown, 1988). The following discussion draws heavily from the ideas of Brown (1988) and Kaase et al (1979) for an appropriate contextualization of the concept of relative deprivation.

Reiterating some of the previous considerations of Tajfel (1981) and Foster (1983) , Brown (op cit) states that within stable, justifiable status relationships, subgroups show little sign of discarding their "inferiority ". When, however, hierarchical relationships, based on illegitimate assumptions , are perceived to be undergoing change, subordinate groups assert themselves by displaying ingroup favouritism and an explicit rejection of the dominant group's " superiority ". Perceptions of illegitimacy and instability are not only associated with enhanced ingroup bias but also explain the reversal of the usual trend for subordinate groups

to show differential favouritism towards outgroups (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Vander Goot, 1981 ; Aboud, 1988) . According to Vander Goot (1981, p. 261) :

There are times when large numbers of persons in a society simultaneously reconstrue some domain of experience ... Familiar rhetoric and shared vocabulary support these patterns of change.

The reconstruction to which Vander Goot (op cit) refers is enabled through the process of social comparisons since it provides the means by which people assess the standing and level of progress of groups within society. Cairns (1982) argues that social categories are first and foremost a division of people by people. We would need to examine the relative bases and shared rhetoric applicable to the various groups within a particular context (Sharp , 1980). Such comparative processes are considered to be the undelying causes of perceptions of relative deprivation. Kaase et al (1979) agree but insist that certain motivational and cognitive conditions are, however, necessary for citizens to orient themselves in the " political " world, with specific ideological commitments. At this phase the shifts in cognitive representation have already occurred and a sense of cohesiveness and purpose should be evident.

Their analysis of the concept of relative deprivation is derived from the work on reference group theory. Reiterating earlier definitions of Gramsci (cited in Clarke et al, 1981), Foster

(1986b) and Sharp (1980), relative deprivation could be defined as the discrepancy between present social aspirations and expectations, and the actual reality of how, and to what extent, these could be achieved. This provides a powerful heuristic for understanding the etiology of the shift in social representations. The criteria for the facilitation of the process of political mobilization in South Africa have long been met. These are considered to be:

- (a) the actual perception of deprivation
- (b) which should have high salience for the individual and the group , and the
- (c) evaluation of deprivation as illegitimate
- (d) feelings of anger, frustration, resentment over it, and the
- (e) actual demand for the removal of deprivation.

The writers further present two additional features which are thought to be crucial for the process of politicization. Firstly, the authorities must be held accountable for the condition of felt deprivation. The collective deprivations have to be politicized and fed into the political process to create a common frame of reference. This is thought to form the direct link to the role that ideologies and political sophistication play in processes of political mobilization. Secondly, the actions of the authorities in the respective areas of deprivation ought to be negatively evaluated. These prerequisites provide the fundamental ingredients

for the reconstruction of the political domain of experience.

The revisions to the original theory of relative deprivation mentioned by Brown (1988), highlights the several advantages which relative deprivation theory offers over other explanations of social discontent . The first major emphasis on subjective experience rather than on the objective facts of the situation , introduces a crucial new variable, that of perceived illegitimacy. This further highlights the discrepancy between existing circumstances and future aspirations of what ought to be (Du Preez , 1979 ; Foster, 1986b). More importantly the concept of relative deprivation contains within it notions of social justice and a more equitable distribution of resources. It also refutes frustration-aggression theoretical assumptions and raises the implausibility of whole groups of people being simultaneously in a similar state of arousal. The basic motivation of discontent is decidedly not an individually experienced state of frustration, but a socially shared sense of injustice.

The original focus of the frustration-aggression theory was on the plight of subordinate and oppressed groups. There is now the recognition that dominant groups can be discontented too (Coles, 1987). If understandings of deprivation are a relative matter, it follows that hegemonic groups will resort to action to protect its superior position. This has been vividly illustrated over the last decade (Hall, 1985 ; Bundy, 1986a). The actual consequences of comparison, deprivation or gratification depend entirely upon

which reference group is chosen. The tendency to use " similar others " is irreconcilable in extreme cases of unrest and rebellion. Then it is assumed that members of the oppressed group would then actually be making comparisons between themselves and a contrasting dominant group (Aboud, 1988).

From Merelman's (1985) investigation into youthful political activists, he observes that political participation and recruitment , like social mobility, moves people from one place in society to other. Other writers concur that peculiar characteristics for youthful political activists were a heightened sensitivity to ideological or political issues, a more critical analysis towards themselves and others, and unusually clear goals and aspirations. Political activity appeals to them because these individuals possess a series of abstractions which enables them to make sense of political conflict (Mussen, Conger and Kagan, 1974). Other young people were hypothesized to lack the type of ideological framework that situates conflicts in a wider political context. The latter find political conflict too cognitively demanding, and are "incapable of perceiving politics in terms of overarching values that connect separate issues to each other " (Merelman, 1985, p.55).

2.5 Critique of The Intergroup Model

Various writers agree that the Tajfelian approach has several advantages over existing psychological theories for providing a more adequate explanation of intergroup dynamics and the processes involved in maintaining a positive social identity (Cairns, 1982 ; Jaspars and Warnae, 1982 ; Capozza et al , 1982 ; Foster, 1983). Through its ability to address large scale social processes it escapes from the shortcoming of reducing intergroup relationships to attitudes held by individuals.

There are , however , certain deficiencies . Foster (op cit) contends that Tajfel's theory is devoid of any conceptualization of power as an issue affecting the dynamic relations between groups. Power is reduced to the rather harmless notion of " status ". The inclusion of arguments put forth by Kaase et al (1979) in the preceding discussion has attempted to redress that imbalance.

Miller, Gurin, Gurin and Malanchuk (1981) elaborate upon an underlying assumption that the salience of social identity automatically implies a changed awareness of the groups position in society. They argue that a clear demarcation needs to be made between identification with a group and politicized group consciousness. The former refers to the accepted understanding of perceived self-location within a particular stratum, accompanied by the psychological sense of belonging . Group consciousness , in their analysis, involves both identification with a group " and a political awareness or ideology regarding the group's relative

position in society along with a commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests " (Miller et al ,op cit , p.495).

The transformation from group identification to group consciousness had generally been defined in Marxist terms in the literature. Relations between the groups are perceived to be antagonistic and social barriers illegitimate. Collective actions in the form of unconventional politics are then utilized to pressure for social change. The authors argue further, that as a concept, group consciousness provides an explanation of the process whereby ordinary membership, which is relatively stable , becomes linked to the dynamic elements of political participation. Group consciousness as a cluster of political beliefs and the action orientations which they give rise to, also suggests a more proactive description of both individuals and groups in response to their circumstances.

Particularly two elements, power discontent and rejection of illegitimate structures and ideologies, are thought to be the central components of such a political consciousness. These elements have been variously labeled as sense of group deprivation, awareness of blocked opportunity or categorical treatment, structural or system blame by writers influenced by Marx , and are always present in discussions of ethnic , race , age and sex consciousness. In conclusion, they argue that the action orientation of consciousness could be viewed as a shift from

preoccupation and preference for acting solely on behalf of the self. Collectivist orientation assumes salience as the most viable means of achieving the interests and objectives of the stratum (Foster, 1983) .

2.6 Concluding Remarks

Various writers suggest that a critical perspective enables a more profound examination of the weaknesses inherent in both the psychoanalytic tradition and the socio-psychological approach of Tajfel. Dawes (1986 , p.35) appears to suggest that the conceptual tools of the discipline of psychology may be meaningfully employed in the services of the oppressed and need " not necessarily involve a newly theorised psychology ". Both Foster (1983) and Ivey (1986) disagree and convincingly demonstrate that the competing research paradigms prevalent in contemporary psychology are based on entirely different sets of epistemological and ontological assumptions, which do not claim to incorporate an emancipatory interest.

According to Ivey (op cit, p. 22) the task of a critical psychology is to expose " ideologically distorted character structures to a critique that not only initiates self-reflection but traces the personality deformation to its origin in those oppressive social relations... ". Foster (1983) concurs and states that the theoretical activity of unveiling occurs at a deeper level than surface analysis. The critique of constraining systems should be guided by emancipatory interests, within an

explicitly political framework. Such a contextualization is able to confront power relationships, as well as the relationship between theory and practice from a more involved engagement (Lazarus, 1988).

Levett (1989) has argued that since human beings subjectively locate themselves within a variety of available discourses, attempting to make sense of them through conventional models of inquiry, is a rather confusing experience to the student. It appears especially important to consider that " There seems little doubt that other discourses than contemporary western ones are and will be available to today's South African children " (Levett, op cit , p. 28). The theoretical and methodological constraints of these paradigms may cause us to mystify the " central metaphors " which " are likely to constellate quite distinctive discourses " (Levett, op cit, p.28) .

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEASUREMENT OF IDENTITY

3.1 Introduction

The difficulty inherent in adopting a critical perspective which is capable of articulating the complexities of identity redefinition and capturing the metaphors embodied in the current discourse are enormous, especially within a hostile and discordant environment. Although the aims and philosophy of the established tradition of critical social theory are adhered to, critical psychology " does not yet exist as a substantive alternative psychological paradigm " (Ivey , 1986, p.4 ; Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton and Radley, 1988). This section therefore attempts to introduce two models which are claimed to be free from the constraints imposed by the psychoanalytic and Tajfelian approaches.

The theoretical approach developed by Zavalloni (1971 ; 1972 ; 1973 ; 1975) is informed by a study of the total dynamics of identity representations. She predicted a move away from a monolithic view of social representation towards a more complex and differentiated picture. The emergence of organized interest groups during the sixties and seventies particularly challenged the homogeneous description of society (Keniston, 1971). Depending on their affiliation, the individual incumbent of a role would in all likelihood contribute to the " conflict of contradictory interests rather than to the integration of a social system " (Zavalloni, 1972 , p.76). The intended outcome of the socialization process would not be the uncritical acceptance of the status quo, but participation in the moral argument of the

time and civilization (Muuss, 1980).

Her innovative research techniques and findings are further claimed to be useful for an understanding of some of the dynamics of objective and subjective social identity representations.

Secondly, the Kellian model is introduced, which offers an appropriate interpretive framework for examining how individuals adapt and change, and what informs and influences them (Landfield, 1976 ; Weinreich, 1983 ; Button, 1985 ; Beail, 1985).

3.2 Zavalloni's Conflictual Perspective

Before introducing her technique, which is claimed to make representational thinking relevant to social identity issues, Zavalloni (1972) examines Kuhn's (1969) Twenty Statements Test (TST) . The latter was developed in the context of self - concept theory and applied to answer new issues raised by identity theory. The TST is intended to be a measure of identity which elicits the person's own conception with a minimum of stimulation. The respondent is simply asked to generate twenty statements in response to the question " Who am I ? ". It is claimed that only what is salient will emerge for individuals. Respondents are likely to mention first, groups and social categories with which they feel identified. Then more idiosyncratic responses representing individual characteristics are expected to appear.

Hollis (1977) raises an interesting dilemma in responding to the TST. In response to the standard question, " Who am I? " he

suggests that his name struck him as being a necessary and sufficient answer. Other information should have been addressed to the question, " What am I? ". He complains that accidents have been confirmed with essence, and moral identity confounded with social relations.

Although conceived to be a promising technique for the study of identity, Zavalloni (op cit) raises the limitations it embodies for answering crucial questions in identity research. Kuhn's work is based upon the theoretical assumptions that the groups that the individuals identify with are significant to themselves. The extent to which group membership is experienced positively or negatively (Weinreich, 1983) or whether life chances are facilitated or curtailed, is never captured. She advocates that by examining the representational content or cognitions associated with the meaning of group membership we could possibly begin to "uncover the interaction of the social (group representation) and the individual (self representation)" (Zavalloni, 1972, p.79).

Various writers lament that only a limited portion of the content of group representations has been researched, particularly that which refers to the category of stereotypes, or basically the in- and out-groups (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Louw - Potgieter, 1987 ; Aboud, 1988). Participants have usually been expected to respond to a limited prearranged list of attributes in order to determine the favourability or unfavourability of such stereotypes, and not its free representational content.

In a later paper, Zavalloni (1973) examines the dynamics between subjective culture, the self-concept and the social environment. The subjective culture is defined, as had been the macrosystem in chapter one, as being a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving its environment, the self-concept being one of the key elements epistemologically rooted within the subjective culture. Given that individuals are located objectively in ascribed identity clusters, the study of social identity, according to Zavalloni (1973, p.183) should be concerned with the " subjective reaction to different group' memberships " .

Four dimensions of " potential psychological relevance in the study of social identity " are distinguished (Zavalloni, 1973, p.184). Firstly the cognitive content refers to representations elicited by various social categories. Secondly, the articulation between group and self-representations refers to the extent, that representations, elicited in using ingroups as stimuli, are also directly self-attributable. Thirdly, group concept boundaries refers to the qualifiers WE and THEY which are thought to co - exist as implicit parameters in the representations of given ingroup and outgroup memberships. It is expected that a crucial component of social identity will be captured in the cognitive boundaries of a given group and other groups. The qualifier WE is thought to make salient what is shared by the self and the group, while THEY represents what is not significant for the group, but symbolic for outgroups. Fourthly, the individual predisposition refers to the person's subjective description of the self and the

analysis of the images common to the self-concept and the group concept.

Zavalloni's (1973) experimental procedure to explore the dimensions of social identity in a sample of 90 French and 89 American students revealed that the variable that discriminated most between the themes was the political affiliation of students. In both the American and French sample radical subjects tended to recode Nation as a group concept, mainly in terms of political categories. Liberal students resorted to recoding the content of We in terms of social or primary groups. It is claimed that the results clearly highlighted the important " role of political attitudes in structuring the image of self and the national group " (Zavalloni, 1973, p.190). Political ideology in the final analysis, was found to be a major variable in the subjective restructuring of the social environment.

3.3 The Kellian Model

Various authors suggest that by examining the underlying assumptions embodied within theories we could quite easily differentiate between their conceptions of human nature. Certain positions depict a passive and mechanistic respondent to historical and environmental contingencies. Others attribute more agency and some control over destiny. It is argued that even the most elaborate Piagetian version still depends upon the assumption of maturing mental structures (Shotter, 1975 ; Koch, 1981 ; Staats, 1981 ; Tyler, 1981).

In the Psychology of Personal Constructs, George Kelly (1955), developed a theory about how people construe themselves and the world around them (Beail, 1985). According to Button (1985) Kelly presented what is arguably the most elaborate psychological theory of people interpreting their experiences and seeking to anticipate the future. Although the individual is portrayed as being " refreshingly free " (Tyler, 1981, p.31) in creating ways of interpreting the world (constructs) and is continually experimenting with these structures, revising and adapting them (Landfield, 1976 ; Vander Goot, 1981 ; Beail, 1985), this does not not imply a decontextualized or exclusively intrapsychic understanding.

Kelly's (1955) basic philosophical assertion, upon which his theoretical structure is based, essentially states that all of our " present interpretations of the universe are subject to

revision or replacement " (Landfield and Leitner, 1980, p.4; Bannister and Mair, 1968). The philosophical assumption, constructive alternativism, implies a complimentary metaphor of " man " - the - scientist creatively anticipating and trying to comprehend his existence. Through the process of construction and reconstruction, the individual tries to " encompass both " his" inner and outer worlds, psychologically, by means of personal dimensions of awareness anchored by contrasts in meaning " (Landfield et al, op cit, p.5 ; Epting and Amerikaner, 1980). The earlier definition of Harré (1983) in section 1.3 had captured all but the contrasting aspect to which Landfield et al (op cit) refers.

Through approximating the reality of the world, individuals strive to function optimally (Epstein, 1973 ; Epting and Amerikaner, 1980). Kelly's organization corollary states that " each person characteristically evolves, for his convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs " (Kelly, 1955, p.56). The most superordinate of constructions are called core constructs which serve to govern the individual's maintenance processes. The core constructs refer to those constructs by which the construing individual comes to posit an identity or meaning to his behaviour.

The Kellian notion of optimal functioning differs markedly from the notion of self-actualization or self-fulfilment. Epting and Amerikaner (1980) challenge these concepts as being too restrictive and embodying connotations of resurrecting or awakening what is already lying dormant in the self. They propose to shift the emphasis to creation and invention rather than discovery. An equally limiting idea is to conceive of the self as a container of the potential that a person possesses. Basing their position on Kelly's theoretical formulation, Epting et al (op cit) introduce optimal functioning as a descriptive term which may necessarily involve transcendence of the self becoming what one sees as a possibility beyond the present self.

Only through actively pursuing these outer 'growing edges' are people able to know what their potentials are (Epting and Amerikaner, 1980, p.56).

The direction that an optimally functioning person takes is not necessarily based on what is " really possible " as defined by others, nor on the restrictions set by a currently defined set of potentials ; rather the direction is based on what the person should be or what the person ought to be.

In Kellian terminology young people characteristically appear to involve themselves in discarding constricting personal and social systems that have outlived their anticipatory usefulness. Through this process it becomes possible to transcend obvious limitations and

to discard constricting attributes that bind the person to the here and now, and to the past. Exploration and invention of new anticipatory orientations and commitments is a central theme of what Epting et al (op cit) understand to be the process of liberation. Bourne (1978b) maintains that a prerequisite for identity formation would be the adolescent's capacity to attain meaningful freedom from earlier identifications and to assimilate new models and images provided by heroes, ideals and other sources encountered in the years prior to entering adult society.

Hayden (1983, p.170) agrees that human development may best be characterised as " man's life-long attempt to construct increasingly meaningful, that is workable, representations of reality. " But, he stipulates that

... a person's construction of reality simultaneously sets the limits of both his freedom to create his uniquely orchestrated perspective and his bondage to his hierarchic system (Hayden, 1983, p.170).

Kelly's (1955) Modulations and Experience Corollaries are especially pertinent here. Although the individual is free to reinvent his perception of reality, he is constrained by the nature of his personal construct system. Our various representations or schemata, which have evolved out of past experiences, form the knowledge structures or " range of

convenience " from which we are able to process, interpret and evaluate. In this sense we are vulnerable to becoming victims of our own constructions (Tyler, 1981). We need to consider very seriously whether our reasoning emanates from impermeable, preempting construing which allows for only narrow, singular interpretations of people and events. Are we prepared to challenge the fixed and rigid nature of our systems? Reasoning that ensues from propositional, permeable constructions allows for a diversity of interpretations along a number of dimensions .

3.3.1 Constructs relating to dimensions of transition

It is claimed that the theoretical framework of Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, op cit) and the related formulations of theorists working within this paradigm, offers particularly meaningful propositions for understanding the process of identity development in circumstances where people seek to emerge from imposed identities. Of particular importance for this section are the constructs relating to transition. These have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Baumeister, 1977 ; McCoy, 1977 ; Landfield et al, 1980 ; Button, 1985). What follows here is a summarized version of constructs which could be helpful in understanding the predicament of present day youth.

Bannister (1977) notes that in naming his constructs relating to transition, Kelly adopted a curious strategy of choosing terms which were common to both traditional lay and formal

psychological meanings. He then proceeded to redefine terms such as guilt, hostility, aggression and anxiety in construct theory terms. In so doing Kelly hoped to make clear the distinctions between his conceptualization and that normally used. Kelly appeared to emphasize the meaning of the situation for the person to whom the adjective is directed, as contrasted with the meaning of the situation for those who are confronted by the person to whom we apply the adjective. Kelly's definitions try to make us recognize that we can only understand the persons from within, in terms of the "why" from their perspectives.

Anxiety is defined by Kelly as being the awareness that the events which confronts one lie mostly outside the range of convenience of one's constructs system. We can observe at least two types of strategies for dealing with our anxiety.

By becoming aggressive we actively explore and elaborate our perceptual field. In Kellian terminology this involves dilation which occurs when the person seeks to broaden and reorganize the perceptual field on a more comprehensive level. By constricting, we withdraw and narrow our perceptual field.

Linked to Kelly's definition of aggression is the notion of "commitment". The aggressive person is committed to being adventurous and experimental, committed to extending the frontiers or boundaries of their construct system. Through a process of loosening and tightening our construct systems we

construe reality. At certain stages, particularly during adolescence, we engage in more active elaboration (Button, 1985).

Our anxiety may blossom into threat - the awareness of situations or persons causing imminent comprehensive change in one's core structure (Fransella, 1983). In dealing with threat the person may resort to hostility and continually try to exhort validation evidence in support of a type of social prediction which has already been recognized as a failure. We are reminded that changing is a piecemeal affair and hardly ever a complete and thorough overhaul.

Guilt is defined as the awareness of dislodgement of self from one's core role structure. Core structures are those that govern the person's maintenance processes. They are those constructs in terms of which " identity is established, the self is pictured and understood " (Bannister, 1977, p.32).

McCoy's (1977) permutations of Kelly's original conceptualizations clarify the experience of guilt. She introduces self-confidence, as being the awareness of the goodness of fit of the self in one's core role structure. Shame is the realization that self has been dislodged from another's construing of your role. Contempt or disgust implies the awareness that the core of another is comprehensively different from one's own and does not meet the norms of social

expectation.

Reminiscent of the earlier reference to the usefulness of an ecological perspective, Beail (1985) reminds us that the individual's interpretations or constructions of reality are not a chaotic jumble, but organized into a complicated system. Various linkages and interrelationships are integrated in a complex hierarchical structure which contains numerous subsystems. The individual's system of personal constructs enable prediction and control of the world and provide the blueprint for living. Such certainties make possible a sense of identity thought to be crucial to one's psychological well-being. Particular conceptions of identity may be problematic to test out in the real world, but they are neither irrelevant nor delusional. We would need to examine how identities have been construed (Norris et al, 1977).

If we accept Kelly's assumption that the crucial functions of psychological processes are to structure and interpret reality in ways that enable the person to make valid predictions, we begin to appreciate the hermeneutic value of the constructs relating to transition (Newman, 1966).

3.3.2 Repertory Grid Technique

Repertory grid technique is the methodological component of Kelly's Personal Construct Theory. The grid enables the researcher to investigate systems of constructs through which persons experience events, categorise and use their knowledge for future situations. Through an exploration of construct systems we are able to look beyond words and study the contexts in which construing occurs (Kelly, 1955 ; Beail, 1985). Various writers are in agreement about the functions and limitations of the grid. The grid provides a map of the individual's intrapersonal space with respect to a particular context (Dawes, 1979). This serves to provide information about the evolution, the constraints and the possibilities of the individual's construct system (Fransella and Bannister, 1977). Slater (1977b) cautions that the actual contents of the grid are restricted, and can amount to no more than a single exposure of a minute part of a private universe.

In examining the focal point of inquiry from a personal construct theory position, Button (1985) insists on the term "exploration" instead of alternative terms such as "assessment". The latter implies that the assessor knows in advance what parameters to assess. Personal Construct Theory offers an approach to psychological inquiry in which there are no predefined parameters. This reduces the inferential function of the researcher considerably.

It is an attempt to stand in others' shoes, to use their world as they see it, to understand their situation, their concerns (Fransella and Bannister, 1977).

This is especially meaningful since in the field of social identity research, the implicit, unexamined background assumptions of the researcher may be a source of bias. By widening the range of relevant data generated by the participants, the interpretive function of the investigator, as a source of bias, is claimed to be diminished (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Reason and Rowan, 1971 ; Brenner, Marsh and Brenner, 1978 ; Mostyn, 1985).

When using the grid technique, the assumption is made that the mathematical relationship between the constructs reflects the psychological relationship for that person (Beail, 1985). Dawes (1979) refers to the various forms of statistical analyses which have been designed to depict the association between constructs in the resulting matrix. Fransella and Bannister (1977) are of the opinion that essentially repertory grid tests measure statistical relationships between constructs when used as categories in a sorting task. Button (1985) also refers to the fact that the repertory grid technique derives a mathematical representation of a part of a person's construct system.

