"Influences on Perceived Job Opportunities :
A study of final year university students."

Wendy Wright

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ABSTRACT

South Africa has undergone major socio-political change. A key element of this change concerns increased job opportunities for qualified Blacks through the implementation of Affirmative Action policies which advantage Blacks in relation to Whites. Simultaneously, South Africa is experiencing high levels of unemployment. This situation is likely to result in negative evaluations of social change and concern about future job prospects in those experiencing a relative drop in status (Whites), in contrast to those whose group position is improving. This study sought to investigate the effects of these changes on 3 groups of students (African, White and Coloured), each representing a different position within the South African population group hierarchy. In particular, the focus was perceptions of job opportunities in the context of this change.

The main findings of the study were that White students perceived a decrease in their job opportunities while Coloured and African students perceived an increase in their job opportunities. Coloured and White students believed that African graduates had the best job opportunities while African students saw White graduates as having the best job opportunities. All students perceived a university degree to increase their life chances. However, White students' perception of the value of a degree was stronger than that of Coloured and African students. White and Coloured students' were the least positive regarding socio-political change followed by African students who were more positive about these changes. Regarding Affirmative Action, all groups recognised the influence of this variable on the job chances of their own population groups. Coloured and White students were not as approving of Affirmative Action employment policies as were African students. Furthermore, Coloured and White students' perceived that their job opportunities would be negatively effected by Affirmative Action employment policies, whereas African students believed that Affirmative Action policies would positively effect their job opportunities. A regression analysis demonstrated the relative influence that the above mentioned variables had on perceptions of job opportunities. All groups showed that their perception of their job opportunities was related to the degree to which they perceived a change in the employment opportunities of their population in the new South Africa. On other predictors of perceived job opportunities, the groups differed. For White students, job opportunities were predicted by their coping resources; for African students, job opportunities were predicted by their views of their social position relative to Whites; and for Coloured students, the significant predictor was their feelings about socio-political change.

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I. INTRODUCTION

"*Change is a process by which the future invades our lives...and unless (people) quickly learn to control the rate of change..., we are doomed to a massive adaptational breakdown.*" (Toffler, 1970, p11)

For many years, South African society has been segregated according to race, one minority group ("White") being advantaged to the active detriment of the other groups. This practice was institutionalised in the organs of the State and society in general. The policy of *Separate Development* was meant to secure 'Whites only' living areas; better health, educational and recreational facilities; and economic priority. Various methods were used to establish, entrench and maintain this social system, this led to a society divided along racial lines, and to ignorance and intolerance towards other groups. In opposition to this were the liberation movements, who were struggling to bring about change in South Africa.

It could be argued that change is a necessary condition of life. The start of political change for many South Africans was in February 1990 where the release of President Mandela can be seen as the *symbolic* beginning of relatively rapid shifts in the social, political and economic status quo. Having thrown off the mantle of Apartheid, the struggle to create a democratic, non-prejudiced state ruled by a Constitutional Bill of Rights begins. An important dimension of life in South Africa today, can be described as a drive towards accepting social and political change. For many, that change has been slow and, for others, fast.

A rather daunting challenge facing South Africa is the reconstruction and development of the society. Repairing the damage done by the Apartheid regime will not be an easy task. An area of particular concern in South Africa, during and after the Apartheid era, is the unprecedented unemployment rate. The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) reports that "(i)f official figures are correct, South Africa's unemployment rate is nearly four times the average for developing industrial countries" (SAIRR, 1996). The Central Statistical Services (CSS) put the unemployment rate at 20.3% in 1994 and more recently,

the extended[1] unemployment rate at 32.6%. This does not include the jobless among those living in informal settlements (SAIRR, 1996). This figure is supported by a study by the University of Cape Town's Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (Saldru), 1994) which found that the extended unemployment rate was 30.1%. The SAIRR (1996) found that the extended unemployment rate in 1995 was 34%. One can see that extended unemployment rates appear to be rising.

The CSS survey in 1994 showed the following racial breakdown for extended unemployment - African 41.1%; Coloured 23.3%; Asian 17.1% and White 6.4%. These were fairly similar to the World Bank Poverty Survey (Saldru, 1994) figures of 45.9%, 26.3%, 17.1% and 8.9% respectively. A more recent survey by the SAIRR (1996) found the racial breakdown for extended unemployment to be African 40%, Coloured 25%; Asian 20% and White 10%. Asian and White unemployment figures have risen by more than 3%. All surveys are reconcilable across extended unemployment figures and they all provide the same rank-order of unemployment by race. That is, Africans are most likely to be unemployed followed by Coloureds, then Asians and, lastly, Whites.

The Saldru study on baseline household statistics (1994, p 290) showed that only 23.1% of the African sample were satisfied with their "perceived quality of life" compared to 45.9% of the Coloured sample, 61.9% of the Asian sample and 75.2% of the White sample. This is despite the fact that 61.8% of the White sample felt that the situation under the new government was worse than before compared to 48% of the Asian sample, 36.3 of the Coloured sample and only 16.1% of the African sample (ibid., p 305). Furthermore, most of the African (18.2%), Coloured (19.9%) and Indian (18.9%) samples were of the opinion that the new government could most improve their and their families lives by creating more jobs. This is compared to only 7.3% of the White sample who tended to view "peace and an end to violence" (18.5%) and "political settlement" (13.8%) as a priority (Saldru, 1994, p 293). These studies show a concern with job opportunities, economic conditions and the general changes in South Africa.

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[1] Extended rates include those who are unemployed and are not looking for a job.

Furthermore, changes in government have meant the potential for major changes in the economic and business sectors. These changes have been accepted with relief and joy by some and anxiety and fear by others. Amos, Scott & Scott (1995) review literature that documents the supposed increase in hope amongst Black South Africans, and anxiety and fear amongst White South Africans. However, they argue, there are only a few empirical studies (e.g., Dawes & Finchilescu, 1993) which support the claims in the above mentioned literature.

Amos et al (1995) illustrate moves made by the government and the business community which show that Affirmative Action is becoming a reality. Collins (1994) reported that 38% of engineering companies have Affirmative Action programmes in place, while 61% saw the need for such policies. The Mail & Guardian (August 25-31, 1995, B1) reported that of 1000 companies surveyed, 77% had Affirmative Action policies at executive levels. Amos et al (1995) cite Bowmaker-Falconer & Horwitz (1994) who surveyed 70 major South African employers. It was noted that of their new recruits, 61.6% were African, 26.7% White, 9% Coloured and 2.7% Asian. A similar pattern was found with respect to promotions. Amos et al (1995) conclude that it appears as if Blacks are "making some headway in landing jobs and climbing the career ladder" (p 7). Furthermore, a group of black South African professionals, the Black Management Forum (BMF) has called for the following targets to be met by the year 2000 :
50% of board seats;
30% of senior management;
40% of middle management;
50% of junior management;
70% of supervisory positions and
80% of all remaining positions to be filled by black South Africans (Ibid., p 8).

Against this back drop of Affirmative Action policies, Amos et al (1995) believe that many White South Africans "feel somewhat disenfranchised....In the past, after all, Whites were the primary beneficiaries of job opportunities" (p 8). Mbigi & Maree (1995, p 57) claims that

"fear of Affirmative Action" is the primary fear of White South Africans, although this claim is not empirically based,

Amos et al (1995) show that a large proportion of the research which has been done, focuses on those people already in the work place. But, an important group to be considered are those seeking a job, for it is this group that Affirmative Action will probably affect the most. In discussing White reaction to Affirmative Action and specifically what can be termed 'White Flight', Amos et al (1995) report that it appears as if "many Whites who engage in these discussions (about emigration), seemingly have secure positions for themselves; their voiced concern usually focuses on the perception that their children will be left out in the cold..." (p 10).