Easterby-Smith (1981) highlights the seductiveness of the grid technique which promises accurate measurement of subtle perceptions, while based on a relatively simple technique. It

would be beyond the scope of this thesis to fully present the great flexibility in design and application, and the diversity of this very fertile instrument. Fransella and Bannister (1977, p.59) remark that the repertory grid technique is only restricted by the " user's lack of imagination ". Irrespective of the various adaptations, a full repertory grid contains four components (Slater, 1977 ; Beail, 1985 ; Button, 1985).

- (i) the things construed are the elements which define the area of construing to be investigated
- (ii) constructs are the criteria for judging the elements; the grouping and differentiating between the elements
- (iii) a linking mechanism which shows how each element is assessed on each construct, and
- (iv) the grid, which is the table recording the results of the operation.

Many of the forms of grids in use today are basically different permutations across the first three components. Since Kelly's original method, a wide range of elicitation procedures, scoring procedures and methods of analysis have evolved (Shaw, 1981 ; Beail, 1985 ; Button, 1985). A number of theorists are concerned that although the Repertory Test is a flexible and diverse methodology, and not a standardized test with a set procedure, an attitude of or slippage towards " anything goes " would seriously affect the rigorous scrutiny of method. The design, analysis and

interpretation of grids is likely to be the most meaningful if the researcher functions within the principles of Personal Construct Theory (Fransella and Bannister, 1977 ; Beail, 1985 ; Button, 1985). The problem, according to Yorke (1985, p. 397) is to decide, whether or not, " all things considered, the particular grid in question can be regarded as an acceptable instrument of inquiry."

There is general agreement that the design and elicitation of a grid is an exercise requiring heightened sensitivity and skill. Since it emerged within the clinical setting, considerable information aimed at clinical applications does exist. There is however, " a surprising shortage of advice about applications outside the clinical field " (Yorke, 1985, p.9).In the section that follows, an attempt is made to convey the fundamental and practical criteria that should be adhered to in the construction and interpretation of non-clinical grids. Administration of the repertory grid technique normally proceeds along the following stages (Easterby-Smith, 1981; Beail, 1985; Yorke, 1985).

(a) Element Elicitation

Appropriate specific selection of elements is critical since the elements determine the focus of the grid. It is important that the context within which grid data are to be collected is clearly defined and representative of the area under investigation. Yorke (1985, p. 386) indicates that by specifying grid contexts very precisely, the focus of construing is narrowed and the generalisability of the findings reduced. The wider the grid

context, the more generalisable, but "averaged - out" the responses are likely to be. One of the key variables in determining the validity of the grid is the goodness of fit between the grids context and its elements. This implies that the elements should be homogeneous or drawn from the same category. This would ensure that the constructs generated are not likely to be applicable to elements in another category. In administering the grid to a group of people, it is crucial to ensure that the people are able to relate directly to the specified elements. The resulting grid matrix should then contain only a few blank cells since participants would have been able to construe the particular elements.

There are various methods for generating elements. The first is simply to supply the elements, taking into consideration the criteria discussed in the preceding paragraph. Secondly, role or situation descriptions can be provided to which the subject must attach specific examples to fit these general descriptions. Thirdly, by defining a pool, the subject is asked to list or name various people, activities or descriptions, for example. Fourthly, elements are elicited through discussion around specific themes. The researcher may have prepared a number of prompts to direct the course of the discussion, but eventually a joint list of elements is decided upon.

(b) Construct Elicitation

Kelly has devised several ways of eliciting constructs, which basically requires that the subject indicates how the elements are construed (See Fransella et al, 1977 ; Bannister et al, 1968).

Certain methods have proved to be particularly popular.

The classic approach, the triadic method, involves the selection of three elements randomly, or of some pre - determined groupings. The subject is then invited to indicate in which way the two elements are alike and in what way the third is different from the two.

This procedure is intended to produce two contrasting poles for the construct. A distinction is made between bi - polar "opposites" instead of contrasts for obtaining the real significance of how the subject perceives the elements to be different (Easterby - Smith, 1981 ; Yorke, 1985).

The quickest way to generate constructs is to supply them. Another variation on this theme would be to use a combination of supplied and elicited constructs. These two methods, however, make fundamental assumptions regarding shared meaning. There has been considerable debate in the literature about the efficacy of supplying constructs (Adams-Webber, 1970 ; Nystedt, Kuusinen and Ekehammar, 1976 ; Fransella and Bannister, 1977). This approach is described as being useful for focussing on some important dimension and enables direct comparisons to be made between individual grids. Beail (1985) contends that as long as the supplied verbal label is meaningful to the subject the operation of construing could take

place. Easterby-Smith (1981) insists upon two further criteria when mixing constructs. Firstly, supplied constructs should be given after constructs have been elicited otherwise contamination will occur. Secondly, supplied constructs must be used as diversely as the elicited constructs, to prevent them from dominating other constructs and making the grid revolve around a particular dimension.

The researcher is warned not to ignore what appears to be superficial or vague since this may have significance for the subject. Wherever possible, an attempt should be made to obtain evaluative constructs which capture the subjects' feeling towards the elements being differentiated.

3.3.2.1 Recent Empirical Developments

According to Adams-Webber (1981a) personal construct theory is not limited to the study of personality and social relations, although these have primarily been the main focus of investigation. An emerging area in personal construct research is the analysis of the political process. An early study by Fransella and Bannister (1967) attempted to assess the predicative validity of voting choice in the British General Election of 1964 by examining the relationship between personal values and political attitudes, and the extent to which " brand images " and " degree of interest in politics " could be operationally defined in terms of repertory grid measures (Fransella et al, op cit, p.98). They conclude that in the context of political construing, the grid technique

does appear to have substantial validity.

Closer to home, Du Preez's (cited in Adams-Webber, 1981a) application of Personal Construct Theory to the analysis of political debates demonstrated the usefulness of this technique for capturing the discourses. His findings revealed that the content of political speeches could be reduced to only 46 constructs which accounted for 90 per cent of of the actual content of 685 speeches. The usage of particular constructs differed from party to party. The construct most frequently used by representatives of the National Party was " white-survival-loss of autonomy, culture and even life ", while opposition spokesmen of the United Party utilized the construct " economic efficiency-impractical ideology".

3.4 Concluding Remarks

The Zavallonian approach provides a meaningful framework for an understanding of how the individual cognitively represents his / her attachments to both comparative and normative reference groups. The emotional investment of the particular pattern of identification is also thought to be displayed through an analysis of the person in relation to a wider context. The free associative technique of generating descriptions of the various societal components , I , We and They, also enables a more hermeneutic investigation and could possibly uncover more ethogenic information. Furthermore, the explicitly conflictual analysis of this theory appears to be more appropriate for the South African situation.

It has been argued that the Kellian model provides a philosophical framework able to explain the acquisition and construction of self-knowledge for both individuals and groups. Precisely because the focus is on the actual processes involved in construing it cannot be described as being merely relativistic or hermeneutic in the sense that the latter has been conceptualized within the existential - phenomenological tradition. Kelly's comprehensive theorising is capable of understanding the " ideological framing of subjective experience " (Ivey, 1986 ,p.13) through its insistence upon the continued elaboration of our construing. Rather than view social identity as socially prescribed sets of expectations, the Sociality Corollary states quite explicitly that social interaction requires not only an understanding of other people's construct systems, but the realisation that such an engagement has implications for both parties.

CHAPTER FOUR

RATIONALE

4.1 THEORETICAL BASIS

The review of the literature provides general consensus that there could be no thorough examination of micro-analytical processes divorced from the socio-historical contexts in which they unfold (Erikson, 1963 ; 1968 ; Keniston, 1971 ; Tajfel, 1981 ; 1982 ; Dawes, 1986 ; Brown, 1988). A fundamental prerequisite is the recognition of the inseparability of ideas, consciousness and action from the social matrices in which they occur (Levett, 1989). In this regard, Harré (1978, p.45) insists upon a focus which would lead to an understanding of how people construe the social worlds they are creating. He proposes that we direct our attention to the " way an individual coordinates his intentions with those of other people in the mutual construction of fragments of a social order in the course of lived episodes, that is, how he recognises what their interpretations and social theories are and how a working consensus is brought about ".

It has been argued in this thesis that the construct of identity , and the processes of redefinition, offers the means to do so. The literature further appears to suggest that the conceptualization of identity as a process mediating important and responsible choices , rather than the uncritical acceptance of the existing structural arrangements , would be a more appropriate response to the South African context (Muuss, 1980 ; Palmonari et al, 1984 ; Cairns, 1982 ; Turner, 1982 ; Foster, 1986b). Various theorists have argued convincingly that the present hegemony has

predetermined both the material and cognitive limits on optimal development for the majority of its subjects. The imposition of racially defined identity frames , and the concomitant ideological apparatuses to maintain these conceptions, has seriously damaged the whole fabric of social life. An examination of the extent to which oppressed youth have allowed the dominant ideology to be internalized in the structuring of their consciousness (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Straker, 1989 ; Levett, op cit) requires a critical perspective able to dissolve the individual / society dichotomy. Such a dialectical approach insists that the individual be understood in terms of being mutually constituted through the social domain and actively engaging and challenging restraining aspects embodied in it (Kelly, 1955 ; Epting et al , 1980 ; Henriques et al, 1984) .

The actual process of identity construction and redefinition would also need to be understood in terms of a more complex and differentiated picture of social representation , instead of a narrow focus on individuals in an unrelated context. Various theorists have argued for the relocation of the search for identity from individualistic conjecturing into the real world. The notion of patterns of identification has been mooted as a more comprehensive explanatory tool for the total dynamics of identity representations. The polarization and social estrangement which characterises the South African context needs to be understood in terms of a conflictual analysis which does not reinforce the position of the dominant or counter-ideology. For these reasons it

appeared more useful to elicit the free cognitive representations of the various strata enmeshed within the political arena, in order to describe and clarify the relevant metaphors which inform the contemporary discourses through which oppressed youth are able to renegotiate their relationships with others .

It had been suggested earlier that the intensely active and conflictual relation between an oppressed and dominant culture bring to the site of struggle a repertoire of strategies, response methods of coping and of rejecting continued subordination (Clarke et al, 1981 ; Ivey, 1986 ; Swartz, 1987). A cognitive shift from a deprived / victimized minority perspective to that of a conscious / discriminated against perspective has profound implications for the legitimacy of the present hegemony (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Bundy, 1986a : Foster, 1986b). Ivey (op cit) has argued, in this connection, that the hold of ideology over consciousness is never totally complete. This explains why for the past decade particularly, the youth have become highly politicised and have begun the difficult process of creating a coherent counter - ideology in the face of immense opposition. Straker (1989) concedes that the process of transforming the macro-structural systems that envelope one could begin by being within the discourses knowingly and exercising a considerable amount of reflection. The construction of an alternative social order will be facilitated through a process of grappling with the inherent contradictions and paradoxes in the present society.

The rigid stratification and impossibility of exit from powerless groups which characterises the South African order suggests that identity through group membership will become highly salient (Tajfel, 1981 ; Foster, 1983). Individuals are then hypothesized to resort to collectivist action in order to secure the interests of their stratum. The concomitant perception that the existing order is both illegitimate and in the process of crumbling further supports the notion that a value structure of social change, as opposed to social mobility and the movement of only exceptional people, would be more widely supported. Tajfel (1981, p.259) has argued in this regard that " some or most individuals from underprivileged groups support certain processes of objective social change which, they hope , will lead finally to structures of genuine social mobility ". Under conditions of severe repression, the structural inequalities and psychological " inferiority " of oppressed groups may result in genuine social creativity. Such a psychological reconstruction of the social order would incorporate innovative strategies for renegotiating relations with others and the search for new constructive dimensions of comparison which do not further denigrate the group nor constrain its individual members.

Although the prevalent political conditions have been conducive to mass mobilization , a considerable majority of young people have not resorted to collectivist action and explicit political activity in an attempt to alter their circumstances. The Theory of Relative Deprivation provides a model for assessing how young people are

located within the contemporary political debates and the conscious choices they have made regarding their reactions. Kaase et al (1979) and Miller et al (1981) suggest a cognitive shift from group identification to politicized group consciousness in an attempt to explain why the constructions of social reality would be fundamentally different for various individuals.

The characteristic features of such politicized group consciousness involves an analysis of the group's position in society in terms of political intentions and consequences . Not only is a psychological sense of belonging evident, but also the explicit commitment to collective action aimed at realizing the group's interests.

Particularly two features, applicable to the South African situation, are thought to account for the initiation into such political awareness - power discontent and the awareness of blocked opportunity. Individuals are likely to attribute the latter to structural or system blame. Research findings have indicated that a strategy for dealing with the former is likely to involve political participation, since this affords the movement of both individuals and groups, under circumstances of conflict and oppression (Zavalloni, 1973 ; Merelman, 1985).

Although the psychosocial effects of structural inequality are as yet imperfectly understood (Brown, 1988), a critical synthesis of the continuums suggested by various writers (Zavalloni, 1973 ; Tajfel, 1981 ; Gurin et al , 1980; Miller et al, 1981 ; Merelman, 1985) enables the following diagrammatic representations of

alternatives available to individuals for dealing with such circumstances :

Diagram 1 : Choices for dealing with structural inequality

interpersonal	_____	intergroup
social mobility	_____	social change
group identification	_____	politicized group consciousness
liberal reformist	_____	radical transformation

These bipolar descriptions do not imply exclusive extremes, since individuals may locate themselves any where along the dimension. The literature does, however, suggest that specific profiles could be developed horizontally. Individuals who attribute social discontent to personal factors are likely construe the world from a position best described by the intrapsychic perspective. Their sense of social injustice is more likely to incorporate resentment about the lack of upward mobility and a sincere concern for the welfare and sustenance of society. Given the current social arrangements, they may also opt for some measure of identification with oppressed groups, since individual exit from the group is extremely difficult.

An alternative scenario suggests that individuals who attribute social discontent to structural or systemic factors, are more likely to conceive of social injustice from a conflictual position which incorporates an insistence on radical social change and the

fundamental restructuring of social arrangements. Their politicized consciousness implies that they would more readily opt for political participation and have markedly different concerns in comparison to the former group.

Oppression has been defined objectively , in this thesis, as the imposition of identity from those in a position of power. It has been suggested that such a legally predetermined conception has profound implications for acquiring power and privilege or the lack of it (Du Preez, 1979 ; 1980 ; Breakwell, 1983 ; Dawes, 1985). Given the fact that political activity has usurped for itself the right to radically circumscribe existence, it appears feasible to suggest that major political actors will be perceived to have important implications for the future definitions of identity . The extent to which youth identify with or actively reject " brand political images " could therefore give an indication of how they envisage their future prospects, and provide information about who, in the political arena, symbolically represents their aspirations.

4.1.1 Methodological considerations

Various authors concur that it is no longer unambitious to attempt a qualitative analysis of information or to venture into the new paradigm research perspective (Harré, 1978 ; Argyle, 1978 ; Reason and Rowan, 1981 ; Lazarus, 1983 ; Mostyn, 1985). The non-social paradigm of traditional methodology is considered to be inherently problematic. According to Brenner , Marsh and Brenner (1978,

p.9), there is a " fundamental paradox inherent in the application of a natural science paradigm of methodology to social enquiry.

Harré (op cit) is adamant that the mistakes made in methodology may appear to be only superficial flaws in science, but upon closer scrutiny, reflect deep confusions about the actual subject matter. The relation of individuals and the collectives to which they belong has resulted in the faulty assumption that a social collective is merely a statistical aggregate. Following Brenner et al (op cit, p.10) :

... methodology, if modelled after the traditional science paradigm, is underidentified in two ways. First, it does not elaborate, systematically and on the level of adequate social theorising, the social processes that constitute the practice of method. In other words, the present paradigm of empirical - positivist research does not understand methodology, axiomatically, in terms of a social structure. Rather, methodology is conceptualized as a measurement structure which is thought to be independent of the social platform on which any measurement act stands in social-enquiry. Given this situation, it follows, secondly, that the relationship between postulates of measurement, as conceptualized, adequately, in the science paradigm of methodology, and the actual social practices necessary and sufficient to realise social measurement, is underidentified ".

Mostyn (1985) raises the inevitable dilemma which confronts most research endeavours - the choice between a quantitative methodology with its rigour, precision and reliability, or the more descriptive qualitative techniques, with its richness of detail and nuance.

It has been argued in this thesis that as long as the underlying assumptions about the constitutive interests of the research are clarified, both quantitative and qualitative analysis could be utilized to serve the purposes intended. The bias for a critical

perspective which serves an explicit cognitive emancipatory interest sets certain preconditions for the actual design of this study. Attempting to adhere to the aims and philosophy of the established tradition of critical social theory clearly defines the task of a critical psychology. Given that the self-formative capacity for both individuals and groups may have been radically truncated by the constraints of ideological forms of consciousness, a critical perspective would be required to expose such structures to a critique that not only facilitates self-reflection and knowledge of how its subjects are located within the discourse, but should enable the participants to trace the personality deformation to its origin in those oppressive social relations (Foster, 1983 ; Ivey, 1986 ; Straker, 1989).

4.2 The Research Setting

The considerations discussed in the previous section influenced the choice of the research setting for this particular project . The University of the Western Cape (UWC) had been established as a result of the Extension of University Education Act No. 45 of 1959, especially to cater for the needs of those designated " Coloured ". Even in those early formative years there was much opposition to the establishment of such an ethnic institution.

Various authors agree that the notion of a " pure " university is an unsupported myth . The idealised assumptions of a community of intellectuals separated from , and unaffected by, the prevalent social forces operating within society ignores

the structural relationships between the university , its creators , and the consumers of its production (Welsh and Savage , 1977 ; Degenaar , 1977 ; Walters , 1982).

South Africa's university development has , in general , mirrored rather than mitigated society's cleavages (Welsh and Savage , 1977 , p.135) .

Through a difficult metamorphosis UWC has sought to redefine its identity and to free itself from the shackles of being an Apartheid created institution. The process of straddling its ethnic cleavages has resulted in critical reappraisals of the Apartheid regime and its divisive intentions. Various reformulations further intended to reconceptualise the " reality " of its elitist base , the political tasks of its community of intellectuals , and its unwelcome class location . A radical shift in the organic relationship between the university and the , original narrowly defined , community it was intended to serve , has profoundly altered the philosophical underpinnings which inform its policy now (Degenaar , 1977 ; Walters , 1982).

The university has now committed itself to being accountable to specifically Third World communities. The dominant direction presently involves an explicit commitment to a united non -racial and democratic society . As a consequence of positioning itself in direct opposition to the intentions of the state , it is quite expected that the university now describes itself as an intellectual home for the Left . In order to relocate itself

meaningfully a critical alignment with the Mass Democratic Movement is considered to be the dominant ideological orientation which describes its operative direction.

There is every acknowledgement of the transformational role that the student body has played throughout the years . Various writers agree that Black universities had over the years become focal points of resistance to White rule , especially through the activism on the part of its students (Welsh and Savage , 1977 ; Geber and Newman 1980 ; Booysen and Kotze , 1985 ; Gagiano , 1986) . An earlier opinion of Booysen et al (1985) and Gagiano (1986) suggested that student bodies function as artificial communities within thought provoking environments where social and political values and commitments are more than ordinarily articulated and debated. It is claimed, in this regard, that UWC captures much of the transformational debates of the society in which it is located.

4.3 Aims of this study

The primary aim of this study has been to examine the psychosocial effects of structural inequality on identity construction in a sample of oppressed youth. An attempt has been made to understand the more complex and deeper structural crisis in relation to the repertoire of strategies that have emerged for rejecting continued oppression.

The particular circumstances of the Apartheid system has been considered to maximise the possibility of a mismatch between personal and social identity. This provides the opportunity for contextualising the micro-analytical processes of identity redefinition (personal identity) in an ecological framework which is responsive to the power dynamics and oppressiveness of the Apartheid system. A further conceptualisation of identity representations (social identity) within a more complex and differentiated picture would begin to uncover the interaction between the social and the individual. The subjective reactions to, and cognitive representations of, group membership at various systemic levels is claimed to provide an understanding of the socially-shared patterns of individual behaviour.

The critique of constraining systems is further claimed to meet the need for a cognitive emancipatory interest, as it not only facilitates the self-reflection of the ideological distortion inherent in the current social arrangements, but aims to uncover the coping strategies and response mechanisms which have evolved

for dealing with the adverse and debilitating effects of Apartheid.

4.4 The Research Questions

The following three questions will be addressed in this study :

1. To what extent have the participants allowed the dominant ideology to inform the structuring of their consciousness, and does personal or systemic causal attribution of their circumstances significantly affect the content and process of their developmental agendas ?
2. How do comparative social processes (self- perception and notions of their in- and out-groups) explain the specific sociopolitical circumstances of our own oppressive society , and to what extent are these reflected in the trepidations with which the sample is about to enter society ?
3. How does the sample, when divided into a group of activists and non-activists, construe the intentions of certain political actors and how are these understandings reflected in the patterns of identification with the selected political images ?

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Subject Selection

The sample (N = 40) was drawn from the rank of senior students within the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences at UWC. A total of 28 males and 12 females participated in this project. The average age for the group was 22,7 years .

In order to highlight the processes of identity redefinition, and to more critically examine the choices young people have made, the first research question required that the eventual sample could be differentiated into two distinct groups . The first discriminating variable, levels of consciousness, was operationalized through categorising the initial response to the question eliciting issues which cause personal difficulty (Appendix B). Those who attributed their personal problems to intimate and personal factors, and made no reference to political, structural or systemic features, were considered to form an Unaffected Group (n = 20). In contrast, those respondents who indicated immediately that they were personally affected by macro-structural and systemic factors, formed an Affects Me Group (n= 20). This comparison enabled the researcher to generate the data for the qualitative phase of the project, in answer to research questions 1 and 2.

A second comparison was made, through operationalizing the construct of identification, on the basis of whether or not subjects were affiliated to political organisations and actively involved in its activities. In this manner a politically affiliated

and active group (Polaf) and an unaffiliated and inactive group (Unaf) were identified. It has been argued earlier that the political imposition of identity necessitates a political analysis of how the members of various strata are mobilized for action in relation to other strata. The construct of identification, the second discriminating variable, is claimed to provide such an understanding of the renegotiation of class location and rejection of the existing hegemony. The quantitative phase of this study (research question 3) was based upon this comparative analysis.

The initial sampling strategy involved announcements in ordinary class sessions. Students were informed about a research project examining theories of personality development within the Department of Psychology . Twenty-eight subjects were contacted in this way. Scrutiny of the interview schedule revealed that the majority of the respondents claimed to be unaffected personally by the political system or any other systemic influences. Furthermore, only three people from this group indicated that they were affiliated to, and active in, political organisations. The task of finding youth who were both politically active, and who attributed their personal problems directly to the political system, required other strategies. The Students' Representative Council was then approached and consulted about the best way to recruit activists.

Entry into political organisations for solely research purposes is a time-consuming and sensitive matter. The credibility of the researcher was questioned and explanations about the applications

of the findings had to be clarified. A number of the organisations contacted during this period were also quite justifiably concerned about the safety of their members and needed assurances that the strictest confidentiality would be adhered to, and their anonymity safeguarded. Democratic principles and procedures needed to be complied with in order to gain access into organisations. A formal application requesting the involvement of individual members was tabled at various meetings. Delegates were then mandated to participate in the research project.

5.2 Methods of Measurement

5.2.1 Qualitative Phase

A self-administered interview schedule (Appendix B), consisting of open-ended questions was designed to yield the information pertaining to the research questions 1 and 2 . The schedule also provided the basic demographic information with regard to age, sex and organizational affiliation. By eliciting the major issues which cause both personal difficulty and pose problems for their cohort it is claimed that an understanding of how this sample of youths experience their situation will emerge (Question 1).

Describing factors which induce optimism and pessimism about the present state of society will provide an account of the trepidations with which oppressed youth enter adult society. The descriptive categorisations of societal components provides an understanding of how other strata are conceptualized (Question

2). This section provides the more descriptive information which complements the quantitative analysis of how certain political dimensions of society are construed in the next phase.

5.2.2 Quantitative Phase

The underlying principles and procedures of the Repertory Grid Technique have been discussed in chapter three . The grid enables the researcher to investigate systems of constructs through which persons experience events, categorise and use their knowledge for future situations. Through an exploration of construct systems we are able to look beyond words and study the contexts in which the construing occurs (Kelly, 1955 ; Beail, 1985). An application of the grid technique enabled the researcher to respond to the second research question - the social cognition of a conflictual society and patterns of identification with selected political actors.

(a) Constructing the Grid

(1) Selection of the Elements

In the present study elements were selected both through the definition of a " pool " (Easterby-Smith, 1981), and partly supplied by the researcher. The original pilot group consisted of eight third year students. The students had undertaken to be involved in both a depth structured individual interview and a further group discussion. Participants were asked in the individual interview to respond to the following :

- (a) List the five most important people in your life at this stage.
- (b) Name five individuals or groups which affect you the most politically.
- (c) Which individuals and groups do you feel most uncomfortable with ? List only five.
- (d) Now list five individuals or groups that you feel most comfortable with.

Since mostly personal and intimate elements were generated by the first instruction, these were ignored in order to contextualise their relationships in a wider system. Respondents referred to particularly three categories - their close relatives, lovers and friends. This question sought to examine if there were any significant political heroes who mattered intimately for the subjects.

The complete list generated a diverse range of individuals and political groupings . The list, according to the instructions, consisted of the following (not in any order of priority) :

(b) Individuals or groups who affected them the most politically :

1. P.W.Botha - State President and Leader of the Nationalist Party
2. Progressive Federal Party - former opposition party
3. Hendrickse - Leader of the Labour Party in the House of
Representatives
6. Rajbansi - Leader of the National People's Party in the House
of Delegates
7. UWC Student Body - especially the Students' Representative
Council
8. African National Congress (ANC)
9. Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)
10. South African Communist Party
11. Comrade Oliver Tambo
12. Nelson Mandela
13. Umkhonto We Sizwe - military youth wing of the ANC
14. Steve Biko
15. United Democratic Front
16. Bishop Tutu
17. Alan Boesak

(c) People and groups they felt most uncomfortable with :

1. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)
2. Afrikaans speaking whites
3. Police
4. White political groups
5. Conservative Party
6. Indians
7. Employers

(d) People and groups they felt most comfortable with consisted once again of very personal connections, such as relatives, friends, roommates, and fellow students.

Some respondents were unable or unwilling to list five in response to each category. They were each given the opportunity of sharing their reasons for particular choices with the researcher, and of elaborating of the significance of their responses. In this way the elements which evoked stronger emotions and a more vocal response were identified.

Through further discussion, and considering the demographic pattern of registered students at that time, certain elements were discarded. The eight elements finally selected were the following :

P .W. Botha was considered to be the symbolic representative of the existing hegemony and featured very prominently for all respondents. The ANC was deemed to subsume all the connected individual characters, such as Tambo, Mandela, Tutu, and Boesak. When compared to the UDF, it was also considered to be the more powerful threat to the government. Hendrickse was viewed as being in collusion with the authorities and certainly not a democratically elected leader. Yet, at the time, he had to be negotiated with about bursary allocations and very fundamentally affected the lives of the students because of their educational dependency . The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) attained a measure of significance through being defeated by the Conservative Party, as the official opposition. At that time, van Zyl Slabbert, the party leader, was also a lecturer on campus and considered to be more progressive and sympathetic to the struggle of the oppressed. The " liberal whites " associated with the PFP were

perceived to form a buffer zone between where the students were located and the harsher repressive ruling party. Given the stated allegiance to the Third World working class, Cosatu was chosen to represent the workers. The UWC student body was included as much of the "unconventional" forms of political participation and rhetoric occurs within this setting. There were also ambivalent feelings about the supportive function of the student body and the more radical activities which they became involved in. The two self elements, Myself, as I am now (actual self) and Myself, as I would like to be (ideal self) were provided by the researcher to incorporate measures of self-identification.

Table 1 presents a list of the final elements used in the present study :

TABLE 1 : ELEMENTS USED IN THE STUDY

1. UWC Student Body
2. Myself, as I am now
3. Myself, as I would like to be
4. ANC
5. P.W.Botha
6. PFP
7. Hendrickse
8. Cosatu

(2) Construct Elicitation

The guidelines for this procedure have been fully discussed in section 3.3.2 . A group session was arranged in order to generate the constructs. A prepared grid (Appendix A) was handed to each of the eight students.

The triadic method of construct elicitation, based on the self-identification form was administered. The actual self element was selected as the base of the triad to ensure that all constructs elicited were personally relevant. The other elements were sequentially presented in the manner described by Fransella et al (1977) and Easterby-Smith (1981). Students were asked to examine the three elements circled for the first sort, and to consider in what important way two of them were similar, which distinguished them from the third. They had to indicate their choice of the two by drawing an "x" through the circle. They were then asked to describe the similarity under the construct section. They then had to convey how the third, unmarked element, differed from the first pair. These words or descriptions were recorded under the contrast section.

The following six constructs were selected from the pool by the researcher. They were considered to reflect the central concerns from polarised positions within society and to capture much of the conflictual nature of opposing ideologies. The constructs formed the bipolar ends of a seven-point rating scale for the completion of the grid matrix. The literature suggests that a

rating scale allows finer discriminations between the elements to be observed. Each element could also be assigned a unique or a similar value if the respondent so chooses. Table 2 presents the constructs utilized in the present study :

TABLE 2 : CONSTRUCTS USED IN THE STUDY

Rating Scale						

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	removing only certain obstacles to opportunities					creating equal opportunities
2	powerful and advantaged					victimized and underprivileged
3	cultural differences make it impossible to live together					enough cultural similarity to make living together possible
4	fight to keep resources					able to share resources
5	revolutionary					resolve differences peacefully
6	responsible for the mess the country is in					attempting to change the mess the country is in

5.3 Procedure

5.3.1 Qualitative Phase

The actual data gathering sessions were arranged once the interested persons had made contact with the researcher. This proceeded quite uneventfully with the respondents from the first phase of the sampling. The second phase which involved more active recruitment on the behalf of the researcher was comparatively speaking, impossible to arrange. Times and venues, days and weeks, had to constantly be rescheduled depending on the level of political activity of the students.

Respondents were requested to avail themselves for a minimum period of two hours in order to complete both the qualitative and quantitative sections of the research. Following examples from the literature on new paradigm research, and the stipulations suggested by the Zavallonian and Kellian perspectives, every attempt was made to ensure that the respondents knew that they were not involved in a "testing" situation. They were encouraged to discuss their understanding of the questions in order to clarify any confusion or uncertainty. The researcher ensured that no leading questions were entertained. Comments and questions were supposed to clarify only and not to engage the researcher's opinions. This was especially helpful to students for whom English is not a first language.

The descriptions of the various social categories (question 5 on the schedule) evoked the most response. Subjects repeatedly wanted to know who was being referred to by the We, and They, from the researchers point of view. They were told to record the first description that came to their minds and assured that there were no correct answers or hidden agendas behind the formulation.

5.3.2 Quantitative Phase

The grid (Appendix C) was completed during the same session once the participants had completed the interview schedule. Here again the researcher emphasized the fact that the exercise was to be viewed as an exploratory one for the participants. They were encouraged to interrupt and ask questions if they were unclear about any of the instructions.

Before the actual assigning of values on the rating scale, a trial run of the procedure was undertaken rather slowly to ensure that there would not be any confusion once the elements and constructs had to be construed. The elements were presented as "items " sequentially from 1 to 8. Some time was allowed between each one to make certain that each participant could construe the elements. The constructs were presented as "descriptions" from 1 to 6 and participants were asked if they could make sense of them.

The politically affiliated respondents complained particularly about the revolutionary / resolve differences peacefully divide . They objected to the notion that revolutionary activities were

being cast in the light of violence . They also highlighted the fact that for most of them the concept revolutionary had connotations of seeking justice which was a more constructive way of resolving differences. They would also have preferred construct 4 : fight to keep resources - able to share resources , to have incorporated aspects of fighting to obtain resources. This initial introduction to the constructs ensured that each respondent felt clear about, and could construe the description, even though they may have disagreed with the actual formulation.

The first element was placed onto an overhead projector and directly beneath it the first construct. The participants were required to record their score in the correct row and column, on the actual grid which was attached to the schedule (Appendix C). The following constructs were then sequentially placed onto the screen. From the second element onwards the researcher shuffled the six constructs and presented them randomly for the other elements, to prevent a response set from occurring (Chetwynd, 1977 ; Dawes and Donald , 1987). On the presentation of the elements students were requested to attend to what came to their minds when they read the various names. They were asked to retain these images when rating the element according to the six constructs.

5.4 Analysis

5.4.1 Qualitative Analysis

Bourne (1978a) has suggested the development of consensual themes from the free descriptive protocols generated by the open-ended questions on the schedule. The questions on the schedule could provide predetermined categories from which emergent categories could be developed. Basically, scoring categories would be generated and the frequency of responses counted. Such an analysis could serve to identify specific characteristics of the unstructured responses, and systematically and objectively convert the raw data into scientific data.

For the purposes of this thesis, however, a more sensitive approach was needed. A deeper analysis, able to accommodate the complexity and inexactitude of language in order to gain insight into meaningful relationships, was deemed to be more appropriate (Brenner et al, 1978 ; Reason et al , 1981; Billig et al ,1988). Mostyn (1985) presents a model of qualitative content analysis which probes beyond the superficial. She attempts to discover not only the content of " how " persons construe, but also seeks to uncover the " why " .

Instead of merely generating scoring categories, the development of conceptual categories is claimed to reflect deeper phenomena. Such an interpretation is capable of dealing with words as symbols, as determinants of consciousness, and provides the means for depicting

the complex gestalt - the symbolic meaning of messages. According to her, the ultimate purpose of content analysis is to understand the meanings of both the manifest and latent communication within the context of the respondents' own frame of reference.

Various techniques are suggested to enable the researcher to critically synthesise the data and to analytically interpret meaningful trends and relationships. Instead of decreasing the inferential function of the researcher, the challenges of excising, condensing and critically reinterpreting the information to relate it to the stated research aims requires heightened sensitivity . In order to counter researcher bias, and the dynamics of " circularity " (the researcher uncovering what is expected), an inter-rater reliability study was conducted (Appendix F).

Once the researcher had subjected the information to content analysis the emergent conceptual categories were then presented to the second rater. In keeping with the social paradigm of data gathering and analysis, the two raters clarified what each understood the themes to be, before the second rating was started. Although the subjects had been asked to list two responses it was felt that where more than two themes emerged per question for a single respondent, these should be reflected so that the richness of the information would not be lost. This also explains why the reported frequencies are not in keeping with the actual number of subjects (n = 20) .

5.4.2 Quantitative Analysis

According to Rathod (1981) the methods for analysing the grids could be roughly divided into simpler correlational and more complex multivariate techniques. The former is used to examine the relationships between constructs or elements, and the latter the underlying structure of interrelationships between constructs and elements. The primary objective of multivariate analysis is to provide a parsimonious summary of the original data set, and to depict its lower-dimensional properties. Generally, all methods of interpretation attempt to reveal patterns of relationships between entities on the grid. In particular we could investigate how constructs are interrelated, how the elements are related to each other, or how the elements and constructs relate to each other (Beail, 1985).

Various authors agree that the method of analysis is usually determined by the focus of the investigation. These authors have proposed a Principal Components Analysis in order to describe construct / element interrelationships. To exhibit the underlying patterns and to reduce the matrix to more easily interpretable data, principal components analysis extracts three components from the data matrix. These components have the property of being orthogonal. The first component accounts for the greatest amount of variance within the completed grid, then successive components are extracted from the variance which remains.

In a typical grid, the first three components normally account for 80 % of its variance (Yorke, 1985 ; Beail, 1986). The procedure of averaging grids to produce some kind of consensus grid typically leads to the identification of two principal components accounting for the vast bulk of the variance in the combined grid (Yorke, 1985). A brief examination of the two more prominent relationships which emerge from the first two components will be undertaken. Such a psychological interpretation would provide information about the most significant constructions of the cognitive systems for the two groups.

An examination of the salience of the various elements, derived from their respective sums of squares, would give an indication of the extent to which certain elements assume relatively more significant positions than others. Slater (1972 ; 1977 ; 1977b) further refers to the occasional phenomenon of elements which by their preeminence actually determine the direction of the axis. He introduces the German word " massgebend " which means trend-setting, to explain the power of certain elements to set the scale for measuring all the others.

5.4.2.1 Statistical Computations

The Grids Analysis Package devised by Slater (1977) consists of two computer programmes considered to be useful for quantifying the data needed to answer the second research question. The Series programme provides a consensus grid through an analysis of the commonality in several grids aligned by their elements and

constructs (Slater, 1977 ; Easterby-Smith, 1981 ; Dawes et al, 1987) . The 18 grids of the politically affiliated and the 18 grids of the unaffiliated subjects were combined separately through this programme. The consensus grids were then subjected to further analysis by the Ingrid programme which is based on an analysis of the principal components.

This phase of the analysis provided the information about how the groups construed the relationships between the constructs and the elements. These relationships could be described in terms of angular functions such as the direction cosines which are considered to be mathematically equivalent to correlations (Slater, 1977 ; Beail, 1985 ; Dawes et al, 1987). The strength of the correlations provides cues to the nature of the organization of the construct systems. Lower correlations indicate a more complex and diversified system, whereas tight construing (high correlations) are thought to reflect simpler and undifferentiated construct systems (Slater, 1972 ; 1977 ; 1977b ; Fransella et al, 1977). The examination of the underlying structural relationships between the elements and the constructs is claimed to provide an understanding of how the two groups construe the political discourses which the selected political representatives symbolise for them. This information would provide the answer to the first part of the second research question.

It has been claimed that the repertory grid technique provides an opportunity for mapping the consciousness of the participants, albeit only a very limited cross-sectional representation.

The spatial organization of the psychological map in this study is depicted in terms of a principal components analysis of the element / construct space (Norris et al, 1977 ; Slater, 1977 ; Dawes, 1979; Dawes et al, 1987). For the purposes of the present study, such an examination of the elements located as points within the dimensions set by the constructs appeared to be the most appropriate. This would provide the information pertaining to the patterns of identification between the participants and the selected political images.

A variety of methods have been suggested for the graphic presentation of the data generated by the Ingrid programme (Slater, 1977 ; Fransella et al, 1977 ; Rathod, 1981). In the present study the distances between the elements were utilized to visually represent the patterns of identification for the two groups.

The identity plots for the groups were drawn according to the procedure outlined by Norris et al (1977). These writers describe a repertory grid method for " collecting and computing essentially subjective data in a standardized and quantitative form to obtain measurements of identity " (Norris et al, op cit, p.79). The Ingrid programme provides the distances between the pairs of elements as a ratio of the expected distances between all

the pairs of elements in a grid. Two axes are set up, orthogonal to each other and intersecting at 1. This structural measure has a minimum of 0, a mean of 1, and seldom exceeds 2. Any pair of elements separated by a distance close to 0 are seen as being similar, and completely dissimilar with a distance close to 2. Scores close to 1 are neither similar nor dissimilar, but indifferent to each other. Since this study aims to trace both the ideal- and contra-identification patterns, and not only the closeness or distance of element clusters, all the element distances will be taken into account.

The writers propose operational guidelines for the interpretation of the identity plots. Actual self isolation refers to no non-self elements within a distance of 0.8 from the actual self. Ideal self isolation refers to no non-self elements within a distance of 0.8 from the ideal self. Social alienation is demonstrated when not more than two non-self are within a distance of 0.8 from either actual or ideal self. Self alienation is evident when the actual self is separated from the ideal by a distance greater than 1.2, and not more than two non-self elements are closer to the ideal than is the actual self. When the actual self is separated from the ideal by a distance less than 0.8, and not more than two non-self are closer to the ideal than the actual self, a situation of self convergence is thought to be evident.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

6.1 Qualitative Analysis

The first section of this chapter attempts to communicate the findings from the content analysis of the interview schedule. The emergent categories for the first four questions are discussed in descending order. The average score of the two raters determined the position of each category in the actual presentation. The cohort and personal issues which assume salience for the two groups are described first. Aspects of the present condition of society which induce optimism and pessimism are presented next. The descriptions of the in- and out-group, and their personal location are then discussed. Finally, an attempt is made to develop a profile for each group by tracing the most prominent features from each category, in order to construct the " fragments of a social order in the course of lived episodes" (Harre, 1978, p.45). This would enable the researcher to examine whether the two levels of consciousness played any significant role in the way the groups experience and interpret their situations. This information would also provide an understanding of the conceptual system from which the respondents draw their knowledge.

The inter-rater reliability study was conducted on only the first four questions to provide a more balanced and objective description of the data. Since the responses to the fifth questions were quite concise and unambiguous, these were not incorporated into the analysis. The inter-rater reliability study yielded highly significant correlations for both the Affects Me and Unaffected Groups. The score of 0.75 for the 21 emergent categories of the Affects Me Group was found to be significant

at the 99% level of confidence (Pearson's critical $r = .5487$, $df = 19$). For the Unaffected Group, a correlation of 0.78 for the 19 emergent categories proved to be significant (Pearson's critical $r = .5751$, $p = 0.01$, $df = 17$) . Appendix F provides the detailed information and results of the inter-rater reliability study. Since an attempt had been made to develop consensual themes between the two raters, these high correlations were not unexpected.

An interesting difference in the styles of analysis between the raters was observed. Although it was agreed at the outset that specific themes were to be recorded , the second rater utilized a more semantic procedure. This was evident from the way in which certain key words, such as political, division, violence, identity, alternative and education, were either underlined in the responses, or written alongside as a guide.

The various figures presented at the beginning of each discussion depict the emergent categories within the predetermined questions for the two groups. The actual frequencies for the first (x) and the second (y) raters are given in parentheses. These are presented at the beginning of each account. Each question will be discussed separately for the groups in order to sequentially connect the predetermined areas. It is claimed that this would facilitate the development of the group profiles and clarify both the commonalities and divergences where these exist.

6.1.1 Major Issues for the Generational Cohort

Table 3 presents the emergent categories developed from the first question in which respondents were asked to identify the major issues which they thought their cohort had to grapple with .

Table 3 : Cohort Issues

<u>Unaffected Group</u>	<u>Affects Me Group</u>
a. Independence and assuming adult status (x=12; y=16)	a. Responses to the political situation (x=18 ; y=19)
b. Responses to the political situation (x=12; y=13)	b. Effects of the educational system (x=14 ; y=10)
c. Concerns related to the process of identity formation (x=15 ; y=9)	c. Clarifying the consequences of political involvement (x=12 ; y=5)
d. Financial difficulties / "successful career choice (x=9 ; y= 11)	d. Facilitating political involvement (x=7 ; y=6)
	e. Decisions about the future (x=7 ; y=3)

6.1.1.1 Major Cohort Issues for the Unaffected Group

(a) Independence and assuming adult status

Five responses in this category expressed concern about achieving "social acceptance" and the "recognition of adult status ". In the

words of two Afrikaans speaking subjects, " om erken te word as volwassene " and " my ouers bewus te maak dat hulle my as grootmens moet sien " (be recognized as an adult and to make my parents aware that they should regard me as an adult).

The most prominent trend focussed on "defining one's position in life". This was perceived to be a more complicated task now since their cohort occupied a "different place in society than our parents did". " Where to take your place in a changing society" posed new challenges for "starting life away from the family center" and "breaking away from parents". There were certain difficulties attached to separation since young people were required to "act as adults without exposure to the real world". They experienced problems in "being able to cope" and to deal rationally "with advanced Third World society - sex, politics, education ".

Three of the responses indicated that their cohort should become "sensitive to the needs of others" and demonstrate more "loving and caring for others". They also suggested that young people seriously consider " not only selfish needs but also that of the community and relatives".

(b) Responses to the political situation

Especially five respondents provide a fitting introduction to this section. For them, " the realistic issue of political problems in S. A ." was the "context to face and try to solve ". This is , however, not an easy task, as the political situation is perceived as

being "confusing" and a "controversial and confusing subject nowadays". Perhaps some of the confusion could be related to the desire to "be accommodating even if ideologies differ" ?

Related responses indicated a concern for the fact that "ideas on the political situation" were either "silenced by" or "restricted by laws and the forceful ways of the government through the police force". The "problems related to political involvement" also included a lack of support "from the older generation".

The more dominant theme appeared to be, however, that the more important task would be to define their role "in society in terms of active or passive political participation". Subjects were aware of their "stand politically in the country and more directly in your community". This appeared to imply, in the words of one person, "making choices - sacrificing feasible alternatives - assuming responsibility for them". The debate about their "political standing vis a vis main stream politics" presupposed that they "redefine their positions in organisations". An Afrikaans speaking student insisted that young people should "vind politieke inslag en aktief in organisasies deelneem" (find ways of contributing politically and become active in organisations). One respondent thought that a fundamental choice needed to be made between "academic progress or the political (freedom) struggle".

(c) Concerns related to the process of identity formation

This category consisted of fifteen responses. Through attempting to "develop one's own self - identity ", one had to " come to terms with what you believe - your values ". Young people were "trying to get to know themselves - their capabilities" and should seek to obtain "self - knowledge to handle their own problems to be able to help others". One rather eloquent female thought that " identity formation was a crucial issue which arouses tremendous conflict ... the direct result of pressure from peer groups, parental and societal expectations". Two responses further shared her sense of being pressurised and reported that they were feeling swamped by a loss of the "sense of my own importance", "being myself", since "fellow students influence my personality ". Three responses dwelt on " problems of a personal nature e.g. relationships and sexual life" ," have a girlfriend / intimacy" and " learn to live with someone else and also to take on responsibilities".

Three responses focussed on " moral issues " as being the "greatest problem". They were concerned about learning "how to live pure lives in a sinful / permissive society " and the "abstention from liquor".

(d) Financial Difficulties / Career Choices

The nine responses which contributed to this category were very similar. There was a strong indication that this area was one of prime concern for their cohort. Most young people were in the process of "pursuing a career and obtaining finances to do this". They also were motivated to

becoming " academically and socially successful" especially since a "suitable qualification will guarantee stability and mobility ". It therefore became imperative to choose " a career with benefits" which would meet the "need for financial independence". Young people were faced with " finding other sources of income", experienced real "financial difficulty" and had a number of " needs unmet ". One respondent suggested that they think seriously and clearly about what their goals are, probably in relation to their financial constraints.

6.1.1.2 Major Cohort Issues for the Affects Me Group

(a) Responses to the political situation

The Affects Me Group share a number of similar concerns in their analysis of political circumstances. Six responses suggest that their cohort should " try to understand the nature of struggle and society" , "face the political situation", and come to terms with "political instability ". For this group, however, young people are " forced to take on responsibilities and issues ", "debate and resolve them long before youth of other countries even speculate about them ". The response of particularly one subject was riddled with key words usually contained in the political discourse on campus - "development is seriously hampered by Apartheid, oppression and capitalist exploitation ".

A related theme, though less well supported than the first, indicated that their cohort was involved in working for change, " a better future", and contributing to the community "in an acceptable manner".

Their "role in the community " was influenced by the development of their " own critical views of what is going on - unbiased", and the fact that they had to " consciously contribute to the struggle in a meaningful way ".

The overriding concern in this section elaborated upon the theme of "national liberation". This was considered to be a priority to "counteract racial and tribal divides" and to " challenge existing structures". In the words of one particular subject - "how we as students can contribute to bring about change - the liberation of our people". Various ways were suggested for for achieving " maximum support from youth ". Educational and awareness programmes provided opportunities for conscientization , mobilization and mental emancipation. The latter was referred to in connection with the tendency to resort to alcohol which further "enslaved" the mind. A strongly voiced sentiment was the fight for justice and freedom. Three responses referred to " challenging the present system and seizing power ", the "fight for equal rights" and the abolishment of " job discrimination and priviledges".