In 1976, the youth of South Africa came to the forefront of the Liberation Struggle and remained a driving force through out the next 20 years (Van Zyl Slabbert, Malan, Marais. Olivier & Riordan, 1994). These socio-political activities, it is claimed (Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994), brought the category 'youth' to the fore and with it, the potential and problems of the youth. Van Zyl Slabbert et al (1994) claim that "(a)ny attempt at gaining conceptual clarity when talking about youth is a frustrating and enigmatic exercise" (p 12). Suffice it to say that youth can be considered a socially constructed category of transition between childhood and adulthood (which are also socially constructed categories) that varies widely between different societies and cultures (Reynolds, 1993 cited in Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994). This study adopts the very broad definition of the Co-operative Research Programme : South African Youth (hereafter referred to as SAY) research report which states that "youth refers to South Africans of all population categories between 15 and 30 years of age" (Ibid., p 13).

In 1991, youth constituted 29.5% of South Africa's population of which 75% were African, 12% White, 10% Coloured and 3% Asian (CSS, 1992). Of these youth, 31.4% were between the ages of 20 and 25. Historically speaking, the majority of these youths have had very poor educational opportunities. A press database shows that education issues have been a major cause of political mobilisation during the last 20 years (Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994).

The SAY survey (Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994) found that 45% of African youth, 40% of Coloured youth, 29% of Asian youth and 12% of White youth were unemployed. The SAY report went on to cite the 1991 census[2] which found that of the total population of unemployed, 26% could be classified as youth. The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) and Joint Enrichment Programme (JEP) survey (in Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994) found that 46% of South African youth were unemployed. The importance of the above review is in its highlighting of the chronic unemployment problem in South Africa today. Furthermore, the SAIRR (1996, p 7) interprets recent statistics as indicating a slight rise in unemployment.

At a tertiary level, far more White then Black youth have had the benefit of University and Technikon education. There has however, been a gradual increase in Black enrolment over the last 10 years. In 1990, 20% of Technikon and 35% of University enrolments were African students. White students, however, remained in the majority at both these institutions (65% and 53% respectively) (Ellis & Sheppard, 1994). That means that 51 out of every 1000 of the White population was enrolled at some tertiary institution in 1991 compared to 13 Coloureds, 9 Africans and 35 Asians out of every 1000 (National Education Policy Investigation, 1993).

There is a strong belief among youth, especially African youth, that a better education leads to a better job, and thus better life chances (SAY survey, Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994). This is congruent with Hall & Mabitsela's (1994) report that a higher level of education was associated with a greater likelihood of employment. Of the youth interviewed in the SAY survey, 69% were of the opinion that "well-educated people will easily find a job". The African and Coloured respondents were far more positive in this regard than were the White and Asian respondents (Van Zyl Slabbert et al, 1994, p 130).

The CSS's October Household Survey (1994, pp 51-102) found that graduates made up only 0.3% (16 854) of the total number of **registered** unemployed in South Africa. Of those

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[2] Excluding the former TBVC states.

unemployed graduates, 3.6% (617) are Asian, 4.5% (763) are coloured, 43% (7275) African and 48.6% (8198) are White. From another perspective, however, only 2.9% of Asian graduates are unemployed; 4.7% of Coloured graduates are unemployed; 1.9% of White graduates are unemployed and 5.35% of African graduates are unemployed. Considering the relatively low rate of unemployment amongst graduates in 1994, it would be worthwhile to document the perception amongst graduates of their job opportunities.

Amos et al (1995) reported that University students are traditionally thought to be the leaders of tomorrow. Graduates are thus, a vital sector of our youth. It is of interest then, to document graduates' perceptions of job opportunities and to describe their orientation to the socio-political changes in South Africa which will inevitably affect their general life chances.

It is reasonable to assume that Affirmative Action, considering the high profile it has in the media, has some influence on graduate's views of their job opportunities. Amos et al (1995) found that White Commerce students at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, believed Affirmative Action would negatively affect their job opportunities while African Commerce students thought they would benefit from these policies. Coloured commerce students felt that Affirmative Action would make no difference to their job opportunities. They also found that a majority of all students believed that " South Africa is headed in the right direction" (ibid., p 18).

This thesis asks questions similar to those in the Amos et al (1995) study, but the focus is across a broader spectrum of students, i.e., students from a range of disciplines. Generally, the thesis argues that any rapid socio-political change which does not allow youths to live out the process of establishing their identities and acceptable social roles, becomes a threat with which they must cope. As a result of the recent changes in South Africa, for example the implementation of Affirmative Action policies, different sections of South African youth may be facing differing challenges to the process of identity achievement.

In the following chapter, an overview of Affirmative Action theories and studies done by North American researchers is provided. Most studies emanate from that context. Recent South African research is then considered. From this literature review, an argument is constructed which suggests that White and Coloured students will be less positive towards recent changes in South Africa and Affirmative Action than will African students. Specifically, the thesis examines how Affirmative Action is perceived by graduates and to what extent Affirmative Action is perceived to influence their job opportunities and life chances (i.e., is Affirmative Action seen as a threat or an opportunity ?).

Chapter III provides an examination of youth and identity, and it describes the kinds of experiences which mediate a youth's identity development. The study uses Marcia's concept of moratorium (1980) to support the argument that as youth develop, part of their emerging identity includes the identity of self as a worker/employee and as a productive member of society. Furthermore, a strategic theory of identity management (Du Preez, 1991) is linked with other theories of group identity in order to understand the relevance of group identities in particular instances of social comparison. Pearlin & Schooler's (1978) and Breakwell's (1983, 1986) work on coping with stress and threats to identity is then considered to determine how students may respond to threats to social position and future life chances.

In chapter IV relative deprivation theory, which facilitates an understanding of group dynamics in the context of a changing social hierarchy, is considered. It is argued that the recent changes in South Africa will have led to the different population groups having varying views of their life and job opportunities. Whites, for example, are likely to perceive their position to have shifted negatively when they compare themselves with Blacks. Such perceptions are likely to influence their orientations to the process of socio-political change itself, and to the implementation of Affirmative Action policies.

Finally, chapter V provides an argument which suggests that population group membership will predict perceptions of job opportunities. The membership of a particular population group will also influence a students' orientation towards socio-political change, as well as

their experience of relative deprivation and orientation towards Affirmative Action employment policies.

Note :

1. In the South African context, there is much debate as to what to call various groups. This study utilises the notion of historically and politically constituted population groups to which people were arbitrarily assigned. These include "White", Coloured", "African" and "Asian". Regardless of the moral or logical arguments for or against this notion of classification, these terms have been used to group people. The sole reason for this is that these classifications mark a person's context and their lived reality as designed by the Apartheid government.

2. In this study, Black refers to African, Coloured and Asian people. Other authors may have used Black and African interchangeably.

3. America (or American) refers to the United States of America and not to other American countries.

II. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

1. What is Affirmative Action ?

Equal employment opportunity policies are based on the "precept that no individual should be denied equal treatment because of his/her race, sex, colour, national origin, handicap or religion. Equal employment opportunity is an anti-discrimination principle..." (Hugo, 1986, p 55) which is passive in its attempt to avoid discrimination. But more importantly, it ignores the history and context of that discrimination. It evaluates everybody using the same performance-relevant criteria. (Crosby & Clayton, 1990, p63) Equal opportunity policies prohibit the use of categorisation. They also assume that the factors which affect judgement of merit and ability are conscious. According to Crosby & Clayton (1990), few people (i.e. Americans) appear to disagree with this policy.

Affirmative Action takes the concept of equal employment opportunity a step further.

> Affirmative Action is a social policy designed to **overcome past discrimination** against certain disadvantaged groups. (Major, Feinstein & Crocker, 1994, p113)

> "Affirmative Action is a public policy for which the goal is clear : to **empower disenfranchised groups**" (Barnes Nacoste, 1994, p 87).

The fundamental argument for Affirmative Action policies is that 'equal opportunity' in and of itself is not sufficient to redress and overcome the historical discrimination suffered by disadvantaged groups.

> "The need for Affirmative Action in fact stems from the realisation that a formal system of equal opportunities, though desirable, is not adequate for achieving results which are fair or even economically sensible... Given the legacy of Apartheid, South Africa is one country where the case for Affirmative Action appears to be compelling... Affirmative Action involves treating people belonging to a specified group differently so that they obtain an equitable share of a specified good. In the area of employment, its objective is generally to ensure

> that the target group is equitably represented in the work force of a particular employer." (Faundez, 1994, p57-58)
>
> "In order to be race or gender neutral, in a world that has historically been neither, one cannot be race or gender blind" (Crosby & Clayton, 1990, p 64)

Practically, Affirmative Action policies may include such things as :

- Public commitment to the principle of equal opportunity for all;
- analysis of ideal representation[3] of disadvantaged groups;
- establishing hiring goals and timetables;
- re-thinking and broadening recruitment efforts;
- reviewing interviewing or selection procedures;
- hiring of people who may not have the traditionally prerequisite skills;
- target quotas;
- reviewing promotion procedures;
- creation of supernumerary jobs to meet Affirmative Action goals;
- special training opportunities to impart competitive skills;
- integration programmes;
- state-initiated incentives for those who implement Affirmative Action and
- disciplinary action where discriminatory practices exist.

Most Affirmative Action programmes attempt to address the issues outlined above. Those that do not or fail in the attempt, may get labelled as "tokenist" programmes implementing superficial measures in order to simulate effective Affirmative Action or non-discrimination.

Affirmative Action is usually a controversial issue[4]. Employment decisions are regarded as fair when there is equal opportunity for all applicants. It is seen as unfair when somebody is given preferential treatment based on group membership which is prescriptive and not achievable by the non-target group. This problem is summed up well by Crosby (1994, p 31) :

---

[3] How to determine when a group is under or adequately represented is a controversial (and statistical) debate on its own and is not in the scope of this literature review.

[4] It is important to note that some methods of implementing Affirmative Action (e.g., special training) seem to be more acceptable than others (e.g., retrenchment, the creation of special posts or quotas).

"There is no apparent simple and fair way to modify the rules in the middle of the game, even when the rules are themselves unfair."

These unfair rules can be seen in South Africa, where the principle of equal opportunity is inappropriate considering the institutionalised and rigorous disadvantage of certain groups in terms of education, health and job opportunities. These groups, generally speaking, may not have the same level of skills as the previously dominant group in South Africa.

There are many critics of Affirmative Action. The debate, informed as it is by conflicting ideologies, is diverse. Outlined below are some of these arguments (Taken from Sachs, 1993; Crosby, 1994; Barnes Nacoste, 1994, Faundez, 1994, Turner & Pratkanis, 1994a; Ramphele, 1996) :

- Affirmative Action is unfair to non-target groups;
- Affirmative Action contravenes human rights and equality;
- it entrenches group rights over individual rights (which is seen as negative);
- it is a form of reverse discrimination or racism;
- Affirmative Action is bad economic management (in terms of efficiency and productivity);
- Affirmative Action is the opposite of colour-blindness (or non-racism);
- it engenders and entrenches differences and antagonism between the groups;
- Affirmative Action only benefits a small section of the target group and NOT those who are in real need;
- it is counter-productive for the Affirmative Action appointees themselves (in terms of hostility, isolation, negative self-esteem etc.);
- it results in the lowering of standards;
- Affirmative Action contravenes the merit principle[5],
- quotas cannot be justified (for various statistical, legal and economic reasons).

For every criticism outlined above there is a counter argument.

---

[5] The merit principle requires that the 'best qualified' person be chosen for the job, as opposed to the idea that a 'suitably qualified' person, who may not be the best qualified, be chosen.

Add to these general points the history of "affirmative action" in the form of legislated job reservation for whites which has preceded Affirmative Action policies in South Africa, and one can begin to understand why White South Africans may fear Affirmative Action. This fear of Affirmative Action is accompanied and spurred on by various assumptions held about Black people which are, in the main, a result of our Apartheid history. Madi (1993, p 33) outlines the more common assumptions which he has come across : Blacks

- are inclined to communism;
- lack assertiveness;
- lack initiative;
- have no work ethic;
- will ruin the company;
- will lower the standards;
- graduates have unrealistic expectations;
- have very poor education; and
- their culture is no good for business.

All of these, Madi counters with numerous common sense points. The attitudes and beliefs outlined above are, he claims, some of the reasons why White people in South Africa oppose Affirmative Action.

There is no globally-defined Affirmative Action programme. Nor is one type of programme necessarily better than another. It seems as if Affirmative Action programmes are tailor made to suit the context. In the USA, the design of the programmes is aided by government guidelines which have to be met. (Hugo, 1986) In South Africa, to date, there have been no official government guidelines. Numerous studies have been done in the USA which assess the success or failure of Affirmative Action programmes, and investigate attitudes towards these programmes. Some of these studies will be reviewed and their relevance to the South African context assessed.

2. Studies on Affirmative Action

There are a number of studies of Affirmative Action conducted from the perspectives of a range of disciplines. Most are North American and are not reflective of the history of and current developments in South Africa. The American literature includes Affirmative Action programmes which incorporate women and the disabled. This thesis focuses specifically on the dimension of "Race" as opposed to women, the disabled or elderly.

"Affirmative Action necessarily occurs in a social context." (Turner & Pratkanis, 1994a) and is often implemented in the context of White opposition. Turner & Pratkanis (1994a) review a study which shows that the majority of White Americans (73%) tend to support Affirmative Action programmes in general. However, they are specifically opposed to certain methods of implementation - i.e. preferential hiring, quotas, job reservation etc. Similarly, 96% of African Americans support Affirmative Action programmes but 64% disapprove of quotas and 58% disapprove of preferential hiring. (Sigelman & Welch, 1991 in Turner & Pratkanis, 1994a)

The following are various perspectives used in the research literature from which to view responses to Affirmative Action :

1. Aversive and Symbolic racism theories (which targets White resistance);
2. Attributional Ambiguity;
3. Procedural Justice theories;
4. The Self-interest perspective proposed by Veilleux & Tougas (1989)
5. Other Challenges facing Affirmative Action.

1. Aversive and Symbolic racism

Some American authors have argued that "resistance to Affirmative Action programmes... reflects a new form of racism in the United States... The concern of Whites since the civil rights era has become fear of unfair competition from Blacks and other minorities... Thus, (this) new racism is elicited by symbolic issues : bussing, Affirmative Action, Black candidates for political office, public welfare, and race riots." (Jacobson, 1985, p 306-7)

Jacobson (1985) goes on to mention that this "new racism" may be confounded by issues of self-interest and perceptions of unfair economic competition. Based on items included in

a national survey (n=1584) done for the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1978, a series of regression analyses were conducted to test the relative strengths of the self-interest and racism scales in predicting attitudes towards Affirmative Action. He found the independent variables of self-interest[6], traditional racism and symbolic racism to be predictors of attitudes towards Affirmative Action programmes. Symbolic racism was, however, the strongest predictor.

Jacobson (1985) argues that self-interest may have been a stronger predictor if the questionnaire contained items which specifically addressed self-interest aspects of Affirmative Action. For example, the questions included items on bussing school children but only about 6% of all school children are bussed to promote racial integration. Furthermore, a large proportion of the sample did not have children or children of school going age.

More importantly, the old-fashioned racism items, which had modest effects on attitudes towards Affirmative Action, only correlated highly with the new symbolic racism items which had the strongest effects on attitudes. Furthermore, a factor analysis on the old and new racism items revealed only one factor. This all suggests that symbolic racism is multifaceted and is not all that new but really a modern manifestation of old fashioned racism.

Furthering Jacobson's symbolic racism theory, Murrell, Dietz-Uhler, Dovidio, Gaertner & Drout (1994) suggest that resistance to Affirmative Action originates from aversive racial prejudice. They believe that theories which explain resistance to Affirmative Action on the basis of the fairness of the policy (Barnes Nacoste, 1994), do not provide a complete account of White resistance.