(b) Effects of the educational system

Except for the one respondent who remarked that even if youth are qualified there would be " bleak prospects of finding jobs in the capitalist system", the 13 other responses saw the task of youth being the transformation of educational practices and challenging the " norms / values cultivated by apartheid / sexism". The ideas of two respondents appear to capture the dominant sentiment in this category - " education

needs immediate attention ", "to enhance liberation rather than oppress further ". Three responses thought that education could be used as as instrument to develop " leaders of the community" committed to " uplifting living standards". Accomplishing " academic work to further the struggle" would also meet the requirement of changing the "socialization process" which underlies formal education. One respondent expressed himself quite clearly on this matter - "Youth should commit themselves to a programme of steady and consistent education - non-formal - to avoid being easily influenced". This would solve the "dilemma of education which affects what you believe" according to another respondent. Transforming the process of education and its objectives would also imply that educators " function more meaningfully to demystify the educated stereotype".

Three responses expressed the view that youth would have to " re-educate their parents " as they have been "dehumanized through the system " and have unwittingly "accepted it".

(c) Clarifying the consequences of political involvement

The twelve responses that contributed to this category appear to elaborate on the question posed by one person - " how do we develop ourselves as people in this context? " Concern was expressed about the " little time for personal development / character exploration " and " how we as young people "fit" into the structures". One respondent advised his peers to " make the best of the role you have chosen ", but this pays scant attention to the problems "politically active young people have to face...at home from parents who are unaware ". As students,

decisions have to be made about coping with studies since " people attending to both do not have the same commitment". Maintaining " a proper balance between political work and academic work " presented problems for most young people especially during times of crises and calls for collective action. These ideas could perhaps clarify the response of one person who felt youth should " solve the problem of conflict between activists". There appears to be some unresolved tension between committing oneself to an " action strategy and help bring about change " or the alternative of being " more understanding of everyone's viewpoint".

(d) Facilitating political involvement

This category consisted of seven responses. Particularly three responses saw the task of their cohort as reaching " individuals who shy away from political involvement for fear of being labelled ". They were intent on recruiting "other people into political organisations". The theme of organisational development was also introduced. Those already involved ought to be encouraged "into fullest co-operation". The values people upheld had to be examined in order to ensure that there would be no negative attitudes " toward poor communities". Youth were also exhorted to " work against prejudice and negative attitudes " since this was seen to be divisive in terms of building unity in the struggle.

(e) Decisions about the future

Seven responses acknowledged that " young people have to make important decisions pertaining to their future roles in life ". Although " young people were very uncertain about the future" they needed to " involve themselves in activities that will lay their destinies". Decisions needed to be taken about their " position in life", whether " they are located politically - radically or liberally ". The reality of adapting to " a world demanding performance" is made more complicated by the " uncertainty about what to become". This then causes " anxiety about not succeeding and feeling a failure".

6.1.2. Personal Issues

Table 4 presents the emergent categories to the second question on the interview schedule, issues which are perceived to cause personal difficulties :

Table 4 : Personal Issues

<u>Unaffected Group</u>	<u>Affects Me Group</u>
(a) Academic and student status issues (x=13 ; y=16)	(a) Reflections on active political life (x=14 : y=12)
(b) Identity related concerns (x=6 : y=10)	(b) Exploring alternatives (x=13 : y=12)
(c) Interpersonal relationships (x=6 ; y=7)	(c) Facilitating political involvement (x=12 ; y=11)
(d) Communication problems (x=5 : y=5)	(d) Effects of Apartheid legislation (x=10 : y=10)

6.1.2.1 Personal Issues for the Unaffected Group

(a) Academic and student status issues

The dominant theme here could be associated with the present role of being students under extremely difficult circumstances - the difficulty of being a student " coping with academic work in the present political situation", where there were serious doubts about the "relevance of education today ". The "environmental and extraneous factors" influenced the ability to qualify and on a more personal level, students had to decide between "boycotts and solidarity versus duty". One respondent considered the "completion of studies" or "seeking employment" instead. Three responses considered the " present status as students while others earn" as being an unenviable position to be in. "Unemployment and financial difficulty " further complicated matters. It is unclear

whether the latter statement reflects their own positions or is indicative of those responsible for supporting them.

At least four responses indicated outrightly that the boycotts in academic institutions had affected their performance. Their motivation to perform well was further hampered by "boring and uninteresting courses" presented by "white, conservative lecturers". The translation of work into a "language which is understandable" also presented problems in this connection. Two respondents reported that they had had "little vocational direction" and consequently did not know "in which direction to exert energy".

(b) Identity related concerns

Through "observing what great turmoil the world is in" a number of respondents reported that "trying to resolve inner conflicts" actually caused "difficulty with managing problems". In a similar vein, "searching for meaning in life" was often restricted by "too many constraints" to "self-actualizing". Two respondents also sought to "exercise individualism" and to come to "terms with identity and values". One respondent suggested "patience" for confronting and resolving personal issues. It was evident that this was something he felt that he was sorely in need of.

(c) Interpersonal relationships

Six responses further revealed that interaction with other people presented problems: "people do not trust each other" and are therefore not inclined to "accept other people". An inability to "break the

barrier of prejudice" was also reflected in the statement -
"interpreting people's actions from their words". A "lack of solidarity due to different cultures" resulted in conflicts and wrangles. Two hostelites indicated that these problems were especially exacerbated at the student residences.

(d) Communication problems

This category follows logically from the concerns expressed in the previous two sections. On the one hand individuals felt inadequate in social settings and on the other hand they experienced difficulty in communicating with certain sectors. In support of the former, three respondents wished that they were "less withdrawn" and could communicate more easily with "people in social settings". It was felt that more "recreational facilities" would improve the quality of social interaction and provide the opportunity for developing social skills.

Respondents also expressed difficulty in communicating "with people not on the same level" and further longed for "meaningful discussion with my parents about sex and contraceptives". One respondent tried to understand the "views of parents and friends" while another expected opposition in attempting to "explain to the older generation the reasons for being politically involved".

6.1.2.2 Personal Issues for the Affects Me Group

(a) Reflections on active political life

Fourteen responses contributed to this category. Concern was expressed about the "exhaustion of people willing to serve in organisations" on

the one hand, while on the other, "organisations are not as effective as they should be as people do not get actively involved". There were other inherent problems to organizational dynamics and development too -- "working with people of such diverse backgrounds and interests puts stress on one" ; "people unsure of what they want politically". Youth activists were also thought to be too impatient, which often caused " blind irrational thinking", and " inflexibility / rigidity" .This tendency " could be tempered by education". The choice between violence or non-violence as a means of achieving political and social goals" still had to be made by a number of individuals. Perhaps this choice informs the notion of "relating to a political view or system in this country" ? One respondent reported "feeling foolish" while being on the run "for fear of detention".

(b) Exploring alternatives

The nature of political activity was perceived through thirteen responses to create confusion about a "clear cut political identity" . Through trying "to cope with the responsibility that rests on one's shoulders" young people were expected to "set priorities" and "define their role as activists". As had been mentioned before, the role of an activist was often experienced to be in conflict with the demands of being a student. Certain roles and tasks were not clearly defined and left incumbents of these positions feeling that they were " not executing tasks efficiently enough". Unresolved " guilt feelings " had to be worked through if young people were to " cope with everyday demands from family and friends".

Three respondents viewed their commitment to academic work as being undermined by their political involvement and strength of commitment. They were, nevertheless, determined to "make full use studies to contribute to the community".

(c) Facilitating political involvement

Twelve responses reflected on the importance of recruiting youth and the difficulties associated with this task. The former is perhaps best expressed in the words of two respondents - "how important it is to be politically active and motivated" while "trying to convince myself and my peers that we can bring about change". Another respondent highlighted the "involvement of parents on a large scale to support the interests of students". Two other respondents felt more optimistic about convincing "people that their attitudes should change" and that they should "get involved in constructive things". A related idea was that those already involved should be supported and encouraged.

The majority of respondents in this category, were, however, rather pessimistic about the possibility of facilitating political awareness and involvement. The "boycott mentality of many UWC students" is perhaps elaborated upon by another respondent who complains of the "task of attaining unity and consistency from youth during the height of oppression". The "apathy of most young people" made it difficult to "mobilize and conscientize" them. The "ignorance of some fellow students" is possibly the reason why some "young people are not willing to participate in trying to solve issues". Furthermore, the rather "personal interests of youth hamper the effectiveness" of the political

machinery.

Four respondents reflected on the personal consequences of attempting to recruit youth - "dealing with totally conservative and verkrampte people", or "relating to peers who are not necessarily activists causes disorientation / isolation / arrogance". An underlying source of frustration was experienced through "having to deal with people who have totally differing political views".

(d) Effects of Apartheid legislation

"Apartheid has caused divisions" which requires a "struggle to end tribal tensions and racial barriers" , according to two responses. The other six responses all focus on the destructiveness of the system too. "Being classified racially / culturally" has resulted in "racial discrimination" which "restricts movement / freedom". "Subjugation by racism and capitalism keeps us in boundaries". The "forces of oppression" have also " manipulated" our people into "psychological backwardness", according to another respondent. The influence of the "ideology of white S.A." has threatened groups on both sides. People "cannot / or do not want to live in peace and harmony". Two respondents ask the following questions - " Is UWC a reflection of how things are going to be after the revolution? "and " Are things going to be so dramatically different? " A rather disheartened respondent reported that the "state appears to anticipate / counter the gains made by the struggle".

6.1.3 Reasons for Optimism

Table 5 presents the emergent categories for the question intended to evoke the reasons the sample had for being optimistic about the nature of the society they were to be incorporated into.

Table 5 : Reasons for Optimism

<u>Unaffected Group</u>	<u>Affects Me Group</u>
(a) Heightened awareness and commitment to change (x=19 ; y=16)	(x=12 ; y=18)
(b) Role of religion in the struggle (x=5 ; y=3)	(b) Disintegration of the ruling block (x=13 ;y=8)
(c) Influence of leftist extra-parliamentary organisations (x=3 ; y= 4)	(c) Organisational gains (x=11 ; y=8)
(d) Idiosyncratic concerns (x=7 ; y= 13)	(d) Views of a changed future (x=9 ; y=3)

6.1.3.1 Reasons for Optimism according to the Unaffected Group

(a) Heightened awareness and commitment to change

The dominant theme which inspired optimism from the present condition of South African society was easily discernible in this category - the "majority are really dedicated to bring about change", and are "adamant that Apartheid must go". While some respondents reported that the current political situation had resulted in "conscious-raising" and a "heightened awareness of our problems", others were even more optimistic that society was already "moving away from racial discrimination" and that an "increasing number of whites were realising this". This shift in perceptions could facilitate "getting rid of the slave mentality" of oppressed groups, and create a healthier society "aware that change is inevitable". The nature of the change was debated from opposing positions.

Two respondents felt convinced that there was a "willingness politically to resolve differences peacefully" and that "parties were trying to reach an amiable solution". Four responses contradict this and point to a more conflictual description of how change would possibly occur. People would have to be prepared to "fight for their rights", and to "fight racial capitalism". The perceptions that "people were prepared to raise our case internationally" and that "in the freedom struggle - certain people were not scared of consequences" reinforced the optimism that change was imminent and inevitable.

(b) The role of religion in the struggle

Five responses reflected on the contribution made by the clergy and certain religious sectors. The "churches were playing an active role in the fight for freedom" and " ministers bring relevant messages on oppression". Religious institutions as a site for struggle meant an avenue for change, and one which was comparatively "not hampered by state interference".

(c) Influence of leftist extra-parliamentary organisations

"Mass based organisations" and "left extra-parliamentary organisations" were " pointing out the absurdities of Botha's politics". Various groupings such as the "ANC and Cosatu" were also " coming out in support of the poor workers" . The fact that " more talks were scheduled with the ANC" by various constituencies also supported the increasing influence of power outside of formal political structures. There was more common acknowledgement too that " significant groups of people (academics / workers / students / parents) all had a role to play" in transforming society.

(d) Idiosyncratic concerns

Both raters found a higher frequency of idiosyncratic responses than was evident in sections b and c. There was generally only agreement about educational and economic matters. Two respondents report that " Blacks realizing the need for education" and that the teaching career offers "equal salaries for some qualifications" made them feel optimistic about the present state of society. On the economic front, one respondent felt

that South Africa could maintain " a high level of economic self-sufficiency", while another felt optimistic about the " improvement of the value of the rand against the dollar". The remaining responses all convey unconnected themes. Reasons for optimism were found in "Nelson Mandela provides inspiration", the "natural beauty of our country", "the fauna and flora of the country", "my social life", the "drug scene not as bad as UK and USA", and the "commitment of Africans to democracy in South Africa. The latter referred particularly to inhabitants of the African continent.

6.1.3.2 Reasons for Optimism according to the Affects Me Group

(a) Heightened awareness and commitment to change

Five respondents referred to their reasons for optimism as stemming from the "increasing militancy of youth / workers / progressive intellectuals". There was a strong tone of jubilation evident in the perceptions that more constituencies were " becoming organised", that there was "more awareness" and a " high level of political understanding among oppressed people". A more incisive response reflected the " high morale of the fighting masses, particularly the youth". The perception that there existed a "preparedness to stand for rights, irrespective of accompanying consequences" appeared to inform the response that now there were " developments which bring about change and hope for a new society". The latter idea could be related to further responses which seem to elaborate upon the processes of change and hope. For one respondent the " attempt at national reconciliation - the Anti-Apartheid Conference" (although banned) was indicative of different

ideological groupings being prepared to form a national front. Another respondent reported that there were "definite moves from sectors and classes not defined as oppressed or exploited", which meant that all of society could be transformed. For another respondent, the fact that more people were "seeking a relationship with the democratic movement" was an "encouraging dynamic".

(b) Disintegration of the ruling block

The "division in the ruling block" was expressed as a reason for optimism in a variety of ways. The "division in the ruling class" and the fact that the "ruling class was losing control over their power base" meant for two respondents that the "unjust government was against the wall" and had to "resort to utter force to control the situation". Furthermore, "pressure from all directions caused the NP regime to show signs of panic in certain situations". The "increased isolation of the Botha regime" was the result of "organizational militancy" which challenged the regime, and sought linkages with the African National Congress instead. Such "talks with the ANC" were perceived to be a "threat to the government", coupled with "support from international solidarity". The "recognition and acceptance of the ANC" further complicated internal political dynamics and fueled the debate about "Apartheid and reform as a solution" to the crisis.

(c) Organisational Gains

The responses in this category ranged from the "organisational preparedness of the people" to the "increased participation of white people in the struggle for national liberation". The "growing support for people in progressive structures" could quite easily be related to the perception that "more people are drawn into organisations who see the need to organise". The "formation of organisations like the UDF unifying people" is further elaborated upon by the response that, "people, organisations, the ANC are gaining greater hegemony in the struggle for democracy and against fascism". The extent of collective organisation meant that "people will be free", since the "liberation movement is in control of the dynamics of the situation". There was acknowledgement that "Our organisations are weakened but not crushed" by the severe restrictive measures of the state, and optimism about the perception that, "non-racialism is being born in non-political organisations". There was also the "realisation of more people that there is no hope under the present government".

(d) Views of a changed future

Optimism was generated by the perception that there exists "a general desire of society to rid itself of the injustice perpetrated by the apartheid system". This desire was expressed in the following ways : "people realizing the mistake of oppressing their neighbours" and the "realisation of a role to play in post-apartheid society". The "will and determination" of "people out there prepared to do something to bring about change" facilitated the discourse of "people who share

common views of how they visualise change". This resulted in a positive " knowing that there are people fighting and working for liberation".

6.1.4 Reasons For Pessimism

Table 6 presents the emergent categories for the reasons the groups felt pessimistic about the present condition of society :

Table 6 : Reasons for Pessimism

<u>Unaffected Group</u>	<u>Affects Me Group</u>
(a) Analysis of the present political system (x=13 ; y=17)	(x=14 ; y=13)
(b) Reactions to escalating violence (x=12 ;y=6)	(b) Attitudes which retard the process of change (x= 9 ; y=11)
(c) Attitudes which retard the process of change (x=8 ; y=8)	(c) Intergroup conflict and division (x=7 ; y=8)
(d) Intergroup conflict and division (x= 6 ; y=6)	(d) Reactions to escalating violence (x=8 ; y=6)

6.1.4.1 Reasons for Pessimism from the Unaffected Group

(a) Analysis of the present political system

The most common reference in this category was to "detentions without trial" and "the State of Emergency and detentions". The " political system " was further characterised by " racial segregation and

restrictions", "racial discrimination" and an observation that "Apartheid laws never seem to be disintegrating". The "decisions of the present regime" indicated "more racist attitudes from the government's side", aggravated by the "narrow-mindedness of the rural regions - whites only". The power and mobilisation of P.W.Botha's regime" has led to the "state co-opting people through welfare organisations" and even "government interference in religious issues". One response referred to the effects of "separate education for different races" as being a primary source of pessimism as far as the future of society was concerned.

(b) Reactions to the escalating violence

The responses which comprised this category fluctuated between two extreme positions. On the one hand, "non-violence will not liberate anyone. Negotiations failed when our parents were prepared to talk peacefully in the 60's", while on the other hand, the "escalating violence will serve as a frame of reference in the post-Apartheid era". Concern was expressed about the "growing number of bomb attacks" and the "killings among our own people". The "blind bloodshed" and "violence on both sides" is seen to be symptomatic of a "disregard for the value of human life". Some responses indicated that the "climate of revolution and hatred" could be caused by "radicalism and lack of discipline and respect".

(c) Attitudes which retard the process of change

The eight responses which contributed to this category reflected on the "attitudes of some citizens never contributing to changing South Africa ". The explanation suggested that such people were "becoming complacent with the status quo" and satisfied to "rest on their laurels". They had become the victims of the "middle class structures created by the government". One of the responses referred especially to "Black yuppies becoming class orientated". The privileges and luxury of such a middle class position resulted in a " non-committed or neutral group" who have become "smug / complacent".

In a slightly different vein, the attitudes of "traitors such as Hendrickse" was also mentioned. The " tricameral parliament was selling their people" since "people assume positions of leadership without being elected democratically". Such a "misuse of privileges" made one respondent despair that the culprits involved would ever relinquish the fringe and material benefits which such positions made possible.

(d) Intergroup Conflict and Division

Six responses referred to the "intergroup and racial conflicts" between certain groupings. The "division of idealistic views" caused further "conflict between different organisations". The historical imbalance in terms of power and opportunity afforded to certain groups was also mentioned. That Blacks had been extremely " underprivileged" was cited as one of the reasons for the resentment and division within society.

6.1.4.2 Reasons for Pessimism from the Affects Me Group

(a) Analysis of the present political system

The dominant theme in this category focussed on the various strategies that the state utilized in order to preserve its hegemonic location. The "States of Emergency entrench repression" and the "government fights all attempts at peaceful change". The "methods the state is using" further involved "state repression of political organisations" and "detentions under false pretences". The "capital punishment meted out at political trials" further exacerbated the "repression and its effects on people, including organisations". The "October elections proves that the government is not interested in real change". It was considered a sad reflection on the goodwill of the white voting constituency that the Conservative Party emerged as "the official opposition party".

Three responses made reference to "the government trying to co-opt other African countries" and "to get support from them". The "aid given to Unita" was also mentioned in this regard. The perception that "material conditions and privileges encourage some people to betray us" was further highlighted by a related response, but in a totally different context - "witnessing black people joining oppressive structures such as the police force and the army". Sheer economic necessity was not considered a justifiable reason. The "collaboration of certain churches with the state" was also cited as a reason for pessimism.

(b) Attitudes which retard the process of change

The dominant theme in this category focussed upon the "depth to which racism has become ingrained". Related notions included "racial tension will be a problem in the future", "racial tension - the marks of Apartheid will still be with us for a long time", "the hatred of people towards each other", and the "tendencies of intolerance for differences which exist between people". The "present educational system had successfully indoctrinated inadequacies" which perhaps also explains the "attempt of white South Africans to protect their own interests". One respondent remarked that the difficulty could be located in the statement that "change starts within groups themselves". The remoteness of this ever occurring within the present context was what engendered the pessimism .

(c) Intergroup Conflict and division

A sense of despondency was caused by the perceptions that there was "division amongst our own people (verdeeldheid in ons eie gemeenskappe). Apparently " people were divided amongst themselves" because "different strategies to attain the same goal were not coherent enough to facilitate unity". Apart from such ideological differences there were also different levels of awareness and commitment - " older persons not ready to become revolutionary yet - violence excluded" (ouer garde nog nie revolusioner wil word nie - geweld uitgesluit) . It was "organizationally depressing to see the prevalent factionalism" and the "ongoing conflicts between organizations and ethnic groups". The actual "balance of forces in the conflict causes depression". Even in

conventional politics, there appeared to be "disunity amongst liberals in parliamentary politics".

(d) Reactions to the escalating violence and its effects

The actual incidences of "violence which has gripped the country since September 1984 " is an example of one of the more neutral responses. More intensity was evident in responses such as " the high level of militarization had caused some people to become indoctrinated", "understanding only military solutions to their problems", and the "fact that people still had to fight for freedom which is their right". The "inevitable violent overthrow of the government was detrimental to both groups ", and resulted in what one respondent referred to as the " spectre of violence as a means of showing disagreement". The imbalance of opposing forces is perhaps best exemplified in " the strengthening of forces against people in the townships".

6.1.5 Cognitive Representations of Societal Components

This section attempts to portray the subjective understanding the two groups have of the various sociological strata contained within the South African context. It has been claimed that this information would provide an understanding of both the relative class location and descriptive content of the individual, in- and out-group components of society, and indicate the constructive dimensions of social comparison. The latter is considered to form one of the crucial links in demonstrating the relatedness of intra-intergroup functioning.

6.1.5.1 Representations of Society : Unaffected Group

(a) I, as a South African, am...

Eight responses elaborated upon the implications of being "one of the oppressed". The full spectrum of possible reactions and emotional responses appear to be reflected here. From being "aware that I have an important role to play", dedicated to bring about change", "willing to sacrifice", "willing to fight for my rights" and "willing to strive toward equality", the reality of being "unable to identify with my country" is possibly explained by the perceptions that respondents were "longing for an equal situation", "in need of equal rights" and "entitled to rights". The dissatisfaction with politics (baie ontevrede polities) supports "calling for an end to Apartheid". Two respondents claimed to be "a bit uncertain" and "going nowhere". Four other respondents reported that they could be

described as being "worried, "concerned", "frustrated" and "confused". Only one person felt very motivated as a black man (baie gemotiveered as a swartman) .

Three respondents describe themselves as being "an individual", "a man with a rich history" and "proud to be a South African". Two respondents indicated that they were "deeply committed to their religion".

(b) We, as South Africans, are ...

The most prominent feature which emerged here concentrated upon a group "in a transitional phase, "wanting change" and " striving for equal opportunities". A rather despondent tone was reflected in the sentiments that "we are still far from liberation", "much divided and without love for our neighbour", "too segregated and live worlds apart". The themes of conflict and division were also evident in the responses such as , "not one in name, power, or opportunities ", "divided ideologically, culturally, religiously", and "in conflict" because of "too many differences". These perceptions resulted in feelings of frustration, unhappiness, confusion and being "decisionless" according to another four respondents.

Perhaps as a consequence of being "deprived of legitimate rights", "oppressed" and "discriminated against" respondents described their in-group as "working for unity", "to be one nation and unite", "form a unit which will have to co-operate until Apartheid is overthrown" through "carefully and jointly planning and devising the

way forward".

Three respondents portray a picture of the in - group as being "responsible for lifting ourselves out of our unfortunate lot", "capable of living together to change the state we are in", and "going to live in peace and harmony even though we are poor".

(c) They as South Africans, are ...

Ten responses indicate that the out - group could be characterised by descriptions such as "racists", "oppressors", "oppressing others", "superior occasionally", "not better than others", "sometimes neglecting", "not really interested in the plight and suffering of our people".

A clear distinction is made between the inequitable distribution of resources. They are "well off", "better off", "privileged and optimistic", "not prepared to share " and "complacent because of their wealth" (baie gerusstellend oor rykdom) .

This did not imply that the out - group was exempted from anxiety. One respondent described them as "ill at ease", while another is convinced that "they are misleading themselves". Eight responses concentrate upon the dangers of becoming insulated and divorced from the harsher realities of oppression. They, as South Africans, "should realise the significance of their circumstances", and "be prepared to seriously address their roles". Instead of "trying to stay rulers", "proud and ready to defend themselves", they "must feel how it feels to be oppressed". The perception that "they are also

trying to change" partly explains the notion that they are also "afraid of the future - the unknown" and "confused".

6.1.5.2 Representations of Society : Affects Me Group

(a) I, as a South African, am ...

When compared with the Unaffected Group, this category for the Affects Me Group elicited relatively fewer responses. The descriptions were also inclined to be more concise and curt. The dominant theme which emerged from the descriptions in this section, could best be described as the emotional consequences of "waging the liberation struggle psychologically and politically", in the words of one respondent. Related notions include "proud of being part of the struggle", "tired of oppression and want to be free", "hopeful of the future", "concerned about our situation", "slightly schizophrenic - bound to emerge a liberated and fulfilled being", and "confused but at the same time very optimistic".

The descriptions of the tendency to internalise oppression, "exploited, oppressed being", "colonised and economically deprived", "underprivileged" assume greater significance when juxtaposed with statements which attest to basic human worth - I, as a South African, am... "a human being", "a person", and "simply a person". Two respondents indicate that they view themselves as "a patriot" and "glad to be South African".

(b) We, as South Africans, are...

Particularly two themes dominate the descriptions in this category. The first response refers to the issue of unity. Although we as "brothers and sisters" are "divided by the ruling block", "we must try to unite ourselves". As an "oppressed nation", we are still "human beings with integrity and value". We should attempt not to "live past each other". This idea is reinforced by the statement that we are "different but must try to trust and understand each other in order to work peacefully in the right direction", according to one respondent.

Four of the responses, however, focus upon the inherent conflict generated by the comparative powerlessness of this group. These are reflected in descriptions such as "going to fight until we have our freedom", "have a right to freedom", "have a right to decide our future", and "going to govern ourselves".

(c) They, as South Africans, are ...

The prominent feature which emerged from the descriptions in this category reflects an estranged and oppositional location of the out-group. Eleven responses refer to the "ruling block of oppressors", "white minority", "internal coloniser", "racists", "stereotyped Afrikaners with a notion of white baaskaap", "dominating", "forcing beliefs and customs on us", and "taking other peoples' rights in their own hands".

A more tolerant view suggested that they, as South Africans, are "concerned but straitjacketed in traditional responses and behavioural patterns". They are also "threatened", the "privileged few" who are trying to "hold on to what they have". The inevitable impact on material resources and the loss of certain privileges, makes the out-group "reluctant to solve South Africa's problems". As a result this group has become "inhuman" and "verkramp" in the words of two respondents.

Five responses which emerged in this section proved to be completely unexpected for this group. The out-group was described as "striving to be free", "determined to be free", "oppressed and exploited people", "tired of being lesser citizens" and "divided / unrealistic". Closer scrutiny revealed that these five respondents had all indicated that they were politically unaffiliated and uninvolved. Their understanding of the out-group appears to consider facets of the oppressed strata of society, which forms the in-group for all the other subjects.

6.1.6 The Development of Group Profiles

The most prominent trends from each of the various predetermined sections will be drawn together in an attempt to highlight the central concerns for the two groups. The themes with a frequency count of less than five will not be included in the discussion.

6.1.6.1 Group Profile for the Unaffected Group

The most salient concern identified as the major task for their cohort, revolves around assuming adult status and defining their position in life. The challenge of facing the unknown, changing context of society is made more complicated since this group feels that their particular situation requires a shift away from that of the existing adult models. The realisation that they are expected to perform roles without having had the opportunity to experiment causes some anxiety and a sense of inadequacy.

In responding to the political situation there is every recognition that the political context is complicated and extremely confusing. There is the suggestion that their generational cohort attempt to "face and try to solve" these problems, even in the face of forceful repression from the authorities and lack of support from elders. The most pressing issue, however, centers around whether or not their roles are defined in terms of active or passive participation.

The third emergent category emphasizes the process of creating an individual identity. This group indicated that the task of obtaining self-knowledge was vitally important. Individuals had to develop a sense of self-identity and come to terms with their beliefs and values, especially in the face of peer, parental and societal pressures and expectations. There appeared to be a strong need to distinguish the individual from the collective background fabric.

Finally, there is consensus that the financial difficulty of pursuing a career is a major concern for most young people. The need for financial independence and future prospects and security is clearly expressed.

The personal issues identified focus firstly upon the difficulty of their incumbent roles as students. The actual relevance of their education today is being questioned in the light of the disruptive nature of the process. Academic boycotts and the present political climate appear to affect their performance and perseverance. The unenviable position of being financially dependent and unemployed, with "little vocational direction" added to the sense of confusion and frustration about setting clear goals or obtaining a suitable career.

Secondly, the search for meaning in life is further complicated by the "great turmoil the world is in", and the many constraints to self-actualization. A great deal of energy appears to be devoted to the task of resolving inner conflicts for this group. These conflicts are apparently related to problems with interpersonal relationships and effective communication. A feeling of inadequacy in social settings and communicating with certain sectors are reported to be the main concerns here.

The reasons presented for being optimistic about the future include the following factors. The dedication of the majority to bring about change has resulted in consciousness-raising experiences and a heightened awareness of problems. Optimism is further generated by

the perception that the attitudes of whites are changing and society on the whole is moving away from racial discrimination. This is expected to result in psychological liberation (getting rid of the slave mentality) and the creation of a healthier society which accepts the inevitability of change. There appears to be more agreement that the process of change will not be a peaceful resolution of differences. The fact that those involved in the struggle are prepared to risk the consequences supports this argument.

The role of religious institutions and their representatives is perceived to be an important contribution to the struggle, one which is comparatively unhampered by state interference. There is further acknowledgement of the importance of mass based organisations who serve to expose the absurdities of the Botha regime. The increasing power and influence of organisations outside of state structures is another source of optimism.

An interesting feature emerged in the generation of responses to this question on the schedule. Apart from general agreement on the first theme, the second highest frequency score is located within the idiosyncratic category. The subjects in this group clearly have very diverse and individualistic reasons for being optimistic about the future.

The reasons given for being pessimistic about the future outweigh the reasons for optimism by ten responses. There is also more commonality across the themes for this group. The sense of heightened awareness

and commitment to change reported in the previous section, should be examined against the numerous concerns about the repressive strategies of the present political system. The very real constraints imposed by the State of Emergency, detentions without trial, racial segregation and restrictions, contradicts the feasibility of change and renders negligible the commitment to change from other sectors.

Reactions to the escalating violence fluctuated between two positions. The process of peaceful negotiations had not changed the status quo in any significant way in the past. On the other hand, the violence on both sides, and the disregard for the value of human life, is considered to be detrimental for the future post-Apartheid era.

It is further suggested that the complacency and attitudes of the "middle class structures created by the government" retard the process of change. This is further exacerbated by intergroup and racial conflicts caused partially by the historical imbalance of power and opportunity bestowed upon certain groups, while others have been relatively deprived and exploited.

The representation of the societal component, I, as a South African, elaborated upon the implications of being a member of the oppressed group. On the one hand, there is a sense of assertiveness in the claims that individuals have a right to equality and are willing to make sacrifices to achieve this. On the other hand, the inability to identify with South Africa as individuals, could be explained by the experiences of never having been entitled to equal rights.

The most prominent feature which emerged in the category, We, as South Africans, described the in - group as being in a transitional phase, actively pursuing justice but unfortunately still far from liberation and "not one in name, power, or opportunities". The ideological, cultural and religious differences made it extremely difficult to be one nation or to unite. Co-operation and joint strategising for the future was also made more problematic because of these inherent divisions.

The out-group is energetically discussed in response to They, as South Africans , are... From the descriptive labels of especially racists and oppressors, two further refinements are introduced. The inequitable distribution of material resources leads to the descriptions of the out-group as being wealthier and less prepared to share. The comfort and complacency of their positions has made the out-group less sensitive to the plight and suffering of others. This insulation and estrangement from other realities has resulted in a proud and domineering group ready to defend their interests. The suggestion that They should be prepared to seriously re-examine the significance of their roles and circumstances appears to resonate in the insistence that They "must feel how it feels to be oppressed". There are more delicate nuances which imply that the out-group is also trying to change and in the process are wary and afraid of the future.

6.1.6.2 Group Profile for the Affects Me Group

The major features which have been identified as cohort issues for this group, consist of the following :

In responding to the political situation , a number of respondents suggest that their peers should try to understand the nature of struggle and come to terms with political turmoil in society. There is hardly any questioning about the assumption that young people are compelled to assume responsibilities, debate and resolve issues, "long before youth of other countries even speculate about them". The most important theme in this section, however, is the quest for "national liberation". A determination to remedy the wrongs of the past, the racial and tribal divides and the structures which support them, is obvious. There is real concern about how young people could most meaningfully be involved, and transformed through the process of rejecting the present system and becoming more empowered.

The second major concern highlighted the effects of the present educational system. There appeared to be a clear understanding of the narrow socialization process which underpins formal educational practices, in favour of the existing status quo. Much of the discussion revolved around attending to the transformation of both the process and objectives of education , "to enhance liberation rather than oppress further".

Personal development within the political context emerged as the third theme. The task of "character exploration" is located within the activity of clarifying the consequences of political involvement. The demands made upon young people as students are weighed against more concerted political involvement and commitment. An awareness that it is extremely difficult to balance the two roles pervades the responses. A number of tensions have to be resolved in choosing to pursue an "action strategy". One of these tensions arises from the opinion that those at home are unaware of the issues they have to confront and grapple with. A more focussed strategy would also alienate others not as involved, who come from slightly different ideological perspectives.

The fourth theme develops logically from the previous discussion. The task of facilitating political involvement is identified as one of the issues their cohort should undertake. Youth should not only be more actively recruited into organisations, but also "developed" once they are members.

The fifth cohort issue revolves around making important decisions about the future. Although a sense of uncertainty exists in relation to their future roles, youth were advised to become involved in activities which would inform their destinies. This did not only refer to the educational sphere, as political choices had to be made, and the anxiety-provoking possibility of not succeeding in wider society also had to be faced.

The following were considered to be the most important personal issues for this group. Reflecting on the implications and consequences of an active political life featured most prominently here. The exhaustion of those centrally involved in organisations is complicated by a number of factors : not everyone is as actively involved ; the diverse backgrounds and interests of members add to the confusion about political goals and direction. The impatience and rashness of youth ought to be harnessed through educational methods. Perhaps this kind of reflective experience would facilitate the choice between violence or non - violence as the means of achieving political and social goals.

A closely related theme emerged as the second concern. Youth needed to explore alternatives in order to develop a "clear-cut political identity". The setting of priorities, defining activist roles and resolving guilt feelings of not meeting the expectations set by significant others are all incorporated into the sphere for exploration. An additional complication arises from the fact that political roles and tasks are fluid and rarely, if ever, clearly defined. Rising to each occasion left the incumbents of these roles without any benchmarks against which to evaluate their performance, or feel supported that they were doing the right thing.

The destructive effects of Apartheid legislation is the final theme which emerged as a personal concern. The most crucial issue appears to be the effects of prolonged subjugation to racism and capitalism. The divisions, the restrictions, and psychological consequences of

the "forces of repression" are all mentioned and considered. The two words, struggle and tensions, underpin most of the responses in this category.

The Affects Me Group identify five themes as reasons for feeling optimistic about the nature of present society. The first prominent theme revolves around the heightened awareness of the political context and commitment to change. The perceptions that political understanding and militancy had increased amongst a range of constituencies is further reflected in a statement such as the "high morale of the fighting masses, particularly the youth". There appeared to be a determination to stand for justice, irrespective of the consequences, which instills a sense of hope for the future. The possibility of various strata, even the unoppressed, becoming transformed into a more democratic society was also envisaged.

The disintegration of the ruling block was expressed as a reason for optimism in a variety of ways. The perception that "organisational militancy" had pressurised the Botha regime into resorting to "utter force to control the situation" and to retain their power base, appears to be the main thrust of the responses in this section. The linkages with the African national Congress and international solidarity against the existing hegemony, increased the panic within the ruling party and reinforced the pending crisis of illegitimacy.

While the hegemony appears to be crumbling, the growing support for progressive structures and the organisational gains of this contestational grouping, tilted the balance of power in favour of

those striving for democracy. The severe restrictive measures of the state had served to weaken, but not crush organisations. Ironically enough, these very interventions had raised the consciousness and indignation of more people, who then realise the bankruptcy of the the present system.

The process of organising against the system had inspired views of a changed future. The "general desire of society to rid itself of the injustices perpetrated by the apartheid system" suggests a radical shift in existing social arrangements. Certain groupings realising the mistake of oppressing their neighbours, and visualising different roles for a post-Apartheid situation, are all indicative of an adjustment to more consensually validated and appropriate social relations.

The most important causes of pessimism about the present condition of society, focussed upon the various strategies which the state utilized in order to preserve its hegemony. The reality that a number of people were still victims of the existing order, in terms of economic dependence and the legal constraints imposed by the State of Emergency, further repression and co-option into the system, all contributed to the negative descriptions of society. There were still enough vested interests for a number of people to maintain the status quo and obstruct attempts at meaningful change.

The attitudes which retard the process of change are described as the direct outcome of an unfortunate legacy of the political distortion of society. The consequences of Apartheid-racial tensions,

intolerance of differences between people, and the depth to which racism has become ingrained - are presented as the root causes of hardened attitudes. The indoctrination of inadequacies for some groups needs to be addressed in the light of the attempts of others to protect their own interests and to ignore a more just distribution of resources.

For this group, the concept of intergroup conflict and division refers to more than merely conflict between in- and out- groups. The various groups mentioned are differentiated according to the criteria of ethnicity, organisational affiliation, political ideologies and different cohorts. There is much concern about the internal conflict "amongst our own people" because of the different interpretations of how to achieve a just society.

The detrimental implications of the prevalent violence is highlighted in the theme entitled, reactions to the escalating violence and its effects. The imbalance of power between opposing forces and the tendency to resort to both institutional violence and counter - violence, is considered to be destructive for all parties concerned. The dilemma of abandoning the fight for freedom and seeking more peaceful alternatives remains unresolved to some extent. There is definitely a bias in favour of not falling prey to the strategy of negotiations, which have proved to be unsuccessful in the past.

When the Affects Me Group describe themselves as South Africans, I, as a South African, am..., they immediately resort to the emotional consequences of waging the liberation struggle. Although the system

has exploited, colonised and economically deprived these individuals, their responses attest to their determination to categorise themselves simply as people, patriots and glad to be South African too.

The category, We, as South Africans , generated especially two themes. The quest for unity in the face of historical division and mistrust emerges as the first theme. The vulnerability to succumb to the political categorisations may result in alienation and estrangement from each other. The second theme refers to the dissatisfaction and resentment caused by the relative powerlessness of the group. Descriptions aimed at redressing the situation include fighting for freedom, the right to decision-making for the future and the rejection of the present government in favour of one which is more representative of the people.

They, as South Africans , are described from a position of estrangement. As the "ruling block of oppressors", the "white minority" has forced its ideology upon the less powerful. Domination is defined as a reciprocal process which contaminates both the criminal and the victim. They, are therefore threatened by the likelihood of having to adjust to less material comfort and the loss of certain privileges. Resisting this transformation to protect their interests instead, has made the out-group inhuman and verkrampt .

Table 7 presents a summary of the dominant themes which have emerged from the group profiles :

Table 7 : Dominant Themes from the Group Profiles

<u>Unaffected Group</u>	<u>Affects Me Group</u>
<u>Cohort Issues</u>	
assuming adult status and	responses to political situation
defining position in life	quest for national liberation
active/passive participation	effects of educational system
creating individual identity	character exploration within political
financial difficulty	context
	facilitating political involvement
	future decisions/nature of present
	involvement
<u>Personal Issues</u>	
student role	reflections of active political life
interpersonal relationships	explore alternatives for developing
communication skills	political identity
	effects of Apartheid legislation
<u>Reasons for Optimism</u>	
heightened awareness of political context	
significance of mass-based	disintegration of ruling block
organisations	organisational gains of progressive
diverse idiosyncratic	structures
reasons	views of a changed and just future
<u>Reasons for Pessimism</u>	
repressive state strategies	state strategies to preserve hegemony
reactions to escalating	attitudes which retard change
violence	intergroup conflict and division
attitudes which retard change	reactions to escalating violence
<u>Societal Categorizations</u>	
<u>I, as a South African, am</u>	
member of oppressed group	emotional consequences of waging
right to equality / willing	liberation struggle
to sacrifice for freedom	
<u>We, as South Africans, are</u>	
in transitional phase	quest for unity in face of division
pursuing justice but far from	and mistrust
liberation	dissatisfaction and resentment at
	relative powerlessness of group
<u>They, as South Africans, are</u>	
racist oppressors	oppressive white minority
wealthier, less prepared to	threatened by loss of material
share	comfort and privileges
insulated and estranged	

6.2 Quantitative Analysis

This phase of the study attempts to communicate the results from the statistical analyses of the consensus grids for both the politically affiliated and active (Polaf), and the unaffiliated and politically inactive (Unaf) groups . The detailed information appears in Appendices E and D respectively. We are reminded that the Repertory Grid Technique is essentially a descriptive method (Dawes et al, 1987) which enables the researcher to depict the complex psychological processes through which the participants orient themselves in the social world. The crucial functions of these processes are to structure and interpret reality in ways that enable the person to make valid predictions of future possibilities (Newman, 1966; Hayden, 1983; Fransella et al, 1977; Fransella, 1983; Bannister, 1977; Beail, 1985; Button, 1985).

An exploration of the construct systems of the two groups provided the information about the extent to which these youth are engaged knowingly in the political discourses which impinge on their development. Their choice to affiliate and become politically active presupposes a politicized group consciousness. Those who have chosen not to engage in political structures may indicate some measure of group identification. They are not, however, expected to advocate for the rights and interests of their group in an explicit manner.

In order to answer the first part of the second research question, about how the sample construes the nature of a divided society from different ideological positions, specific information has been selected from the comprehensive data generated by the Ingrid programme. A brief examination of the salience of the elements within the construct systems is further elaborated upon by a psychological interpretation of the first two components, derived from the principal components analysis of the two consensus grids. The underlying structural patterns are then analysed in greater detail through an examination of the construct / element correlations, as provided by the cosine values.

The second part of the research question refers to patterns of identification with the chosen political images. In order to present both the idealistic and contra-identification patterns, all the degrees of association between the various pairs of elements will be considered. The identity plots for the two groups will be graphically presented according to the model described by Norris et al (1977). Reference will also be made to their suggested operational definitions for the interpretation of the identity plots.

To facilitate the discussion, the elements and constructs used in this study are presented :

(1)

Elements

- E1 UWC Student body
- E2 Myself, as I am now - Actual Self
- E3 Myself, as I would like to be - Ideal Self
- E4 ANC - African National Congress
- E5 P.W.Botha - Leader of the ruling National Party
- E6 PFP - Progressive Federal Party
- E7 Hendrickse - Leader of the House of Representatives
- E8 Cosatu - Congress of South African Trade Unions

(2)

Constructs

Negative Pole

Positive Pole

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. removing only certain obstacles to opportunities | creating equal opportunities |
| 2. powerful and advantaged | victimized and underprivileged |
| 3. cultural differences make it impossible to live together | enough cultural similarity to make living together possible |
| 4. fight to keep resources | able to share resources |
| 5. revolutionary | resolve differences peacefully |
| 6. responsible for the mess the country is in | attempting to change the mess the country is in |

6.2.1 Constructions of the conflictual nature of society

The constructs had originally been selected because of their potential to elicit understandings of the conflictual nature of some agents active in the political arena. Inherent in their formulation are descriptions of how social change could be brought about and the perceptions of who is deemed to be more powerful in relation to future arrangements. An attempt has also been made to

capture some of the concerns from the qualitative phase , particularly whether or not the groups opt for radical or reformist modes of social change and the extent to which they perceive certain political groupings as having similar intentions to their own .

The values of the Sums of Squares give an indication of the relative importance of the elements in relation to the two measures of self, E2 (actual self) and E3 (the ideal self). An examination of the total variation further provides an indication of whether the relationship is positive or negative. Table 8 presents the actual ranking of the elements based on their respective Sums of Squares :

Table 8 : Ranked positions of elements based on Sums of Squares

	<u>Unaf</u>	<u>Polaf</u>
Position	Element	
1.	5 (P.W.Botha)	5 (P.W.Botha)
2.	3 (Ideal Self)	7 (Hendrickse)
3.	4 (ANC)	3 (Ideal Self)
4.	8 (Cosatu)	8 (Cosatu)
5.	7 (Hendrickse)	6 (PFP)
6.	1 (UWC Student Body)	4 (ANC)
7.	2 (Actual Self)	2 (Actual Self)
8.	6 (PFP)	1 (UWC Student Body)

Element 5 (P.W.Botha) assumes a significant position in both rankings and is considered to be similar to Hendrickse (E7) and the PFP (E6) for both groups. The positions of E8 (Cosatu) and E2 (Actual Self) are the only other similar rankings. If we pair elements which have been rated in similar ways - percentages of

the variation attributed to it and whether or not the totals are positive or negative - certain interesting patterns become evident. In descending order, the Unaf group consider their ideal selves (E3) to be more significant than the ANC (E4) and Cosatu (E8). Another positive relationship exists between E1 (UWC student body) and E2 (actual self). For the Polaf group E3 (ideal self) and E8 (Cosatu) are positively associated, while E4 (ANC) and E2 (actual self) form another pair. E1 (UWC student body) does not appear to be closely associated with any of the other pairs .

An examination of the first two components of the Principal Components Analysis is claimed to provide an understanding of the underlying nature of the collective construct systems for the two groups. Table 9 presents the latent roots and observed percentages of variation for the first two components :

Table 9 : Latent Roots of the first two Principal Components

Unaf

<u>Component</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	33.0930	64.41
2	13.4670	26.21
3	3.3644	6.55
4	1.2235	2.38
5	.2118	.41
6	.0214	.04

Polaf

1	105.9712	86.79
2	9.6197	7.88
3	4.8863	4.00
4	.8992	.74
5	.7029	.58
6	.0229	.02

The first two components have remarkably large roots for both groups, accounting for 90.6% (Unaf) and 94.7% (Polaf) of the observed variation. In comparison, the differential loadings on the other components are proportionally very much smaller. From Table 5 , it is worth noting that the first component of the Polaf group dominates the whole scale, accounting for 86.8% of the total variation. Slater (1972; 1977) has argued that certain elements, by their preeminence, are not only capable of influencing the direction of the axis, but also set the trend for the manner in which the other elements will be measured. It is evident that element 5 (P.W.Botha), the symbolic representation of the existing hegemony , plays an important and pivotal role in relation to how

the other elements have been evaluated on the constructs .

According to Chetwynd (1977), an analysis of the explanation power of the total variation of the first component could be considered to be an inverse measure of cognitive complexity. The domination of the first component indicates a style of tight construing (Slater, 1972) which is usually associated with a cognitively simple system. It appears as if the Polaf group construe reality from a more focussed perspective and interpret their circumstances in a very specific manner. There appears to be slightly more diversity and elaborative construing in the underlying pattern of the Unaf construct system. Here the first component accounts for 64,4% and the second component for 26.2% of the variation .