Murrell et al (1994) submit that opponents of Affirmative Action are faced with a contradiction between justice and equality and a belief in the status quo (which in the USA is the general superiority of White Americans to most other population groups). Whites'

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[6] Sometimes referred to as the rational-choice model of politics

responses to policies benefiting African Americans (and other minorities) may occur in part because of a motivation and ability to maintain the present social stratification and economic order that benefits Whites (Kluegel & Smith, 1986). The legislated protection of human rights and the social desirability of a non-racial position in the United States discourages discrimination. Murrell et al (1994) argue that where clear and unambiguous anti-discriminatory norms appear, prejudiced views of minorities will be expressed using factors other than race. Thus, while ostensibly supporting the principle of Affirmative Action, an aversive racists will oppose Affirmative Action on alternative grounds, for example, they may argue that it is an economically unsound practice or that Affirmative Action policies contravene their constitutional rights (Murrell et al, 1994). This parallels Jacobson's (1985) symbolic racism theory.

Murrell et al's (1994) primary focus was to identify some of the unique and combined effects of factors that influence reactions to Affirmative Action. They used a factorial survey design to assess attitudes of White college undergraduates (n=337) towards Affirmative Action as a function of (1) a targeted group (African American, handicapped, or elderly person), (2) a framing of the policy (with or without social justification) and (3) an institutional context (business, college or social organisation).

Firstly, they found that resistance to Affirmative Action was aroused by specifying policies that focused on micro-justice concerns, i.e., preferential treatment and reverse discrimination; and that less resistance was aroused when policies focused on macro-justice concerns, i.e., remedying historical injustice. There was a concern regarding the influence of the methodological procedure on the framing of the policy. It should be noted that some brief explanation was required to focus respondents' attention on the macro-level justifications and away from micro-level concerns. The effect of this explanation was not controlled and thus remains entangled with the macro-micro justice concerns. They suggest that the content of these justifications would provide an interesting variable to consider in future studies.

Secondly, policies directed at African Americans were more strongly resisted than were policies for the elderly or handicapped. A concern was raised regarding the nature of the

target group classification. It was felt that the respondents may have viewed the elderly and handicapped as more deserving than African Americans because the individuals have in some way earned this treatment or are disadvantaged due to factors beyond their control. This explanation highlights the value in investigating reactions to Affirmative Action targeted at a range of groups that systematically vary in level of stigmatisation, perceived "deservingness" of outside need of assistance, qualifications and perceived controllability of need.

In support of their theory of aversive racism, they found that the level of resistance to the policies presented for African American without social justification (i.e., a framing of the policy of Affirmative Action with or without social justification) was higher than for all other target groups for both with and without social justification. Thus, it was found that while perceptions of fairness were important in determining attitude, perceptions were not immune to the effects of aversive racism.

Thus, one could argue that theories of racism play a vital role in facilitating an understanding of attitudes towards Affirmative Action. These theories should not, however, be considered to the exclusion of others as they only focus on a specific dimension of resistance to Affirmative Action and offer a limited explanation of this resistance. In the South African context, theories of racism are likely to play an important role in understanding resistance to Affirmative Action. Considering the legacy of Apartheid in South Africa, racism seems to be an essential consideration in any debate on Affirmative Action. Understanding prejudice and the forms it takes, as well as the influence it has on attitudes towards reconstruction is crucial. Once the role of racism has been described and its influence understood, strategies can be developed to address the issue.

2. Attributional Ambiguity

The attributional ambiguity approach suggests that Affirmative Action results in ambiguity regarding the causes of the appointee's behaviour and other's behaviour towards the appointee. Thus, the stronger the focus on demographic variables, the more likely it is that (1) the appointee's behaviour will be attributed to group membership rather than personal merit or characteristics; and (2) their competence and abilities will be negatively evaluated.

This is hypothesised to be self-protective for members of non-target groups who may be denied a position. Attributional ambiguity about their worth is believed to have important affective and evaluative consequences for people who are target group members (Major, Feinstein & Crocker, 1994; De Vries & Pettigrew, 1994; Pettigrew, 1979).

Research on Affirmative Action in the case of women by Major et al (1994) indicates that the Affirmative Action label carries with it "a stigma of inferiority that may be hard to overcome" (p 138). However, they go on to show that a key to eliminating negative reactions to group-based preferential selection conditions, is to "resolve attributional ambiguity about deserving" (p 138). Affirmative Action programmes would thus benefit from stressing the qualifications of the Affirmative Action appointee and not just their group membership. This is because stressing group membership as a selection criteria, they argue, leads to a "suspicion of inferiority" (p 139) and a perception of incompetence on the part of target group members. Moreover, Major et al (1994) raise a concern regarding the extent to which members of non-target groups may be motivated for self-protective reasons to believe that greater weight is given to group membership than to merit in selection decisions.

Lastly, they question whether their findings can be generalised to target groups other than women. While sex differences in self-confidence are well documented, there are studies (albeit a few) on this question using African American samples which suggests that vulnerability due to a "suspicion of inferiority" is not unique to women.

"Suspicion of inferiority" and the resultant attributional ambiguity are indispensable concepts in the new South Africa, especially in light of the "standards" debate which seems to spearhead resistance to affirmative admissions policies to educational institutions. Affirmative Action agents need to be aware of the reactions which are precipitated by this suspicion of inferiority.

3. The Procedural Justice approach

The procedural justice approach, as developed by Barnes Nacoste (1994), proposes that the procedures used to implement Affirmative Action will influence responses to these

programmes. He asks the question, "what if procedures used to implement these policies activate a set of social psychological processes that prevent the occurrence of productive social interactions between target-group and non-target-group members ?" (p 87).

Barnes Nacoste (1994) states that beliefs about procedures of Affirmative Action have the potential to create a tendency in individuals to classify themselves and other into the "intergroup categories of target and non-target group members" (p 88). Tougas & Veilleux (1989) and Tougas, Beaton & Veilleux (1991) all confirm that part of the psychological dynamic surrounding reactions to Affirmative Action, is this tendency towards intergroup classifications.

Moreover, realistic group conflict theory implies that if a potential intergroup classification is associated with conflict over scarce resources, it is more likely that a subjective group differentiation will emerge (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987 in Barnes Nacoste 1994). The central thesis of realistic group conflict theory is that :

> "racial attitudes reflect the existing economic, social and political relationships between black and white Americans; in other words, the real features of group relations and conflict. Specifically, American social organization allows and fosters in whites the belief that blacks, in so far as they demand changes in the racial status quo, are a threat to their life styles, as well as to other valued resources and practices..."
>
> Bobo (1983)

Bobo (1983) goes on to illustrate Taylor & Moghaddam's point by showing that perceived threat and applied policy pre-disposition's are the strongest predictors of white opposition to bussing. That is, factors concerning the methods of the civil rights movement (e.g., violence) did not influence attitudes towards bussing. Factors concerning the pace and implications of the change did influence attitudes.

Barnes Nacoste (1994) argues that when members of target and non-target groups encounter each other, they will bring their beliefs about Affirmative Action into the interaction. Individuals, he argues, have or develop "a schema" for policies of Affirmative Action. The most important elements of this schema are beliefs about, and the standards for the evaluation of, the "typical" procedures of Affirmative Action. An example of a

"typical" procedure is the selection criteria for employment. *Universalistic* decision criteria are those associated with factors related to performance and achievable through effort; *particularistic* decision criteria are related to demographic variables. Barnes Nacoste (1994) argues that *Universalistic* decision criteria are perceived to be fair and thus Affirmative Action based on this criteria will encounter less resistance. The opposite is true for *particularistic* decision criteria.