An examination of the most prominent descriptions of the first two components is intended to highlight more substantive information about the basic characteristics of the construct systems for the two groups . The loadings of the elements and constructs on the first two components are provided in Table 9a :

Table 9a : Loadings of the elements and constructs on the first two components for Unaf and Polaf

<u>Elements</u>	<u>Unaf</u>		<u>Polaf</u>	
	<u>Components</u>			
	1	2	1	2
1	.0701	-1.3557	-1.0790	.1556
2	.8719	.8617	-2.4696	.1109
3	2.2155	2.0105	-3.3494	-1.5261
4	.5832	-2.4278	-2.9341	.3376
5	-4.4151	.6239	6.7489	-1.0286
6	-.2625	.6640	2.6567	1.0286
7	-1.4133	-.0317	3.8316	1.6448
8	2.3500	-.3449	-3.4051	.0835

<u>Constructs</u>	<u>Unaf</u>		<u>Polaf</u>	
	<u>Components</u>			
	1	2	1	2
1	3.3028	.2859	-5.2977	-.2972
2	1.6075	-1.7700	-1.0355	2.2826
3	2.3695	.1292	-4.6453	.5628
4	-1.7933	-1.1663	-4.1890	-.1875
5	.8212	2.8429	1.6926	1.9883
6	3.1778	-.8909	-5.9027	.1266

The first component for the Unaf group is described by the following relationships. E5 (Botha) and to a lesser degree E7 (Hendrickse) are considered to be best described by the negative pole of construct 4 - fighting to keep resources. E3 (ideal) and E8 (Cosatu) are associated with the positive poles of constructs 1 (creating equal opportunities) and 6 (attempting to change the mess the country is in). The second component describes E4 (ANC) and E1 (UWC student body) as powerful and advantaged (negative pole of construct 2) and fighting to keep resources (negative pole of construct 4).

The tightness of the first component for the Polaf group is further explained by the fact that five elements are clustered in relation to the negative poles of four constructs. Cosatu (E8), Ideal Self (E3), ANC (E4), Actual Self (E2) and UWC student body (E1) are all described as having to take responsibility for the mess the country is in (construct 6), removing only certain obstacles to opportunities (construct 1), believing that cultural differences make it impossible to live together (construct 3) and fighting to keep resources (construct 4).

An unexpected feature which emerged as a slightly less important relationship, associated P.W.Botha (E5), Hendrickse (E7) and the PFP (E6) with the negative poles of construct 5 - revolutionary, and to a lesser degree, with construct 2 - powerful and advantaged.

The second component describes elements 6 (Hendrickse) and 7 (PFP) as being both victimized and underprivileged (positive pole of construct 2). This implies that they rank lower down on the power differential. They are also described as revolutionary (positive pole of construct 5). The construction of this pole, revolutionary, will be referred to again later. Elements 3 (Ideal self) and 5 (P.W.Botha) also feature here, and are associated with removing only certain obstacles to opportunities. Apparently this association of the ideal self (E3) with Botha (E5) could refer to the aspiration to occupy a similar dominant and powerful position.

Table 10 presents the directional cosines between all the constructs and elements. These are expressed as the mathematical

equivalents of correlations . This information will provide the opportunity to analyse in more detail where commonality or differences are evident between the two groups. The value of 0.50 was chosen as the significant cut-off point to reveal the most prominent element / construct interactions (Slater, 1977; Dawes et al, 1987), irrespective of whether the values are positive or negative. In each case the values for the Unaf Group are listed first, with the values for the Polaf Group directly beneath. Negative scores are considered to reflect the left-hand side of the construct and positive values the opposite side.

Table 10 : Correlations between Elements and Constructs for both Unaf and Polaf

		<u>Element</u>							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>Construct</u>									
1	Unaf	.098	.509	.779	.193	-.912	-.357	-.855	.930
	Polaf	.850	.894	.892	.950	-.939	-.833	-.908	.981
2	Unaf	.472	.265	-.174	.606	-.708	-.483	-.199	.718
	Polaf	.496	.471	-.153	.525	-.507	-.275	.017	.446
3	Unaf	-.086	.577	.720	.195	-.950	-.304	-.748	.934
	Polaf	.852	.934	.832	.925	-.979	-.726	-.840	.937
4	Unaf	.399	-.830	-.908	.341	.752	-.215	.690	-.724
	Polaf	.897	.927	.876	.967	-.947	-.842	-.922	.982
5	Unaf	-.764	.840	.689	-.875	-.166	.766	-.131	.151
	Polaf	-.490	-.622	-.579	-.552	.322	.898	.727	-.600
6	Unaf	.400	.335	.525	.452	-.935	-.469	-.883	.866
	Polaf	.938	.920	.846	.966	-.961	-.778	-.911	.963

The most striking feature to emerge from Table 10 is the tendency for both groups to associate their actual (E2) and ideal selves (E3) with Cosatu (E8) ; whereas the Polaf group tend to go further and include the ANC (E4) and UWC student body (E1) in their association.

On construct 1 , the Unaf group perceives the self (E2), the ideal self (E3) and Cosatu (E8) as attempting to create equal opportunities. The Polaf group agrees and includes both the ANC (E4) and UWC (E1) in this description. Both groups also describe Botha (E5) and Hendrickse (E7) as intent on removing only certain obstacles to opportunities. The Polaf group include the PFP (E6) in the latter description, whereas the Unaf group see UWC (E1) as also only removing certain obstacles . The second construct elicited relatively uncomplicated responses. For Unaf, both the ANC (E4) and Cosatu (E8) are described as being victimized and underprivileged , whereas the Polaf group perceives only the ANC (E4) as being the underdog. Both groups consider P.W.Botha (E5) to be powerful and advantaged. An interesting feature which emerges here is that neither of the groups rate their actual (E2) or ideal selves (E3) on this dimension. It is suggested that the combinations of the two adjectives may have been responsible. It is more than likely, as implied in the qualitative findings, that the Polaf group for instance, may see themselves as powerful but not advantaged, as victimized but not underprivileged. The Unaf group may have responded more readily to a description such as disadvantaged and underprivileged.

On construct 3, the same clusters for both groups are evident. The self (E2), ideal (E3) and Cosatu (E8) are described by Unaf as believing that there is enough cultural similarity to make living together possible. The Polaf group adds the ANC (E4) and (E1) to the latter description. Unlike their response to the negative pole of construct 1, only Botha (E5) and Hendrickse (E7) are described as believing that cultural differences would make it impossible to live together. Similarly to construct 1, the Polaf group associate Botha (E5), Hendrickse (E7) and the PFP (E6) as attaching more importance to cultural differences.

There is evidently a different pattern which emerges for construct 4. For the Unaf group, the self (E2), ideal self (E3) and Cosatu (E8) are described as fighting to keep resources while Botha (E5) and Hendrickse (E7) are seen as able to share resources. The Polaf group appear to think that Botha (E5), Hendrickse (E7) and the PFP (E6) are fighting to keep resources while the UWC student body (E1), self (E2), ideal self (E3), the ANC (E4) and Cosatu (E8) are prepared to share resources. A possible explanation, implied by the societal categorisations of the qualitative phase, could be that both groups see E5 (Botha) and E7 (Hendrickse) as being more affluent materially, but differ fundamentally in respect to the redistribution of the resources and who decides to initiate the process of levelling. It is hardly likely that the Unaf group see themselves as fighting to obtain resources. A more appropriate interpretation would be that they are struggling to survive. The Polaf group appear to suggest that their collective is best

described as being able to share resources, clearly locating the extra-parliamentary groupings in opposition to the hegemony.

Construct 5 again highlights the peculiar evaluation the Unaf group makes of the UWC student body (E1). Both E1 and the ANC (E4) are described as being revolutionary whereas they perceive themselves now (E2) and in the future (E3), together with the PFP (E6) as trying to resolve differences peacefully. The Polaf group describes themselves (E2), Cosatu (E8), their ideal selves (E3) and the ANC (E4) as being revolutionary, while the PFP (E6) and Hendrickse (E7) are seen as trying to resolve differences peacefully. There are obviously very different interpretations of the concept revolutionary for the two groups, and some confusion in how to respond. This is further evident from the observation that this is the only construct which does not incorporate P.W.Botha (E5).

Another significant feature which emerges, even from the uncertainty of how to construe "revolutionary", is the fact that the groups understand revolutionary activity to be taking place at very different levels of interaction. The Unaf group considers the exosystem to reflect such an engagement, while the Polaf group describes this at a macro-structural level. An earlier observation with regard to the connotations of violence and radicalism in connection to the participants' understanding of violence, may have influenced the ratings on this particular construct.

Finally, the Unaf group consider P.W.Botha (E5) and Hendrickse (E7) to be responsible for the mess the country is in , while Cosatu (E8) and their ideal selves (E3) are attempting to change the mess that the country is in. For the Polaf group the hegemony versus the counter-ideology pattern is again evident. Botha (E5), Hendrickse (E7) and the PFP (E6) are responsible for the mess the country is in while all the other elements are attempting to change the mess that the country finds itself in. This information apparently contradicts the interpretation of the first component from the Principal Components Analysis discussed earlier. The dilemma, according to Billig et al (1988) could be explained not as a contradiction , but as an unresolvable issue which cannot be separated. Although the major political actors are held accountable for the present condition of the country, the Polaf group quite accurately realize that their involvement in the political arena would require that they share responsibility for the consequences .

The foregoing discussion provides a meaningful background for the next section, which presents the patterns of identification with the groups display with these political actors.

6.2.2 Patterns of Identification

The identity plots for both groups were drawn according to the method outlined by Norris et al (1977) . The element distances presented in Table 7 reflect the distances of all the elements from the actual self (E2) and the ideal self (E3) for the two groups. The visual representation of where the participants locate

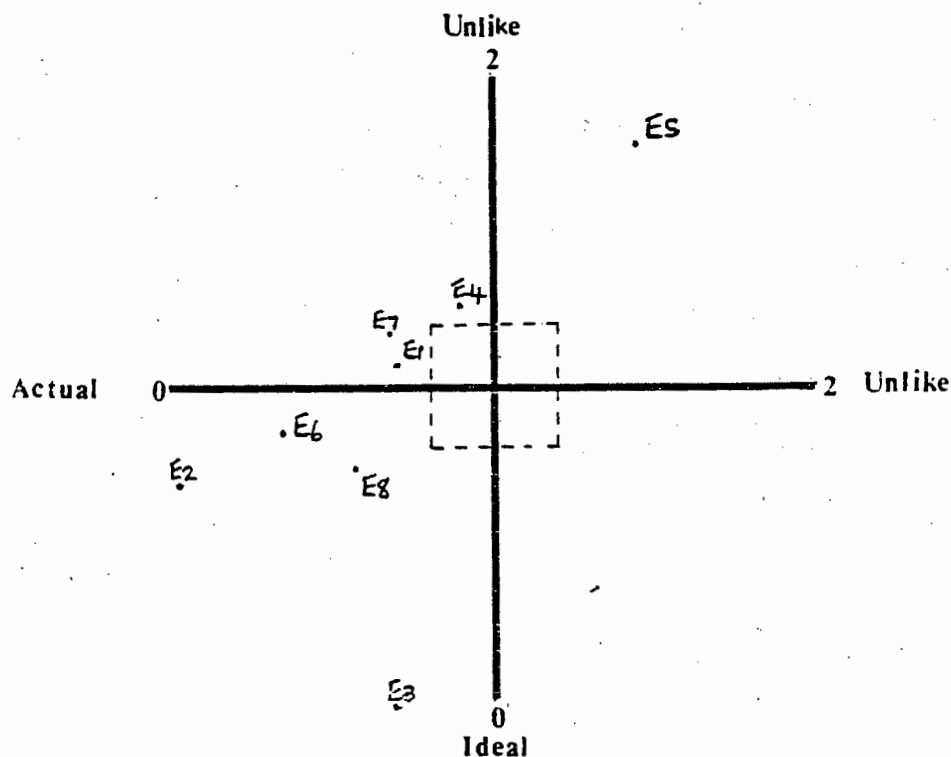
themselves in relation to the political images is claimed to provide an understanding of how the two groups have construed the political agendas and intentions of the various political actors.

Table 11 : Element Distances

<u>Elements</u>	<u>Unaf</u>		<u>Polaf</u>	
	E2	E3	E2	E3
1	.695	1.090	.287	.550
2	0	.679	0	.455
3	.679	0	.455	0
4	.947	1.243	.193	.450
5	1.430	1.775	1.600	1.738
6	.336	.823	.955	1.113
7	.661	1.195	1.111	1.352
8	.539	.728	.241	.402

Figure 1 graphically presents the element distances for the Unaf group :

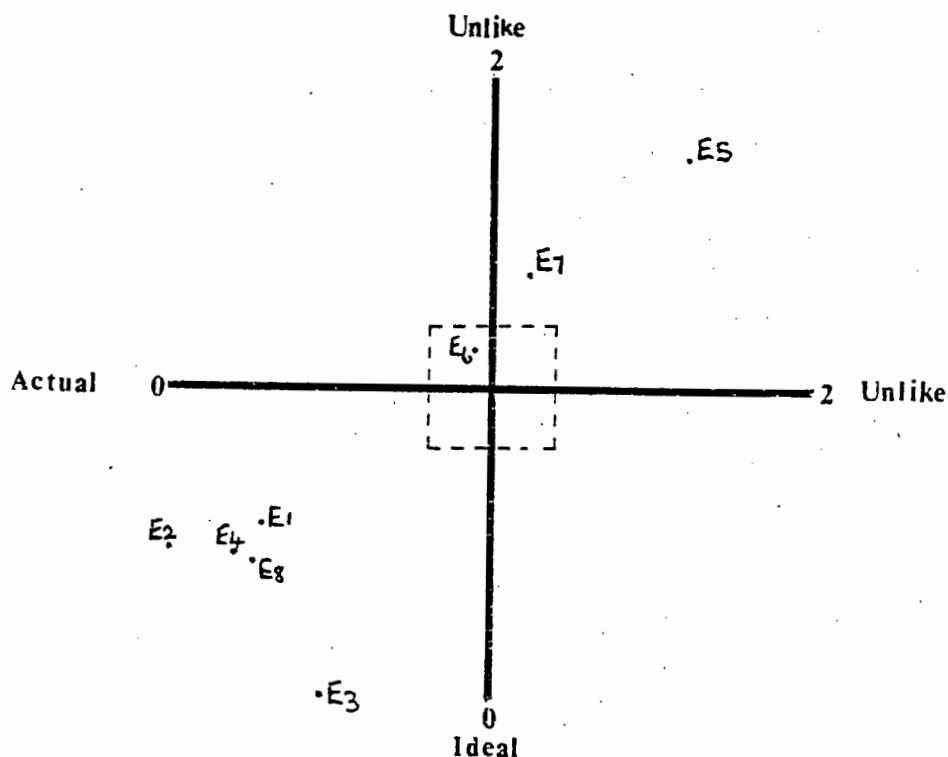
Figure 1 : Identity Plot for Unaf



Except for E5 (P.W.Botha) which is considered to be extremely unlike both their actual and ideal selves, the elements are fairly dispersed and do not display any meaningfully close clusters. The PFP (E6) is perceived to be the closest to their actual selves, with Cosatu (E8) rated next. This group considers itself to be rather indifferent to the ANC (E4), Hendrickse (E7) and the UWC student body (E1). They have also placed Cosatu (E8) and the PFP (E6) closer together than any of the other elements in relation to their self images.

Figure 2 presents the graphical representation of the element distances for the Polaf group :

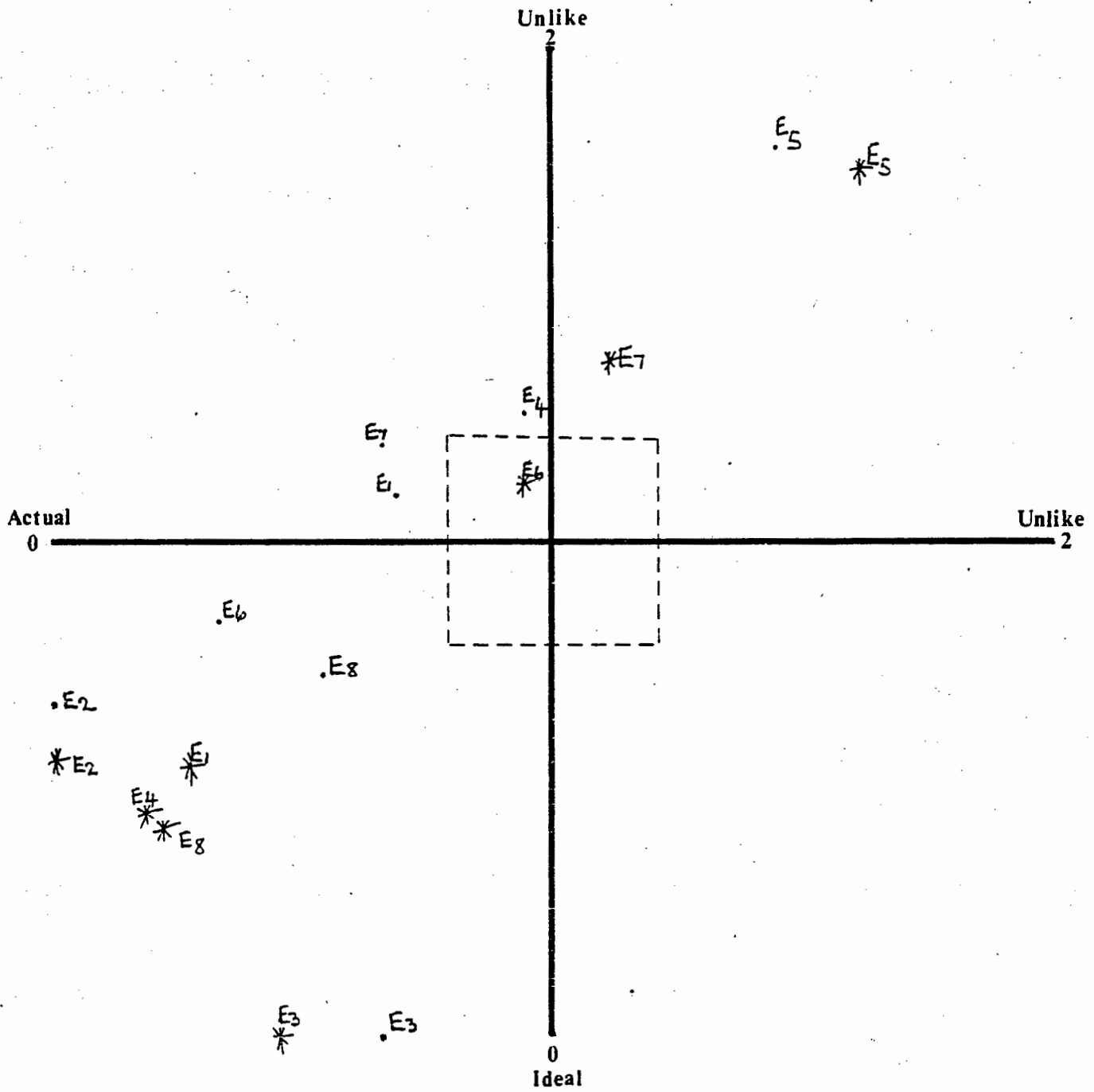
Figure 2 : Identity Plot for Polaf



From figure 2 it is evident that strikingly different patterns of identification emerge for the two groups. E5 (P.W.Botha) is also displayed as an outlier and completely unlike their actual (E2) and ideal (E3) selves. This group has positioned their actual selves (E2) even further away from P.W.Botha (E5). Hendrickse (E7) is also located in the same quadrant , but less strongly so. There are more ambivalent feelings about the PFP (E6), who are located indifferently, although on the same axis as the other two . There are markedly stronger personal identification links with the ANC (E4) and Cosatu (E8), and to a slightly lesser degree with the UWC student body (E1). There is also more congruence between the actual (E2) and ideal self (E3) for this group.

Figure 3 graphically presents the combined identity plots for the two groups :

Figure 3 : Combined Identity Plots for Unaf and Polaf



Key : Unaf .
 Polaf *

According to the guidelines stipulated by Norris et al (1977), both groups just meet the criteria for self convergence. The Unaf group tends to display a pattern of social alienation as far as their ideal selves are concerned. The only element less than 0.8 is Cosatu (E8). This pattern of identification is unusual, as the qualitative findings have suggested that the group takes upward mobility and exit from their circumstances very seriously .

They apparently construe the workers not as a political entity, but rather as symbolic of their class status, or more likely, that of their parents and relatives ? They have also indicated that ideally (E3) they would see themselves becoming more involved with "attempting to change the mess the country is in ". This supports their earlier responses of being ambivalent about entry into politics and yet being as concerned about the situation.

For the Polaf group, Cosatu (E8), the ANC (E4) and the UWC student body (E1) form a supportive network as far as both their actual and ideal selves are concerned. Tajfel (1981 ; 1982) has argued in this regard that one of the major tasks for the individual is to find or create a niche in the currently existing networks. Such group membership provides a variety of social interpretations for the individual. The Polaf group see at least three of the political actors as possible sources of information and providing direction to their thinking about political involvement.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CRITICAL DISCUSSION

7.1 A Synthesis of the Qualitative and Quantitative Findings

Empirically, the aims of this study have been to provide both qualitative and quantitative data to depict the process of identity redefinition in a sample of oppressed youth. It has been argued that the social arrangements of the South African context provide a particularly fitting environment for examining how young people deal with the psychosocial effects of oppression and the choices they make regarding their imposed identity and political prospects for the future.

A critical examination of the most prominent conceptual categories from the group profiles suggests that the levels of consciousness, as operationalised through personal or systemic causal attribution, do significantly affect the manner in which reality is construed. There are differences between the themes which have emerged, and even where they appear similar semantically, the discourse indicates that the groups have opted for divergent responses to the structural inequalities inherent in the system (refer to diagram 1 in this regard).

The fact that the dominant ideology has been instrumental in determining the major content of their concerns is evident from the observation that the most prominent common theme identified as a cohort issue for the two groups is their response to the political situation. Tajfel (1981) has argued in this connection that most victims of repression would in varying degrees, support processes of " objective " social change which they hope would lead to an

improvement in their circumstances. The Unaffected Group find the political context confusing and controversial , but realise that they would have to face it nonetheless. There is every awareness of the structural constraints imposed by the authorities, and the lack of support from elders. These considerations further complicate the decision about whether or not to be actively involved in political tasks. This group appears to be debating the risks involved in entering politics from an objective and marginal position.

The Affects Me Group , on the other hand, appear to argue from a base of political consciousness located within the struggle. For them, their peers should try to come to terms with the nature of political turmoil and struggle, and consider the most meaningful ways of achieving " national liberation ". This group claims to have taken on issues and responsibilities " long before youth of other countries even speculate about them ". The commonality between the groups ends here.

The Unaffected Group further present concerns very much in keeping with those generally proposed by mainstream developmental theorists such as Erikson (1963 ; 1968), Marcia (1966 ; 1976) , Coleman (1980) and Baumeister (1986). Defining their personal identity are indicated as the major tasks confronting their cohort. There is hardly any reference to a collective or social identity for the group, except perhaps in the concern that

their positions have shifted from that of their adult models and family contexts. The challenges of facing an unknown and changing future causes some anxiety, in the Kellian sense of the word, since there are few opportunities to experiment with various roles, or to examine them in comparison with more appropriate models. Financial constraints further complicate the possibility of pursuing a career which guarantees future stability, upward mobility and independence.

None of these traditional developmental tasks are reflected in the agenda of the Affects Me Group. The group claims that there is " little time for personal development " and attempt to explore and create their characters within other contexts. Challenging the norms and values inculcated through the educational system ranks highly amongst their priorities. They insist that their cohort transform educational practices and enhance liberatory methods instead, in order to redress the socialization effects of " dehumanization " in support of the status quo. Facilitating political involvement and the difficult task of recruiting uninvolved youth are cited as other priorities. This confirms the suggestion from the literature that activists would seek to find legitimation for their efforts . When this group considers its future, they do not include financial problems, but focus instead upon the important decisions which would have to be made , and involvement in activities which would pave their future destinies. The decisions and activities all have political implications and are thought to be quite different to the demands

and requirements for success, expected from the present society.

Irrespective of the paths they have chosen, both groups demonstrate a certain degree of conflict at a very personal level. Various authors have argued that a more critical study of the dynamics of identity representations would challenge the monolithic and homogeneous description of society (Keniston, 1971 ; Zavalloni, 1972 ; Muuss, 1980). The experiences of both groups appear to be contributing to the conflictual demands of opposing interests rather than adaptation and integration to the existing social system.

The personal issues identified by the Unaffected Group are also indicative of more mainstream psychological tasks. Academic and student status issues are prioritised. The relevance of education is questioned in the height of the disruptive political climate which creates a sense of confusion in relation to setting goals and achieving them. This perhaps explains why they do not identify closely with their student body, as demonstrated in the identity plot of the quantitative analysis. They perceive the UWC student body as being revolutionary and intent on removing only certain obstacles to opportunities. There is evidence of an external locus of control for this group. This notion is further reflected in the " search for meaning in life " which is characterised by " the great turmoil the world is in ", and the numerous constraints placed in the path of self-actualization. Interpersonal relationships are affected and participants report a sense of

inadequacy in social skills.

The most striking difference in comparison with the Affects Me Group, is that the latter's search for meaning in life involves exploring alternatives in order to create clear political identities. The setting of priorities, defining activist roles and resolving guilt feelings of not conforming to the expectations of significant others, are all considered to inform this process. The absence of role models and reliable role descriptions further complicates matters. It is of note that the Unaffected Group raised a similar concern as a cohort issue earlier.

Another significant difference is the focus of this group upon role experimentation in favour of personal development. The most prominent personal issue which emerged revolves around the reflections on active political life. Personal considerations are described within the context of organizational problems such as burnout, the diverse interests and backgrounds of members, the different levels of commitment and unclarity about political goals and direction. The impatience and impulsiveness of youth is related to whether violence or more peaceful strategies are resorted to as the vehicle of change. In contrast to the interpersonal and communication problems reported by the Unaffected Group, the Affects Me Group attribute the divisions, tribal tensions and racial barriers to the effects of Apartheid legislation and the psychological consequences of prolonged subjugation. There are obviously marked differences in the salience of personal and social

identity between the two groups. The Affects Me Group appear to have located themselves to the extreme right of the continuum proposed in diagram 1 (see page 81). From such an intergroup position it is expected that they would opt for a more radical restructuring of society than do the Unaffected Group.

The dominant reason presented for optimism about the present condition of society for both groups is captured in the theme of heightened awareness and commitment to change. The similarity ends right there. The Unaffected Group refers to the abstract notions of psychological liberation and an ideological shift in perceptions away from racial discrimination to a healthier society which accepts the inevitability of change. The conflictual nature of change is debated in opposition to a more peacefully negotiated settlement. Their concern for the sustenance of society becomes quite evident here.

The Affects Me Group do not refer to those involved in the struggle, but appear to speak more of themselves. For them the heightened awareness is concretised as " political understanding" and the increased " militancy" evident in a range of constituencies, particularly that of the youth. The determination to stand for justice which was gaining ground even amongst those not considered to be oppressed, reinforced the sense that society was in the process of transformation into a more just and democratic one.

The Unaffected Group report that religious institutions and their representatives contribute meaningfully to change, as does the mass based organizations. Both serve to expose the absurdities of the Botha regime. The increasing power and influence of extra-parliamentary forces is another source of optimism. There appears to be wholehearted support from the group for these phenomena, but from a rather distant and objective position. The higher incidence of idiosyncratic responses supports the argument that this group does not see itself as being organically part of the transformation of society. They are better placed to accurately diagnose and to observe particular trends from a marginal and liberal-reformist position.

The affirmative and assertive discourse of the Affects Me Group indicates a more integrated position. Their analysis of the disintegration of the ruling block is related to the pressures of organizational militancy, linkages with the African National Congress and international support against the existing hegemony. The more systemic analysis of power relations and the effects of planned coercion explains why, for this group, the ruling block had become more illegitimate and forced to drastic measures to control the situation and retain their power base. Very similar theories had been proposed by Clarke et al (1981) and Bundy (1986b) in their analysis of the conflict which characterises a rigidly stratified and polarized society. The crumbling hegemony is further threatened by the growing support for progressive structures and organizational gains, ironically brought about by the severe

restrictive measures of the state. The changing consciousness and indignation of more people had inspired views of a changed future. Society is perceived as being intent upon ridding itself of the injustices perpetrated by the system, and had begun to visualise different roles for a post-Apartheid era.

The dominant reason cited for pessimism about the present condition of society for both groups revolved around the repressive measures used by the state to preserve its hegemony. The very real structural constraints made the Unaffected Group feel pessimistic about the possibility of change and the impact that this would have on the commitment to bringing about change. The Affects Me Group elaborate upon this theme. The fact that a number of people were still victims of the existing order, and had enough vested interests to maintain the status quo, made them feel pessimistic about the viability of a changed future.

A second common theme which emerged was the reaction to the escalating violence and its effects. Both groups were concerned about the destructiveness and future implications of both institutional and counter-violence. They also admit that the strategy of peacefully negotiating in the past had not borne any fruit. While the Unaffected Group refers to the "disregard for the value of human life" and the long term implications of violence, the Affects Me Group considers the dilemma of abandoning the fight for freedom, and the more immediate, for them, inevitable overthrow of the regime. There is an obvious distinction in the

conceptualization of the value of human life between the two groups, reflected in the suggestions about how the basic worth of human rights ought to be ensured.

The attitudes which retard the process of change is another common theme. The Unaffected Group presents a class analysis of attitudes which would obstruct change. The unenviable traits of a middle class location - complacency, luxury, comfort and the material benefits of collaborating with the state and capitalist industry - are all cited as root causes. Intergroup and racial conflicts are perceived to be the direct result of this historical imbalance of power and unjust distribution of resources. This further supports the notion that this group considers upward mobility to be an important issue.

The Affects Me Group presents a more psychological interpretation based upon the legacy of the political distortion of society. They refer to the extent to which racism has become ingrained, the tensions and scars of Apartheid - the intolerance, hatred and indoctrination of inadequacies. Only oblique reference is made to the attempts of others to protect their own interests and to resist a more equitable distribution of resources. The assumption that a radical reorganisation of class interests is inevitable perhaps begins to explain their preoccupation with more fundamentally changing peoples' attitudes. They further define the phenomena of intergroup conflict and division more comprehensively than do the Unaffected Group. Criteria such as ethnicity, organisational

affiliation, political ideology and the differing perceptions of various cohorts are all mentioned. Internal conflict, " amongst our own people " is attributed to the various opposing strategies for obtaining justice.

The cognitive representations of the societal components I , We and They, as South Africans, display a remarkable overall similarity for both groups. They also elaborate upon the reasons given for their optimism and pessimism about the present condition of society. I is considered to be one of the oppressed ; We , the group directly affected by the hegemony ; and They, the privileged oppressors. This supports the contention that under conditions of severe repression, dominated groups are inclined to compare themselves with the contrasting dominating group, and not with similarly oppressed strata (Tajfel, 1981 ; Aboud, 1988 ; Brown, 1988). A closer examination reveals the subtle nuances between the descriptions.

For the Unaffected Group, the I component is described in terms elaborating upon the implications of being "one of the oppressed ". The dominant tone reflects a more liberal-reformist position which emphasizes the lack of possibilities within the South African context. This sentiment is captured in the preponderance of words such as " aware that I have an important role to play ; willing to sacrifice ; strive toward equality ; in need of, entitled to, calling for an end to Apartheid, longing for an equal situation, dissatisfaction with , and unable to identify with " .

Compare these descriptions to those generated by the Affects Me Group and the contrast becomes apparent. The oppressed stratum is described in terms of " waging the liberation struggle psychologically and politically". The following ideas dominate the rhetoric - " proud of being a part ; tired of oppression ; want to be free ; concerned about our situation ; confused but optimistic ; exploited ; colonised ; underprivileged .

The tone which permeates the descriptions of the component, We, as South Africans, is a despondent one for the Unaffected Group.

Although the group is described as being in a transitional phase striving towards equal opportunities, the reality of conflict and division is more pertinent. Liberation is still a remote ideal, and much attention is devoted to justifying the reasons for this. The segregation, estrangement, different ideologies, cultures and religions, and the relative power bases all contribute to the current conflict. These factors breed emotions such as frustration, unhappiness, confusion and the inability to make decisions. We are reminded of the criteria listed by Bulhan (1985) and Baumeister (1986) with regard to the psychological implications of restrictive identity frames.

The denial of legitimate rights and the rampant discrimination results in a very clear and coherent description of the major task for their in-group - " to be one and unite... working for unity... form a unit....will have to co-operate ... carefully and jointly planning and devising the way forward ". An implicit assumption,

from the way in which these responses were formulated , appears to suggest that the in-group should take full responsibility for " lifting ourselves out of our circumstances ". The group perceives personal effort and striving to be the necessary ingredients to bring about changes.

The quest for unity also pervades the descriptions of the We, as South Africans, component for the Affects Me Group. There appear to be significant differences in both the tone of the responses and the perceptions of the causes of the rifts between people. As " brothers and sisters... an oppressed nation ", an appeal is made to " try to unite ourselves" and " not to live past each other". A more conciliatory and hopeful tone implores young people to acknowledge differences , and yet, to devote their energies to developing trust and understanding. In the face of having been " divided by the ruling block ", the in-group is still described as " human beings with integrity and value". There appears to be less of a victim-blaming ideology and more recognition of the underlying strengths and commonalities. These notions are captured in the positive assertions that the in-group has the " right to freedom...to decide the future...govern ourselves". The salience of social identity and the commitment to collectively finding solutions, opting for the intergroup position, is evident here. It is clear that the understanding of where the in-group is located already begins to reflect the polarisation and estrangement of the various groups.

They, as South Africans, elicited comparatively similar descriptions for both groups. Words which dominate the discourse are : " ruling block of oppressors, white minority, racists, and dominating ". Both groups demonstrate an unexpected empathic understanding of the consequences of being the oppressor. The out-group is characterised by anxiety and threatened into " trying to stay rulers " and " ready to defend themselves ". The Affects Me Group perceives the out-group as being " trapped and straitjacketed into traditional responses" , while the Unaffected Group elaborate upon this theme and suggest that the out-group is " misleading themselves " and " are ill at ease ". The Unaffected Group appears to be more tolerant of the perception that the out-group had become insulated and insensitive to the plight and misery of others. They advocate a serious re-examination of the significance of their roles within a more realistic context. They are also prepared to acknowledge that the out-group is attempting to change and are both wary and afraid while in the process of doing so. The Affects Me Group do not perceive changes occurring within the out-group. They describe, instead, a reluctance to solve South Africa's problems as this would imply a loss of privileges and a readjustment to less material comfort. It is hardly surprising that that this group would contend that the out-group are guilty of " forcing beliefs and customs on us " and " taking other people's rights in their own hands " .

Tajfel (1981) has suggested that no social group in a complex society lives in isolation from others. The processes of social differentiation and comparison are almost inevitable. Billig et al (1988) would refer to the empathic understanding of the oppressors position as a form of prolepsis, which enables people to possess contrary linguistic repertoires for explaining the irrationalism of institutionalised racism, and the concomitant deprivation. The contrary themes are usually expressed together and afford the opportunity of both blaming and being sympathetic. They also enable people to discuss and puzzle over the complexities and inherent contradictions that bedevil their everyday lives.

A significant feature which emerged from the qualitative analysis for the Unaffected Group reveals a dysjunction between the cohort and personal issues in comparison to the way in which the group describes itself in relation to the South African context. The intensely personal and interpersonal developmental concerns are not reflected in their descriptions of themselves as South Africans, neither in the characteristics of their in-group. There appears to be a dysjunction between their intellectual and lived ideologies (Billig et al , 1988), between how they would prefer to live their personal lives in comparison with the reality of their social circumstances . A mismatch between personal and social identity is evident for this group (Geber et al, 1980 ; Burman, 1986).

A more congruent profile is evident for the Affects Me Group. Their descriptions of the political content of their cohort agenda is reiterated in their responses to their personal difficulties. The descriptions of themselves, their in-group and out-group further substantiate the initial conceptual framework. This phenomenon also supports the quantitative findings which suggest that the Polaf group function from a very tight and focussed position.

The qualitative phase of this study confirms the hypothesis that different causal attributions of their circumstances plays a significant role in the construction of social reality and further influences the metaphors which inform the discourse (Kaase et al , 1979 ; Gurin et al , 1980 ; Miller et al, 1981 ; Levett, 1989). This strategy for resisting the debilitating effects of the racist ideology of Apartheid also provides an explanation for the activating mechanisms which makes social / political identity more salient than personal identity for some.

The most striking feature which emerges from the quantitative findings is the explicit rejection of P.W.Botha (E5), and the present hegemony which he represents, by both the politically unaffiliated (Unaf) and politically affiliated (Polaf) groupings. Here too it is evident that the existing structural arrangements impacts on the opportunity for life and makes impossible any uneventful assimilation of the sample into broader society. The very fact that there appears to be a semblance of self convergence between their actual and ideal selves , for both

groups, is partially explained by Apter's (1983) concept of negativism. He has argued that where an external source - Botha and the dominant ideology in this instance - is considered to be restricting one's freedom, contrast and oppositional redefinition is essential for meaning and serves to inform one's sense of distinctiveness.

Social Identity Theory postulates that the rigid system of social stratification and impossibility of exit from powerless groups, which characterises the South African setting, will encourage identity through group membership to become highly salient . The other alternative is for exceptional individuals to symbolically exit from the group (Tajfel, 1981 ; 1982 ; Foster, 1983). The differentiation of the sample on the basis of explicit political affiliation and involvement , has attempted to refine this explanation .

The Polaf group were considered to take their stratum's relative powerless more seriously and consequently, to choose more collective strategies for effecting changes. It has been argued that their politicized consciousness would facilitate this kind of interpretation. They would also more likely be aggressively involved in the political arena since their analysis of power dynamics and oppression would be ascribed to political engineering (Zavalloni, 1972 ; Mussen et al, 1974 ; Merelman , 1985 ; Gurin et al, 1980 ; Miller et al, 1981). The data provided by both their constructions of the conflictual nature of the society, and their

patterns of identification support this argument. They locate themselves clearly in relation to the ANC (E4), Cosatu (E8) and the UWC student body (E1). This grouping is also considered to be in opposition to the arrangement of P.W.Botha (E5), Hendrickse (E7) and the PFP (E6), to a lesser degree.


The Unaf group tend to exit from this particular construction of the oppressed group. They consider both the ANC (E4) and the UWC student body (E1) to be powerful and advantaged, revolutionary and fighting to keep resources. Yet, they do not identify with an orientational other (Hitch, 1983) outside of the oppressed stratum. They perceive their ideal selves (E3) and Cosatu (E8) to be striving to create equal opportunities and attempting to change the mess the country is in. The qualitative analysis of the various societal components further supports the contention that the Unaf group does perceive itself to have some measure of group identification , and is as concerned about the existing political inequalities. They are not, however, prepared to take up cudgels to bring about change. Their analysis of where revolutionary activity is taking place provides more insight into their understanding and experience of conflict. Their evaluation of construct 5, for example, indicates that for them the conflict is more evident within the oppressed stratum. The Polaf group, in contrast, perceive revolutionary activity to occur at a macrostructural level.

The information generated by the conflictual analysis of society further indicates that the two groups operate from differently constructed systems. The tightness of construing which characterises the manner in which the Polaf group responds suggests a cognitively simple system. This information is derived from the high percentage of variance of the first component from the Principal Components Analysis. The second source of evidence is derived from the high incidence of significant correlations between the constructs and the elements. It is suggested that this tight style of construing be understood in relation to the South African context. The clarity and incisiveness of the responses to questions in the qualitative phase, appears to suggest that most of the dilemmas have been confronted and grappled with to some extent. Their focussed evaluation therefore implies a conscious choice and does not indicate a state of foreclosure, as explained by Marcia's (1966 ; 1976 ; 1980) theory.

In Kellian terminology, The Polaf group do not appear to be actively pursuing the outer growing edges of their construct systems (Landfield, 1976 ; Epting et al , 1980 ; Hayden, 1983) . According to Epting et al (op cit), young people would discard constricting personal and social impositions that have outlived their anticipatory usefulness. The structural imposition of identity does not offer the opportunity to reconstruct the social world, experiment with or revise and adapt structures.

The tightness of their construct systems and congruency between their personal and political identities is defined as self-confidence by McCoy (1977). The participants belonging to this group are aware of the goodness of fit of the self in their core role structures even though their definition of identity is significantly different to that of the imposed construction. Although the Unaf group appear to construe from a slightly more comprehensive framework (Button, 1985), they too experience a number of the symptoms described by the discussion on the constructs relating to transition (see section 3.3.1 in this regard) . McCoy (op cit) has referred to as anxiety as being the reaction to events which confront individuals, but lie outside of their immediate capacity to challenge and transform them. Both the qualitative and quantitative phases have demonstrated the incongruency between personal and social identities for the Unaf group. This is explained as causing a sense of shame - the perception that the self is dislodged from another's construing of their role. The members of this group are also thought to experience contempt or disgust , which means that the core of another, to whom one is inextricably linked , is comprehensively different from one's own.

This is particularly true as far as the explicitly political dimensions are concerned. The supportive network with which this group identifies is not reflected in this selection of the political arena.



7.2 Conclusions

The findings from this study have enabled the researcher to draw the following conclusions in answer to the three research questions :

The first question has attempted to examine the psychosocial effects of structural inequality on the process of identity redefinition in a sample of oppressed youth, and whether the personal or systemic causal attribution of their relatively deprived circumstances could begin to clarify the strategies that have emerged for resisting and challenging the constraints imposed upon them. Empirically the study has sought to investigate the extent to which the youth have allowed the dominant ideology to affect the content and process of their developmental agendas.

Irrespective of whether they opt for individualistic or collective strategies, a choice influenced by the nature of their attributions, both the Unaffected and Affects Me Groups are forced to confront the debilitating and deleterious consequences (Foster, 1986a) of having been ascribed an Apartheid identity construct (Dawes, 1985). In essence, the most prominent themes which have emerged are common to both groups and are directly related to their perceptions of the historical and ideological complexity of our oppressive society (Ivey, 1986 ; Savage, 1986). At a conceptual level, the content of the issues they have to grapple with are similar, and seldom isolated or clear cut. They have to struggle to come to terms with problems and conflictual suggestions for their

resolution . There is every acknowledgement from the discourse that there are no easily formulated or permanent and authoritative solutions (Billig et al , 1988). Despite the degree of commonality, subtle nuances and divergent interpretations of semantically similar themes have been found.

The initial choices they have made for dealing with structural inequality (refer to diagram 1, p. 81) supports the suggestions from the literature that certain features would characterise the profiles they display. For the Unaffected group, the salience of personal identity locates the group to the left of the continuum . Interpersonal relationships, social mobility, and an identification with the attempts to ensure social change and equal opportunity for all , become their prime concerns. The salience of political identity for the Affects Me group is extended to an intergroup position from which social change is debated and fought for from a more politicized consciousness of their stratum's rights.

The tendency in the literature (Tajfel, 1981 ; 1982 ; Foster, 1983 ; Billig et al , 1988) to view the dominant ideology as a relatively coherent infrastructure and consistent social force, a "preformed constellation " according to Ivey (1986), needs to be redefined in order to acknowledge the crucial role of individual agency in the dialectical transformation of their circumstances (Epting et al, 1980 ; Henriques et al, 1984). Although the particular circumstances of the Apartheid regime has caused unnecessary psychological anguish and very real material

deprivation, the victims of the system appear not to have been irreparably damaged and stigmatised . This is evident from the coping mechanisms and strategies for counteracting their continued oppression. The conclusions to the second research question support this observation.

Their analysis of the social order presents a profound understanding of the sociological arrangements and psychosocial effects of the ways in which the various groups are related (Sharp, 1980 ; Tajfel, 1981). They refer continually to the minority domination and " structural inequalities which support and favour particular classes and groups at the expense of others" (Savage, 1986, p.3). The economic disparities and realisation of the conflicts and divisions between polarized groups, and within similar strata, results in feelings of despondency and despair. The current institutional arrangements has resulted in a diseased national outlook (Welsh, 1981 ; O'Meara, 1983) which highlights the fact that there is " no core South African identity to which the various groups can be assimilated at a grassroots level " (Du Preez, 1979, p.349).

The conceptualisation of the construct of social creativity in the literature has suggested that under conditions of severe repression the psychological " inferiority " of oppressed groups may result in a reconstruction of the social order which involves a search for new constructive dimensions of comparison which do not further denigrate the group nor

its members. This implies that certain objective realities, as defined by the " perspective of some powerful identity groups in society " (Zavalloni, 1972 , p.74) would be either ignored or distorted to some degree. The findings in this study have shown that the very benchmarks used to justify the myth of inequality, a state of privilege, exclusion and domination (Babad et al , 1983 ; Bulhan, 1985) have been accurately identified and summarily rejected .

The sample do not isolate race or class as the major criteria, but appear to understand the complexities and power dynamics involved. The responses generated confirm that power struggles and conflicts lie at the heart of the South African crisis. The understanding of the present condition of society highlights their experiences of power, oppression and conflict. They feel optimistic about the heightened awareness and raised consciousness on the part of society as a whole about the issues pertaining to South Africa at large. Both groups also refer to the commitment to bring about changes. This is diametrically opposed to their major reason for pessimism, the repressive measures of the state to preserve its hegemony. The discourse on the escalating violence and its consequences, coupled with hardened attitudes which retard the processes of change , indicates an understanding of the historical realities of Apartheid and the painful processes involved in the reconstruction of society.

The quantitative findings provide more evidence for the claim that oppressed youth , irrespective of whether they are political activists or not, have contextualised their praxis in the concrete realities of their repressive existence. Their political affiliation and involvement does influence the patterns of identification with the selected political actors, but does not detract from their explicit rejection of the prevailing hegemony.

7.3 Limitations of the Present Study

Various authors agree that the descriptions of student activism as a function of maladjustment or the projection of authority conflicts is an oversimplification. The portrayal of disenchanted and politicized youth as the saviours of a sick society is another gross generalisation (Keniston , 1963 ; 1971 ; Mussen et al , 1974 ; Coleman, 1980) . Most of the American research undertaken of student activists reflected the heightened social awareness of the sixties, and has provided some general trends. Those students tended to come from upper-status, professional families with relatively high incomes. Their views also tended to parallel those held by their parents. The phenomenon of mass resistance to the direction their society was taking was clearly not in response to social rejection and exploitation. The findings of this study suggests that those trends may operate quite differently within the South African context. Future investigations in this area would need to examine whether the consciousness of privileged sectors of youth has also become more critical and sensitive to the issues

pertaining to South Africa at large (Kotze et al, 1983 ; Booysen et al , 1985 ; Gagliano , 1986).

A second shortcoming of this study has been its restricted range of political representation in the quantitative phase of the design. The selected actors were also prominent during the mid-eighties. The political scenario has changed considerably and lends itself to a more comprehensive analysis now . The extent to which the " rigid model of Apartheid " (Gagliano, 1986, p.3) has been affected and transformed is more debatable. Whether or not political developments have resulted in more than the previous cosmetic changes of adaptive reforms without jeopardising its structural dominance, needs to be thoroughly investigated.

Although this study possibly reflects the dominant themes of that particular era, some of the concerns raised then appear to be as relevant now. The escalating violence and visible agony of reconstruction requires a critical understanding of what constitutes the basic parameters of a just and democratic society. Conflicts produce more than one possible political reality, more than one simple hegemonic / victimized arrangement of power and ideological state apparatuses to enforce the order. Future studies in this area would need to elaborate upon this.