A particular point of interest in relation to this study, is that "the effects of policy schema's will be manifested through the process of identity negotiation" (Barnes Nacoste, 1994, p 103). Swann (1987) argues that identity negotiation will occur in most social situations because "social reality (is) not simply constructed by perceivers acting alone; it (is) negotiated by perceivers and their (interaction partners) acting together" (p 1038). A function of identity negotiation is to make interactions predictable (Swann, 1987). Thus, a person who has negative beliefs or evaluations about a procedure will bring them to bear on any interaction with their interaction partners. In terms of Affirmative Action then, for non-target group members, this identity negotiation will focus on questions of qualifications. For target group members, it will focus on whether the non-target group member believes that the target group member is qualified (Barnes Nacoste, 1994).

Another study which addresses this issue is that of Kravitz & Platania (1993). They found that preferential employment policies for unqualified people was only approved of by a sample of undergraduate students (n=349) when the applicant had a disability (Kravitz & Platania, 1993). "People who accept the common stratification ideology of the United States are likely to believe that women and minorities deserve any economic difficulties they may suffer" (Kravitz & Platania, 1993, p 934). Furthermore, women were found to be more favourable towards Affirmative Action than men, even when it is not directed towards them. Kravitz & Platania (1993) explain this by quoting Smith & Kluegel's (1984) concept of co-operative self-interest : "Anything that helps others fight discrimination will also ultimately help women fight sex-based discrimination" (p 394). This, it can be argued parallels Veilleux & Tougas' (1989) theory of RD on behalf of others outlined in section 4 below. Kravitz & Platania's (1993) results are also consistent with Jacobson's (1985) explanations of self-interest and racism. Blacks (& Hispanics) tended to have a more positive attitude

towards Affirmative Action than did Whites. The findings indicate that respondents disapproved of hiring without qualifications. "This is consistent with the belief that outputs should be based on input" and that the right input is qualification not demographic variables. Furthermore, their findings concur with Nacoste's (1985) proposition that opposition to Affirmative Action "will vary directly with the weight given to demographic status" (p 935).

The above points illustrate that fair procedures play a crucial role in the successful management of Affirmative Action programmes, and that responses to Affirmative Action policies may be directly influenced by the perception of the procedures used to implement the policies.

4. The self-interest approach

Studies have found some (Jacobson, 1985; Kluegel & Smith, 1983) or no support (Bobo, 1983; Kinder, 1985) for the theory of self-interest in relation to attitudes towards Affirmative Action. In these studies, self-interest referred exclusively to immediate individual gains or the "prevention of imminent losses" (Veilleux & Tougas, 1989, p 486). Thus, in reviewing the role of self-interest, they attribute the relative lack of support for it as a predictor of attitudes towards Affirmative Action, to the perception that self-interest "was understood in terms of one's private well-being. It is clear, however, that **self-interest also refers to group status** or position in society" (p 485). Thus, it can be argued that opposition to Affirmative Action is largely a defence of these interests. They link this argument with collective relative deprivation (CRD). This concept refers to "a feeling of discontent experienced as a result of a disadvantageous comparison between one's group and an outgroup" (Ibid., p 486).

In terms of CRD, for example, it is hardly likely that well established males over the age of 50, would oppose a quota hiring system for women on the basis of personal threat. They might, however, feel that young men would be disadvantaged as a result of these quotas. Accordingly, they would oppose quotas for hiring women on the basis of group interests

and in the interests of male's position in society. Men "appear to act in the interests of the collectivity" (Ibid., p 486).

In order to account for positive reactions from non-target group members (e.g., men or Whites), Veilleux & Tougas (1989) make reference to the concept of "relative deprivation on behalf of others[7] (RDBO)" (p 487). RDBO is motivated by an altruistic reaction to perceptions of injustice and discrimination against the target group, i.e., women.

RDBO involves the perception of injustice and may bring about feelings of deprivation on behalf of another group. CRD would produce negative attitudes towards Affirmative Action where as RDBO would produce positive attitudes.

According to procedural justice theory, "people care about justice in general" (Lerner, 1981), and about procedural justice in particular (Lind & Tyler, 1988). Veilleux & Tougas (1989) review several studies which have shown that "programs designed to help beneficiaries of Affirmative Action are more popular than those involving preferential treatment" (p 488). Preferential treatment generates perceptions of immediate threat to one's self-interest and on behalf of one's own and other non-target groups. On the basis of the above arguments, Veilleux & Tougas (1989) produced a predictive model (p 488).

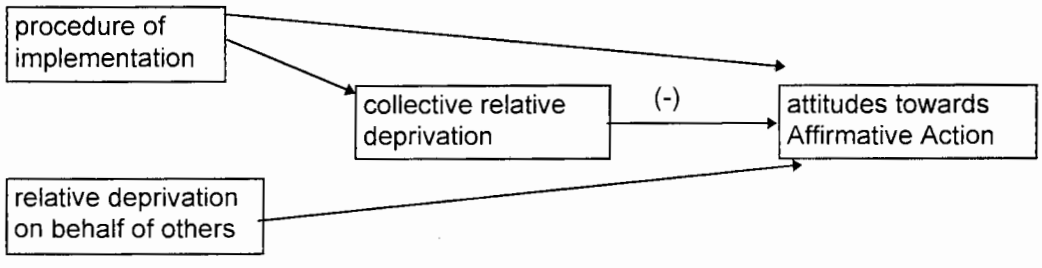

Figure. 1. Veilleux & Tougas' (1989) hypothesis regarding influences on attitudes to Affirmative Action

In testing this hypothesis, Veilleux & Tougas (1989) questioned 145 male professionals and managers. The questionnaire, which used the Likert scale method, contained scales which assessed collective relative deprivation, relative deprivation on behalf of others and

[7] Feelings of discontent when a person perceives that members of another group are disadvantaged in society.

attitudes towards Affirmative Action programmes. A path analysis of the results suggested that "the proposed model is well adjusted to the data" (p 492).

They found that men feel less deprived of job opportunities if they perceive Affirmative Action programmes to be designed to eliminate discriminatory practices and provide services to "help women help themselves" (p 492). That is, they suggest that if all stakeholders were made aware of the fact that discrimination reduces women's career opportunities and violates the principle of equal opportunity, there would be less resistance to Affirmative Action programmes. Thus, if men estimate that their group would lose opportunity because women are given preferential treatment, then strong feelings of resistance would be triggered. But if the potential benefits of Affirmative Action programmes on industries' efficiency (and possibly one's career) could be shown, then men would be more supportive of Affirmative Action.

While they appear to find empirical evidence of RDBO, one needs to question the belief that altruism will, in all circumstances, lead to RDBO and thus positive attitudes towards Affirmative Action. In this situation, the men questioned would not be under direct threat from preferential hiring policies as they already have jobs. It is thus "easier" for them to identify with the altruistic motives. It remains a question whether the results would have been the same if male job seekers, including those who feel that women have been unfairly discriminated against, had been the sample in this study.

Finally, Veilleux & Tougas (1989) found moderate support for their theory of relative deprivation and procedural justice. More importantly, they successfully bring self-interest theories into a group identity analysis of Affirmative Action which lends a sophistication and complexity to the previous explanations.

5. Other Challenges facing Affirmative Action policies

Crosby (1994, p 31-35) highlights other challenges facing Affirmative Action. She shows how Affirmative Action :

- Focuses on deficiencies By embracing Affirmative Action one has to admit that one's world is unjust and that 'our' "society is one in which opportunities are not *ipso facto*

equal" (ibid. p 31). In keeping with the just world hypothesis (Lerner, 1981; Lerner & Miller, 1978), people may respond to this inequality by blaming the victims instead of restructuring the social order. Thus, it is crucial to avoid the mistake of thinking Affirmative Action compensates for deficiencies in individuals rather than inadequacies in the system (Crosby, 1994, p32).

- Challenges the need for predictability Affirmative Action challenges accepted norms and beliefs and, necessarily, upsets the status quo. In terms of career paths, Affirmative Action removes a person's sense of predictability; as well as the belief that an established input results in an established output (qualifications and hard work result in employment and promotion). The main idea behind this argument is that a person may resist Affirmative Action because he/she was invested in the predictability of the system (as opposed to the advantage that their race or gender had provided) (Ibid.).
- Challenges to the myth of individualism Crosby argues that individualism can be considered a significant ideology in America. A person is responsible for themselves and their fate. Affirmative Action "constitutes a significant psychological challenge to the basic human (Western) conceit...that one has been the originator of one's own good fortune" (Ibid., p35).

In summary

From all the studies mentioned above, it can be seen that there are several interpretations of the variations in people's reactions to Affirmative Action. A broad critique of these studies will be provided and then, for the purposes of this study, certain positions will be drawn on, in order to provide a clear framework from which to view reactions to Affirmative Action in the South African context.

3. Critique

Crosby (1994) suggests that before theorising about responses to Affirmative Action policies, one should consider and note the following question :

> "Does misrepresentation of Affirmative Action mean that the person is racist or sexist ? A firm understanding of Affirmative Action is not widespread. Thus, a lack of understanding of the policy of Affirmative Action does not mean that a person is prejudiced. People's fears about Affirmative Action are not necessarily simply the socially acceptable expression of prejudice. These fears may derive from the problems inherent in the policy - its insistence that something is wrong, its threats to predictability, and its interference with predictability. That Affirmative Action may appear unfair, ineffective, or unnecessary only adds to the difficulties reasonable people have of coming to accept it." (Crosby, 1994, p 35)

In terms of this study, it is important to remember then, that those groups who are being labelled as "anti-Affirmative Action" are not necessarily being labelled racist.

On a similar, but more conservative note, Roth (1990) claims that most of the theories of Affirmative Action mentioned above, insult and demean the 'American people' by labelling them as naive racists. Roth refers broadly to "the American people" and thus one assumes he is referring to all Americans. On a more careful reading of his work, it would be safer to assume that he is referring to White Americans who disapprove of Affirmative Action policies.

He believes that the majority of these opponents would acknowledge the plight of African Americans and agree that, given a "fair shake", they would succeed. Their opposition is merely that of "any sensible person" who opposes "big brother" government policies that run counter to traditional values (Ibid., p 36). Roth (1990) makes no attempt to analyse these traditional values in any way and seems to assume that they are infallible. He argues that resistance to Affirmative Action should be treated as the "product of honest disagreement over how best to achieve racial equality", as opposed to an attempt to "resist equality" (p 27). He holds that to assume that these two views are synonymous is wrong at best and academically unethical at worst. His contention is that social psychologists, in constructing their studies, *wrongly* confuse the support of traditional American values and conservatism with racism. And in some instances, he is correct. He cites Kinder & Sears (1978) work which won the Gordon Allport Intergroup Relations Prize but which later came under criticism from contemporary social psychologists for confusing racism and political conservatism. In other instances however, conservatism can be linked with racism. Any American theorist wishing to make such a link would have to argue their case very

thoroughly. In South Africa however, the case for associating conservatism and racism may, due to the political history of the country, be easier to do (Pettigrew, 1958). The problem with doing this is that, in an analysis of racism, one may overlook the fact that democrats/liberals can be racist too.

Roth (1990) then proposes an alternative analysis. An analysis of social class differences, he suggests, would shed more light on the subject. Middle class African Americans, he submits, would reveal similar opinions to the predominantly middle class White Americans participating in the reported studies. His proposition is an interesting one and would surely reveal rich and stimulating areas for further debate.

Crosby (1994) and Roth (1990) are correct in asserting that one cannot blindly label opponents to Affirmative Action racist. Roth, an opponent of Affirmative Action, bases his objections to social psychological theories on the fact that they make assumptions about the motives for objecting to Affirmative Action. He proposes that White Americans oppose Affirmative Action on the basis that it is a poor political policy. Whereas Crosby, a supporter of Affirmative Action, bases her objection to assumptions of racism on the fact that a lack of understanding of the Affirmative Action policy and genuine concerns resulting from problems inherent to the policy, accounts for resistance to Affirmative Action other than racial prejudice. Crosby (1994) and Roth's (1990) arguments remind one of the political nature of what has seemed, in the above review, to be a social psychological debate.

The theory of symbolic racism offers a socio-political framework from which one can understand resistance to Affirmative Action. It can be argued that South Africa has reached a similar position to that of the USA 30 odd years ago. The issues to be addressed are fairly similar. As South Africa moves into a period of reconstruction, overt racism is not a socially acceptable option. Thus, an understanding of symbolic racism can help in understanding resistance to Affirmative Action.

It has been shown that the procedures used to implement Affirmative Action policies will influence attitudes. For example, the weight given to demographic variables will influence

whether the policy is seen as fair. The fairer a person perceives the policy of Affirmative Action to be, the less resistance there is to the programmes. The salience and centrality of justice concerns is thus an important issue. In South Africa, the concept of micro and macro justice is of particular relevance. Not many people in the new South Africa would publicly condone the discrimination in the past, and most would acknowledge the need for reconstruction and redress of this discrimination. When it comes to issues of micro justice, i.e. preferential employment policies, few White South Africans would be likely to support them unequivocally (Amos et al, 1995).

Most of the American studies outlined above use students to investigate attitudes to Affirmative Action. Some of them used laboratory type settings in which students were asked to be a part of an Affirmative Action simulation and to record their responses to different questions. Other American studies focused on people already in the work place, and assessed their responses to actual or described Affirmative Action programmes.

The current study differs from the American work in that it asks students to describe their perceptions of current events and their perceptions of their own job opportunities in relation to these events and Affirmative Action policies. It makes no attempt to define or control for the type of Affirmative Action policy, thus comparisons with procedural justice studies are limited. It does not focus on Affirmative Action appointees or non-target group workers. The current study does, however, use concepts and ideas of merit, reverse racism, self-interest theories, attributional ambiguity and "suspicion of inferiority" to generate research instruments.

4. Affirmative Action in South Africa Today

> *To millions, Affirmative Action is a beacon of positive expectation. To others it is an alarming spectre which is viewed as a threat to their personal security and a menace to the integrity of public life.*
>
> *(Mandela, 1991)*

South Africa does not belong to all who live in it. As a result of Apartheid policies, the country is mostly owned (in terms of land and economic ownership) by Whites (Sachs, 1993). Affirmative Action is one vehicle for opening up avenues for Blacks to acquire greater economic power. Thus, a goal of the new South Africa is to level the playing fields. But, do we truly recognise the character that this policy will have to take, if, as Albie Sachs puts it, "the truth is far worse : we are not even on the same playing field" (1993, p 107). What we are dealing with is not just inequality but "a system of structured inequality...brought about by deliberate state policy" (Ibid., p 109).

Sonn (1993, p 2) suggests that "Affirmative Action is a term coined in America and is American morphologically and semantically...We can do without the strong emotional legacy of Affirmative Action...as is the case in the USA. We must learn from the US experience and not inherit its (negative) attitudes, reactions and codes. We also make ourselves guilty of what Janet Brooks Morgan calls 'choking to death behind a smoke screen of semantic nonsense, with subterfuges and camouflages of real gut issues.'"

But Affirmative Action has a long history in South Africa. It started after the 1922 White miners' strike and the subsequent 'civilised labour policy' instituted by the government..." (Madi, 1993, p3). Verwoerd advocated adopting a national state in order to protect the White Afrikaner worker from "non-White" competition (Sonn, 1993)[8]. The policy of job reservation (for Whites) was later consolidated by various acts of parliament which effectively institutionalised preferential employment for White South Africans.

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[8] See Sonn (1993, p 1-10) for a comprehensive overview of Afrikaner policies of Affirmative Action (pre-1994).