The extent to which the research design has met the requirements of an emancipatory cognitive interest has not been thoroughly analysed. The general comments from the participants to the research undertaking indicates that for the majority, the exercise

was found to be thought provoking and stimulating. A number of the activists were startled to find that they had never consciously thought about the time they devote to their organisational activities. They also felt quite guilty about the luxury of considering their roles as individuals. On the other hand, the unaffiliated participants found the opportunity to construe the roles of political actors in relation to their personal aspirations to be an empowering experience. They remarked that one often ignored the fact that things were more complicated and affected one, whether one wished to be involved or not. The opportunity which this study afforded to engage in constructive debate about how individuals and groups have constructed their reality under the oppressive circumstances of Apartheid, the divergent choices taken for bringing about social change, and considerations of who best to implement the process, appears to be exactly the kind of skill required to address the present political conflicts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A : Pilot Grid

Sort	Myself as I am now	UWC Student Body	A.N.C	P.W.Botha	P.F.P	Hendrickse	Cosatu
1	○	○	○				
2	○	○					○
3	○		○	○			
4	○		○				○
5	○			○		○	
6	○				○	○	
7	○	○				○	
8	○			○	○		
9	○				○		○
10	○		○			○	
11	○					○	○
12	○	○			○		

Similar - Construct Section

Different - Contrast Section

1.	
2.	
3.	

5.	
6.	
6.	
7.	
8.	
9.	
10.	
11.	
12.	

APPENDIX B

PERSONALITY QUESTIONNAIRE AND EXERCISES

Dear Student

The following questionnaire and exercises have been designed to provide an understanding of the patterns of psychological development in youth today. Please respond as quickly and as honestly as possible. Read the instructions carefully and indicate if you are at all uncertain about what to do.

All information will be treated confidentially and can in no way be traced back to you. Please answer all sections as thoroughly as possible.

SECTION 1

1. AGE

2. SEX

male	female
------	--------

3. Organizational Involvement - Please complete the table in the following way:

- (a) Indicate to which organization you belong (X)
- (b) State the amount of time (hours) you devote to it on a weekly basis.

Belong (X)	Type	Name	Time
	Cultural		
	Religious		
	Political		
	Sport		
	Other: Specify		

SECTION 2

1. Briefly discuss 2 major issues young people of your age have to face and try to solve .

1 :
.....
.....

2 :
.....
.....

2. Discuss 2 issues which gives you the greatest amount of difficulty.

1.
.....
2.
.....

3. Briefly discuss 2 aspects of the present condition of South African society which makes you optimistic.

1.
.....
2.
.....

4. Now discuss 2 aspects of the present condition of South African society which makes you pessimistic.

- 1.
.....
- 2.
.....

5. (a) How would you describe yourself and others? Do not think too deeply about your responses. Simply give the first descriptions which come to your mind.

I, as a South African, am
.....
.....

They, as South Africans are.....
.....
.....

We, as South Africans, are
.....
.....

APPENDIX C

In this section you will be required to complete the following table. The items and descriptions will be provided on the overhead projector. Please make sure that you are recording in the correct space.

ITEMS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

Please feel free to comment on your reactions to these exercises.

COMMENTS :
.....
.....

Thank you for your co-operation.

INACING

HIGHEST GRADE ON CONSTRUCT SCALE 3
LOWEST - 3

THE GRID

CADD, P GRIDS INACCON

this grid accepted ... inaccon

*** data are graded ***

CONSTRUCT	MEAN	VARIATION	AS PER CENT
1	.000	11.6619	22.70
2	.000	7.9575	15.49
3	.000	5.9292	11.54
4	.000	4.6217	8.99
5	.000	9.4181	18.33
6	.000	11.7956	22.96

TOTAL VARIATION ABOUT CONSTRUCT MEANS 51.3841
 BIAS .000
 VARIABILITY .3687

DEVIATIONS FROM CONSTRUCT MEANS

CONSTRUCT	1, ELEMENT	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
CONSTRUCT 1, ELEMENT	1	-.4431	2 .2789	3 1.6959	4 .4459	5 -2.1651	6 -.3871	7 -.9991	8 1.5739
CONSTRUCT 2, ELEMENT	1	.4530	2 .5080	3 -1.2140	4 .8860	5 1.9360	6 -.1580	7 .2860	8 1.1750
CONSTRUCT 3, ELEMENT	1	-.3161	2 .2949	3 1.1009	4 .3509	5 -1.8991	6 -.1491	7 -.2331	8 .8509
CONSTRUCT 4, ELEMENT	1	.3430	2 -.5460	3 -1.2400	4 .6760	5 1.2320	6 -.2790	7 .4540	8 -.6400
CONSTRUCT 5, ELEMENT	1	-.9450	2 1.2220	3 1.4160	4 -2.1120	5 -.3900	6 .6270	7 .0440	8 .1380
CONSTRUCT 6, ELEMENT	1	1.0319	2 .1879	3 .9759	4 .8099	5 -2.5511	6 -.2011	7 -1.2461	8 .9929

CORRELATIONS AND ANGULAR DISTANCES BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS

CONSTRUCT 1														
2	.425	64.85	3	.961	16.15	4	-.834	146.56	5	.286	73.40	6	.854	31.31
CONSTRUCT 2														
3	.526	58.25	4	-.162	99.31	5	-.297	107.25	6	.607	52.66			
CONSTRUCT 3														
4	-.830	146.12	5	.299	72.63	6	.849	31.93						
CONSTRUCT 4														
5	-.742	137.94	6	-.636	129.53									
CONSTRUCT 5														
6	-.012	90.67												

ELEMENT	TOTAL	SUM OF SQUARES	AS PER CENT
1	.124	2.577	5.02
2	1.946	2.249	4.38
3	2.735	10.057	19.57
4	1.057	6.680	13.00
5	-7.709	20.221	39.35
6	-.547	.708	1.38
7	-1.694	2.895	5.63
8	4.091	5.996	11.67

UNIT OF EXPECTED DISTANCE 3.8316

DISTANCES BETWEEN ELEMENTS

ELEMENT 1													
2	.695	3	1.090	4	.448	5	1.308	6	.571	7	.667	8	.742
ELEMENT 2													
3	.679	4	.947	5	1.430	6	.336	7	.661	8	.539		
ELEMENT 3													
4	1.243	5	1.775	6	.823	7	1.195	8	.728				

ELEMENT 4
 5 1.531 6 .884 7 .893 8 .758

ELEMENT 5
 6 1.114 7 .888 8 1.800

ELEMENT 6
 7 .417 8 .757

ELEMENT 7
 8 1.004

THE COMPONENT-SPACE IS LIMITED TO 6 DIMENSIONS

COMPONENT	ROOT	AS PER CENT
1	33.0960	64.41
2	13.4670	26.21
3	3.3644	6.55
4	1.2235	2.38
5	.2118	.41
6	.0214	.04

BARTLETT TEST NOT APPLIED

ELEMENT	COMPONENT 1			COMPONENT 2			COMPONENT 3		
	VECTOR	LOADING	RESIDUAL	VECTOR	LOADING	RESIDUAL	VECTOR	LOADING	RESIDUAL
1	.0122	.0701	2.5720	-.3694	-1.3557	.7340	.1195	.2192	.6860
2	.1516	.8719	1.4892	.2348	.8617	.7468	-.4567	-.8378	.0449
3	.3851	2.2155	5.1481	.5479	2.0105	1.1059	.5677	1.0413	.0216
4	.1014	.5832	6.3402	-.6616	-2.4278	.4459	.3027	.5552	.1376
5	-.7675	-4.4151	.7275	.1700	.6239	.3383	.2913	.5343	.0528
6	-.0456	-.2625	.6396	.1809	.6640	.1987	-.1714	-.3143	.0999
7	-.2457	-1.4133	.8979	-.0086	-.0317	.8969	-.4601	-.8440	.1846
8	.4085	2.3500	.4736	-.0940	-.3449	.3546	-.1930	-.3540	.2293

CONSTRUCT

1	.5741	3.3028	.7531	.0779	.2859	.6714	.2775	.5090	.4124
2	.2794	1.6075	5.3734	-.4822	-1.7700	2.2406	-.8146	-1.4942	.0081
3	.4119	2.3695	.3145	.0352	.1292	.2979	-.0141	-.0259	.2972
4	-.3117	-1.7933	1.4057	-.3178	-1.1663	.0455	.0613	.1124	.0328
5	.1427	.8212	8.7438	.7747	2.8429	.6619	-.4222	-.7744	.0622
6	.5524	3.1778	1.6975	-.2428	-.8909	.9038	.2779	.5097	.6440

POLAR CO-ORDINATES

CONSTRUCT

	H	V	R
1	4.95	8.73	.98
2	-47.75	-32.00	1.00
3	3.12	-.63	.97
4	-146.96	3.01	1.00
5	73.89	-14.67	1.00
6	-15.66	8.78	.97

PROJECTIONS FOR ELEMENTS

ELEMENT

	H	V	R
1	-87.04	9.17	.86
2	44.66	-34.35	.99
3	42.22	19.19	1.00
4	-76.49	12.54	.99
5	171.96	6.83	1.00
6	111.57	-23.76	.93
7	-178.72	-30.84	.97
8	-8.35	-8.48	.98

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS AND ELEMENTS

EXPRESSED AS COSINES

CONSTRUCT 1 WITH ELEMENT

1 -.098 2 .509 3 .779 4 .193 5 -.912 6 -.357 7 -.855 8 .930

CONSTRUCT 2 WITH ELEMENT

1 .472 2 .265 3 -.174 4 .606 5 -.708 6 -.483 7 -.199 8 .718

CONSTRUCT 3 WITH ELEMENT

1 -.086 2 .577 3 .720 4 .195 5 -.950 6 -.304 7 -.748 8 .934

CONSTRUCT 4 WITH ELEMENT

1 .399 2 -.830 3 -.908 4 .341 5 .752 6 -.215 7 .690 8 -.724

CONSTRUCT 5 WITH ELEMENT

1 -.764 2 .840 3 .689 4 -.875 5 -.166 6 .766 7 -.131 8 .151

CONSTRUCT 6 WITH ELEMENT

1 .400 2 .335 3 .525 4 .452 5 -.935 6 -.469 7 -.883 8 .866

INTER-ELEMENT RELATIONS
EXPRESSED AS COSINES

ELEMENT 1 WITH ELEMENT

2 -.471 3 -.473 4 .761 5 -.160 6 -.554 7 -.192 8 .061

ELEMENT 2 WITH ELEMENT

3 .583 4 -.547 5 -.560 6 .514 7 -.247 8 .542

ELEMENT 3 WITH ELEMENT

4 -.363 5 -.560 6 .153 7 -.744 8 .533

ELEMENT 4 WITH ELEMENT

5 -.323 6 -.938 7 -.243 8 .335

ELEMENT 5 WITH ELEMENT

6 .357 7 .755 8 -.969

ELEMENT 6 WITH ELEMENT

7 .369 8 -.416

ELEMENT 7 WITH ELEMENT

8 -.710

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS AND ELEMENTS
EXPRESSED IN DEGREES

CONSTRUCT 1 WITH ELEMENT															
1.	95.6	2	59.4	3	38.8	4	78.9	5	155.8	6	110.9	7	148.7	8	21.5
CONSTRUCT 2 WITH ELEMENT															
1	61.8	2	74.6	3	100.0	4	52.7	5	135.1	6	118.9	7	101.5	8	44.1
CONSTRUCT 3 WITH ELEMENT															
1	94.9	2	54.8	3	43.9	4	78.7	5	161.9	6	107.7	7	138.4	8	20.9
CONSTRUCT 4 WITH ELEMENT															
1	66.5	2	146.1	3	155.2	4	70.0	5	41.3	6	102.4	7	46.3	8	136.4
CONSTRUCT 5 WITH ELEMENT															
1	189.8	2	32.9	3	46.4	4	151.1	5	99.6	6	40.0	7	97.5	8	81.3
CONSTRUCT 6 WITH ELEMENT															
1	66.4	2	70.4	3	58.3	4	63.1	5	159.2	6	117.9	7	152.1	8	30.0

INTER-ELEMENT RELATIONS
EXPRESSED IN DEGREES

ELEMENT 1 WITH ELEMENT													
2	118.1	3	118.2	4	40.5	5	99.2	6	123.6	7	101.1	8	86.5
ELEMENT 2 WITH ELEMENT													
3	54.4	4	123.2	5	124.0	6	59.1	7	104.3	8	57.2		
ELEMENT 3 WITH ELEMENT													
4	111.3	4	124.0	6	81.2	7	138.1	8	57.8				
ELEMENT 4 WITH ELEMENT													
5	108.9	6	159.7	7	104.1	8	70.4						
ELEMENT 5 WITH ELEMENT													
6	69.1	7	41.0	8	165.8								
ELEMENT 6 WITH ELEMENT													
7	68.4	8	114.6										
ELEMENT 7 WITH ELEMENT													
8	135.2												

INGRID

HIGHEST GRADE ON CONSTRUCT SCALE 3

LOWEST -3

THE GRID

CADD, P GRIDS. POLCON
this grid accepted polcon
*** data are graded ***

CONSTRUCT	MEAN	VARIATION	AS PER CENT
1	.000	28.6760	23.49
2	.000	8.4523	6.92
3	.000	22.6283	18.53
4	.000	17.6169	14.43
5	.000	9.2784	7.60
6	.000	35.4502	29.03

TOTAL VARIATION ABOUT CONSTRUCT MEANS 122.1022

BIAS .0000

VARIABILITY .5683

DEVIATIONS FROM CONSTRUCT MEANS

CONSTRUCT 1, ELEMENT

1 .3120 2 .8120 3 2.1460 4 1.4510 5 -3.3540 6 -1.5760 7 -1.8260 8 2.0350

CONSTRUCT 2, ELEMENT

1 .3309 2 .6649 3 -1.5581 4 .9149 5 -1.6521 6 -.5021 7 1.0259 8 .7759

CONSTRUCT 3, ELEMENT

1 .2780 2 1.5560 3 1.6110 4 .9720 5 -3.5560 6 -.7780 7 -1.3330 8 1.2500

CONSTRUCT 5, ELEMENT

1 -. 1871 2 -. 9101 3 -. 6871 4 -. 5761 5 -. 4651 6 2.1179 7 1.5069 8 -. 7991

CONSTRUCT 6, ELEMENT

1 . 9511 2 1. 3401 3 1. 6741 4 1. 8121 5 -3.9369 6 -1. 0489 7 -2. 6039 8 1. 8121

CORRELATIONS AND ANGULAR DISTANCES BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS

CONSTRUCT 1

2 . 300 72. 56 3 . 956 17. 09 4 . 992 7. 08 5 -. 568 124. 60 6 . 969 14. 22

CONSTRUCT 2

3 . 389 67. 14 4 . 325 71. 02 5 . 057 86. 72 6 . 348 69. 65

CONSTRUCT 3

4 . 965 15. 18 5 -. 423 115. 06 6 . 966 14. 98

CONSTRUCT 4

5 -. 586 125. 88 6 . 987 9. 11

CONSTRUCT 5

6 -. 516 121. 05

ELEMENT	TOTAL	SUM OF SQUARES	AS PER CENT
1	2. 136	1.427	1. 17
2	4. 359	6. 950	5. 69
3	4. 665	15. 091	12. 36
4	5. 859	9. 154	7. 50
5	-15. 596	49. 267	40. 35
6	-3. 002	10. 403	8. 52
7	-4. 834	17. 787	14. 57
8	6. 414	12. 024	9. 85
UNIT OF EXPECTED DISTANCE		5. 9065	

DISTANCES BETWEEN ELEMENTS

ELEMENT 1

2 . 287 3 . 550 4 . 326 5 1. 371 6 . 707 7 .886 8 . 415

ELEMENT 2

3 . 455 4 . 193 5 1. 600 6 . 955 7 1. 111 8 . 241

ELEMENT 3

4 . 450 5 1. 738 6 1. 113 7 1. 352 8 . 402

ELEMENT 4

5 1. 681 6 1. 015 7 1. 176 8 . 119

ELEMENT 5

6 . 915 7 . 779 8 1. 751

ELEMENT 6

7 . 402 8 1. 097

ELEMENT 7

8 1. 257

THE COMPONENT SPACE IS LIMITED TO 6 DIMENSIONS

COMPONENT	ROOT	AS PER CENT
1	105.9712	86. 79
2	9.6197	7.88
3	4.8863	4.00
4	.8992	.74
5	.7029	.58
6	.0229	.02

BARTLETT TEST NOT APPLIED

ELEMENT	COMPONENT 1			COMPONENT 2			COMPONENT 3		
	VECTOR	LOADING	RESIDUAL	VECTOR	LOADING	RESIDUAL	VECTOR	LOADING	RESIDUAL
1	-. 1048	-1. 0790	. 2630	. 0502	. 1556	. 2388	. 0798	. 1764	. 2077
2	-. 2399	-2. 4696	. 8508	. 0358	. 1109	. 8385	. 2578	. 5699	. 5137
3	-. 3254	-3. 3494	3. 8722	-.4906	-1. 5261	1. 5571	-. 5345	-1. 1815	. 1612
4	-. 2850	-2. 9341	. 5454	. 1088	. 3376	. 4314	. 2462	. 5442	. 1352
5	. 6556	6. 7489	3. 7195	-. 5931	-1. 8395	. 3358	. 2587	. 5719	. 0088
6	. 2581	2. 6567	3. 3449	. 3316	1. 0286	2. 2868	-. 6662	-1. 4726	. 1184
7	. 3722	3. 8316	3. 1063	. 5303	1. 6448	. 4011	. 1241	. 2744	. 3258
8	-. 3308	-3. 4051	. 4288	. 0269	. 0835	. 4219	. 2340	. 5173	. 1543
CONSTRUCT									
1	-. 5146	-5. 2977	. 6105	-. 0958	-. 2972	. 5222	-. 0560	-. 1238	. 5069
2	-. 1006	-1. 0355	7. 3801	. 7359	2. 2826	2. 1699	. 6659	1. 4719	. 0035
3	-. 4513	-4. 6453	1. 0492	. 1815	. 5628	. 7324	-. 2140	-. 4730	. 5086
4	-. 4069	-4. 1890	. 0689	-. 0605	-. 1875	. 0337	. 0162	. 0358	. 0324
5	. 1644	1. 6926	6. 4136	. 6411	1. 9883	2. 4604	-. 7036	-1. 5553	. 0415
6	-. 5734	-5. 9027	. 6087	. 0408	. 1266	. 5927	-. 1114	-. 2462	. 5321

POLAR CO ORDINATES

CONSTRUCT	H	V	R
1	-176. 79	-1. 34	. 99
2	114. 40	30. 42	1. 00
3	173. 09	-5. 77	. 99
4	-177. 44	. 49	1. 00
5	49. 59	-30. 78	1. 00
6	178. 77	-2. 39	. 99

PROJECTIONS FOR ELEMENTS

ELEMENT	H	V	R
1	171. 79	9. 19	. 92
2	177. 43	12. 98	. 96
3	-155. 57	-17. 80	. 99
4	173. 44	10. 44	. 99
5	-15. 25	4. 67	1.00
6	21. 17	-27. 33	. 99
7	23. 23	3. 77	. 99
8	178. 60	8. 64	. 99

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS AND ELEMENTS
EXPRESSED AS COSINES

CONSTRUCT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
CONSTRUCT 1 WITH ELEMENT								
1	.850	.894	.892	.950	-.939	-.833	-.908	.981
CONSTRUCT 2 WITH ELEMENT								
1	.496	.471	-.153	.525	-.507	-.275	.017	.446
CONSTRUCT 3 WITH ELEMENT								
1	.852	.934	.832	.925	-.979	-.726	-.840	.937
CONSTRUCT 4 WITH ELEMENT								
1	.897	.927	.876	.967	-.947	-.842	-.922	.982
CONSTRUCT 5 WITH ELEMENT								
1	-.490	-.622	-.579	-.552	.322	.898	.727	-.600
CONSTRUCT 6 WITH ELEMENT								
1	.938	.920	.846	.966	-.961	-.778	-.911	.963

INTER ELEMENT RELATIONS
EXPRESSED AS COSINES

ELEMENT 1 WITH ELEMENT								
2	.875	.644	.951	-.806	-.731	-.810	.897	
ELEMENT 2 WITH ELEMENT								
3	.723	.928	-.895	-.852	-.825	.927		
ELEMENT 3 WITH ELEMENT								
4	.730	-.752	-.707	-.942	.797			
ELEMENT 4 WITH ELEMENT								
5	.946	-.839	-.835	.986				
ELEMENT 5 WITH ELEMENT								
6	.672	.775	-.938					
ELEMENT 6 WITH ELEMENT								
7	.829	-.875						

ELEMENT 7 WITH ELEMENT

8 -.866

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS AND ELEMENTS EXPRESSED
IN DEGREES

CONSTRUCT 1 WITH ELEMENT

1 31.7 2 26.7 3 26.9 4 18.3 5 159.9 6 146.4 7 155.2 8 11.3

CONSTRUCT 2 WITH ELEMENT

1 60.3 2 61.9 3 98.8 4 58.3 5 120.5 6 106.0 7 89.0 8 63.5

CONSTRUCT 3 WITH ELEMENT

1 31.6 2 20.9 3 33.7 4 22.3 5 168.4 6 136.6 7 147.2 8 20.4

CONSTRUCT 4 WITH ELEMENT

1 26.3 2 22.0 3 28.8 4 14.7 5 161.3 6 147.3 7 157.3 8 10.8

CONSTRUCT 5 WITH ELEMENT

1 119.3 2 128.4 3 125.4 4 123.5 5 71.2 6 26.1 7 43.3 8 126.8

CONSTRUCT 6 WITH ELEMENT

1 20.2 2 23.0 3 32.2 4 15.0 5 163.9 6 141.1 7 155.7 8 15.7

INTER-ELEMENT RELATIONS
EXPRESSED IN DEGREES

ELEMENT 1 WITH ELEMENT

2 29.0 3 49.9 4 18.1 5 152.3 6 137.0 7 144.1 8 26.2

ELEMENT 2 WITH ELEMENT

3 43.7 4 21.8 5 153.5 6 148.5 7 145.6 8 22.1

ELEMENT 3 WITH ELEMENT

4 43.1 5 138.8 6 135.0 7 160.4 8 37.1

ELEMENT 4 WITH ELEMENT

5 161.0 6 147.0 7 147.6 8 9.6

ELEMENT 5 WITH ELEMENT

6 47.7 7 39.2 8 159.8

ELEMENT 6 WITH ELEMENT
7 34.0 8 151.1
ELEMENT 7 WITH ELEMENT
8 149.9

Appendix F : Source of Inter-rater Reliability Study

Unaffected Group

Affects Me Group

<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>		<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>
<u>Question 1 : Cohort Issues</u>				
12	16		18	19
12	13		14	10
15	9		12	5
9	11		7	6
2	2		7	3
			3	2
<u>Question 2 : Personal Issues</u>				
13	16		14	12
6	10		13	12
6	7		12	11
5	5		10	10
7	5		4	9
<u>Question 3 : Reasons for Optimism</u>				
19	16		12	18
5	3		13	8
3	4		11	8
8	13		9	3
			6	3
<u>Question 4 : Reasons for Pessimism</u>				
13	17		14	13
12	6		9	11
8	8		7	8
6	6		8	6
5	4		4	2

Appendix F

INTER-RATER RELIABILITIES

CORRELATION FOR UNAFFECTED GROUP

Correlations: X1 Y1

X1	1.0000	.7810**
Y1	.7810**	1.0000

N=19
P<0.000

CORRELATION FOR AFFECTS ME GROUP

Correlations: X2 Y2

X2	1.0000	.7479**
Y2	.7479**	1.0000

N=21
P<0.000