The key difference between the past and the present situation, is that job reservation is no longer a formally legislated policy. The "novelty" in the 1990's, is that the benefit is now for so-called "non-White" groups. But even Affirmative Action for Black South Africans is not new. These policies have been in existence since the late 1970's. After the 1976 Soweto uprising, there was pressure from the international community to dis-invest. Several multi-nationals implemented Black advancement programmes to justify their continued presence in South Africa. These Black advancement policies seemed to reflect the prevailing political climate.

Then came 2 February 1990...and the assertion that "(t)here can be no doubt that, [in South Africa], the prime target of Affirmative Action will in the future be the African people..." (Thomas, 1993, p 60). Many larger companies began instituting Affirmative Action programmes which paralleled the political climate. "This (zealousness) has become almost panic...(as business begins) the rapid acquisition of as many Black managers as possible in order to be ready by the time the ANC takes over" (Madi, 1993, p 6). Black authors (Montsi, 1993) have also adopted the tendency to advise (or warn) business to "beat the government" to Affirmative Action policies. This then is a brief overview of the state of affairs with regard to Affirmative Action in South Africa pre-1994 and the first national, democratic, general elections.

Some of the key issues regarding Affirmative Action in South Africa today are addressed below. (The first 5 points are made by Nkhulu, 1993[9].) :

1. The removal of all discrimination (formal and informal) which prohibits equal opportunity.
2. "Blacks must be enabled to gain access to economic resources and provided with appropriate support" and training (both technical and social) (Nkhulu, 1993, p 13).
3. They must be given the space and opportunity to contribute meaningfully.
4. Affirmative Action must include changing possible negative attitudes and social relations of White colleagues. It is naive to assume that only the Black employee needs help to deal with the changes while the White employees should just carry on with "business as

usual". This development of people should take place at all levels in the business (i.e. including managers and directors etc.).

5. Affirmative Action must "address changing the mind-set of the Black people" (Nkhulu, 1993, p 14). It should empower Black people to over-come the paralysing effects of Apartheid - anger, alienation, inferiority and a culture of entitlement - produced by the dehumanising effects of the past. Black Consciousness was seen as the way to restore the dignity and humanity of Black South Africans. In the "new" South Africa, it can be argued, this function is inherited by Affirmative Action.
6. Affirmative Action is also viewed as a development tool where the goal is the "activation of the full development potential of a country, region, sector or community" (Thomas, 1993, p 60). Affirmative Action can be used in developing the following critical areas - management experience, finance, markets, premises, trained staff, technology transfer, sector involvement and know-how, small business information and advice, networking and lobbying, creation of an entrepreneurial environment and tradition. (For a fuller explanation see Thomas, 1993).
7. Human (1992, 1993) proposes that Affirmative Action should be seen as an integral part of the people development process in a business.

Affirmative Action in South Africa differs from that in America in two ways. Firstly, whereas in the USA, a minority (i.e. non-White and women) are being integrated into a majority (i.e. White males), this is not the case for South Africa. In South Africa, a majority are being integrated into a minority. Thus, the threat to the corporate culture (White and male) is proportionately larger than in the USA. Secondly, add to this notion that Affirmative Action in South Africa includes the idea of the "South Africanisation" (Sonn, 1993, p 4) of the work place, meaning that some uniquely South African, melting-pot culture (it is postulated) will replace a chauvinist and racist corporate environment.

In terms of explanations of resistance to Affirmative Action, South Africans are quick in attributing this resistance to racism. Sonn (1993, p 5) argues that resistance to Affirmative Action is racist as it is based on "the contention that Whites naturally inherited positions of

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[9] Nkhulu refers only to Black South Africans and does not include women or other groups in his discussion.

dominance based on superior skills and heritage, while the opposite holds for Blacks". Sonn (1993) quotes Asbjorn (1991, p 4) who says "South Africa is an extreme case because of the legacy of Apartheid which has created a severely divided society...probably deeper than any other in the world". Asbjorn's observation may be outdated in the "new" South Africa[10]. An observation which is frequently made in the popular press and by the more cynical political observers is that, in the "new" South Africa, one cannot find any one who previously supported Apartheid. It might be more useful then to use the concept of symbolic racism, which Jacobson (1985) asserts replaced traditional racism, in order to assess and interpret responses to Affirmative Action in South Africa toady.

Eberhardt & Fiske's (1994) assertion that power asymmetries between groups influence resistance to Affirmative Action may shed a different light on this issue. The recent political changes and current socio-economic changes are upsetting the status quo. Population group membership may increase in salience in the employment context as a new order begins to advantage some who previously had few high level employment opportunities, and disadvantage those who enjoyed many such opportunities. This then promotes group comparisons and amplifies the threats to the established position of Whites relative to Blacks.

Furthermore, people who accept the status quo will tend to believe that the disadvantaged deserve their economic hardships (Kravitz & Platania, 1993), and lead to resistance to Affirmative Action. Moreover, self-interest theories show that the desire to protect a groups' status in society also leads to resistance to Affirmative Action (Veilleux & Tougas, 1989). It could be argued that several groups in South Africa have an interest in protecting their previous position in the social hierarchy. These issues will be discussed in a later section in more detail.

A particular problem of the current study is that of the definition of Affirmative Action in South Africa which is not very clear. Studies have shown that opposition to Affirmative

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However, his points do not exclude these other groups from his definition.

[10] While it is not within the scope of this thesis to debate the contention that South Africa is the most divided nation on the earth, it is granted that Apartheid has spawned its own brand of racism and inequitable systems.

Action (from target and non-target groups) will vary in direct proportion to the weight given to demographic variables (Nacoste, 1985). In South Africa, the weight that should be given to demographic variables is a much debated and there is no resolution. The interim constitution sanctions the concept, as does the South African Chamber of Business (Amos et al, 1995). But, at the time of writing, neither the government nor the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) had offered any clear guiding regulations or policies on Affirmative Action for business (Ibid., 1995, pp 4-5). This lack of definition creates speculation and uncertainty. Appelgryn (1991, p 244) reports that when people lack information they create "facts" by adhering to stereotypes or 'cultural truisms'. South Africa's experience of Affirmative Action (for Whites) and its socio-political history would suggest that South Africans may expect the demographic variable to be heavily weighted in the implementation of Affirmative Action. While this is sheer speculation, one needs to consider that, should this be the case, one can anticipate strong resistance to Affirmative Action from non-target group members in particular, and perhaps (as suggested in the American literature) from some of the target members.

Further consideration should be given to the role of the perception of justice. This is quite difficult to assess. Acceptance of Affirmative Action requires one to admit that one's world is unjust. This may be difficult for those who have benefited from the injustice, and may promote resistance (Crosby, 1994).

Resistance to Affirmative Action can also be attributed to fear or threat. Hugo & Stack (1992; and Hugo, 1988), on the basis of empirical research, show that the predominant mind-set amongst South African Whites is "one of anxiety, fear and distrust", and that "White South Africans associate the demise of White supremacy with a sense of threat and vulnerability" (p 52).

But what of Black South Africans ? Black South Africans have, historically, been divided along many lines "making the notion of South African Black identity highly contentious" (Greenstein, 1993, p 2). An important and often over-looked consideration, are the "twilight" South Africans. In a nation that thinks in Black and White, what happens to those who are "non-White" and not African ? I refer to the Coloured, Indian/Asian and other racial

minorities in this country who see-saw in terms of their inclusion in or exclusion from a mythical Black homogeneous mass. Who is going to decide if one is "Black enough" to qualify as an Affirmative Action candidate ? South African research has shown that the uncertainty and confusion regarding their position in the new hierarchy has led Coloured people to fear the political changes and thus, to resist Affirmative Action (Ramphele, 1996).

In conclusion, there are good and bad Affirmative Action programmes in South Africa but the controversy seems to transcend this level of analysis. Some argue that Affirmative Action threatens equity and good economic management, others that it threatens their livelihood and family. For all these suppositions, there is no single theory or argument that explains resistance to Affirmative Action completely. I would argue that an important facet which is often overlooked, is the perceived threat to a person's beliefs about themselves, their sense of identity and their beliefs about their world. Responses to Affirmative Action have as much to do with a person's perception of what is happening to them and the meaning this is given as it does racism or justice concerns. In order to assess the threat to beliefs about themselves and their identity, this thesis now examines those identities and beliefs .

III. YOUTH AND IDENTITY

1. Introduction

A discussion of identity is important to this thesis because in order to fully understand perceptions of job opportunities and life chances in relation to Affirmative Action, one must understand the contexts in which these perceptions take place. This contexts are personal, social and political. In order to provide an adequate framework, an intrapsychic model of identity will be discussed, followed by an intergroup model of identity. These models will then be situated in a socio-political context using relative deprivation theories.

The discussion of an intrapsychic and an intergroup model which follows, may suggest a dichotomy between intrapsychic and social processes. However, this thesis adopts Breakwell's (1983) position that personal identity develops in a social context. It is a residue of accommodation to and assimilation of social identity, but it is also an inherent part of this process. "If examined in a realistic dynamic way, **personal and social identity are not distinct entities, merely different points in the process of development**...This is a process whereby conceptions of the self are learnt, actively used and transformed through contact with new experiences and act to filter future impacts of social expectations surrounding the individual" (Breakwell, 1983, p 11). Evolution of identity entails a continual and dialectical relationship between social and personal identity. If this approach is adopted, the dichotomy between personal and social identity is redundant and identity is seen as a continuum.

For the purpose of this thesis, identity is treated as a "dynamic social product, residing in the psychological **processes**, which cannot be understood except in relation to its social context and historical perspective" (Breakwell, 1986, p 9). To this end, it can be said that people are socially constructed in that their views, opinions, values, activities and

communications are learned from others. The groups to which people belong have an impact on determining their life experience.

2. Erikson & Marcia's psychosocial models

For Erikson (1963), one's sense of identity is captured best when it is lost or under threat. For example, he describes a case study regarding the disturbances experienced by World War II veterans. From this study he coined the term "ego identity". Erikson expounded a tripartite nature of identity :

- biological capability,
- personal organisation of the experience
- and cultural environment

These dimensions contrive to give meaning and coherence to one's existence.

Erikson (1968) uses the term *epigenesis* to describe the process of identity formation; meaning that "one item develops on top of another in space and time" (in Evans, 1967, pp 21-22). Identity formation transcends the *introjection* and *identification* phases of developmental theory. Thus, identity is not merely shaped during adolescence, but evolves from early childhood and continues to develop throughout the person's life cycle. In fact, Erikson (1963, 1968) portrays identity as the 5th part in an 8 part life cycle. These 8 parts are critical periods of development involving a conflict which must be resolved. The conflict is usually between two ends on a continuum, i.e., identity vs role confusion, and is generally resolved as a balance on this continuum. This bi-polar conflict must be resolved in order to move onto the next stage.

IDENTITY vs ROLE CONFUSION

Erikson's view of identity transcends the traditional Freudian approach. The achievement of puberty is only one dimension of the "adolescent dilemma". Essentially, the identity stage of development involves "**finding a 'feeling of reality' in socially approved roles...To become faithful and committed to some ideological world view...to find a cause worthy of one's vocational energies and reflecting one's basic values**"

characterise this stage of conflict (Kroger, 1989, pp 26-27). Erikson reports (1968, p 132) "(i)n general it is the inability to settle on an occupational identity which most disturbs young people". The ultimate goal of identity is affirmation of and by a desired social order. By definition, then, should this striving be unfulfilled or interrupted in any way, the individual will find difficulty in moving on to develop fully in the other stages of his/her life. For example, an adolescent who has invested many years in becoming a graduate may find that her/his desire to become a successful and meaningful part of an organisation is being hindered by the lack (perceived or real) of job opportunities, as may be the case for White or Coloured graduates. Alternatively, the Affirmative Action policies maybe involve tokenist appointments in which the graduate's potential is stifled.

Critics of Erikson (1963, 1968) have pointed to his unclear, impressionistic 'definitions' of identity which lead to research and practical difficulties. Furthermore, the changing nature of the usage of his concept (from structure to process; from subjective experience to unconscious entity (Kroger, 1989, p 32)) leads to other difficulties. Despite these criticisms, his ideas and theories offer valuable insight to the nature of identity. Marcia (1980) attempts to clarify and operationalise Erikson's work.

a. Marcia on Erikson

Marcia (1980) argues that identity itself cannot be seen but its behavioural consequences can be gauged. She has operationalised and developed Erikson's 5th stage of Identity vs role confusion. Erikson's idea of **commitment vs confusion**, Marcia argues (1980), includes four distinct types of *Identity Status*. They are outlined in brief below.

1. Identity Achievement : "Flexible strength" is a term used to describe the manner of somebody who has achieved identity. The individual has established an ideology and value system to which s/he subscribes following a crisis or decision making process. The individual has established roles both social and economic which they can pursue. This identity status seems to be the preferred/ideal outcome of the commitment-confusion conflict.

2. The person experiencing moratorium can be classified as one who has not yet achieved identity. They are "animated and anxious" in their search for identity. They appear to be having trouble detaching from parental introjects. Furthermore, they are having difficulty committing to a social order and role. This lack of commitment, according to Marcia (1980), is an evaluative one where the person is in search of appropriate roles. Thus, Marcia likens this state to the identity achievement status in that the individual will display similar flexible strength. The moratorium identity status is of particular relevance to this study, in that it focuses on the type of identity crisis with which one may expect young graduates to be faced.
3. Those called foreclosers are happy and smug in their sense of self. They are authoritarian and unbending in their knowledge of the right, moral way. Forecloser's generally adhere unquestioningly to accepted parental (societal) norms and merely adopt accepted roles. Identification with these social norms is the mode of identity resolution and a real identity formation process has not taken place
4. Individuals in a state of diffusion, generally, give a sense of lacking a core self and are generally superficial and unhappy. They tend to be stereotyped or isolated in their dealings with others. No sense of identity has been achieved; rather there is role confusion (Marcia, 1980).

These concepts represent four possible identity states through which the individual may be trying to resolve role confusion . Identity achievement and foreclosure imply a resolution of the conflict whereas moratorium and diffusion imply unresolved conflict.

Marcia's concepts tend to deal with content as opposed to process. So, it is not clear how one progresses from a state of confusion to resolution. Questions regarding what precipitates or hinders this resolution remain theoretical. Waterman (1982) has proposed a descriptive model which suggests a process of progression or regression between identity states. Numerous longitudinal studies have clearly shown the movement between various identity status's (Kroger, 1989, p 39), although none have identified exactly how this movement occurs.

b. "Race and the Wider Identity"[11]

Erikson (1968, p 245) quotes Bruner who states that in reaching adolescence, the youth can "conjure up systematically the full range of possibilities that can exist at any given time." The youth must then make a series of ever narrowing choices in the personal realm, including occupational and ideological commitments. "The sense of identity becomes more necessary where a wider range of possible identities is envisaged" (Ibid., p 245). The range of possibilities which society presents to the youth is implicit or explicit in the form of an ideology. For example, White South Africans were offered a different range of opportunities than were Black South Africans as a result of the ideology which dominated - Apartheid. White South African youth were offered a range of roles to fulfil; jobs and a comfortable life style were almost guaranteed. Black South African youth were systematically denied these opportunities.

Without a conscious ideological commitment (as opposed to merely the ideology implicit in a "way of life") youth may suffer a "*confusion of values*" (Erikson, 1968, p 188). Erikson (1968, p 133) goes on to describe the totalitarian doctrines among youth of countries which are losing (or have lost) their group identities. He explains that these youth are attempting to defend against "a sense of identity loss" (p 132). It is up to democracies, he submits, to persuade and demonstrate to youth that to live in a society with diverse identities does not mean a loss of identity. "Democratic identity can be strong and yet tolerant, judicious and still determined" (p 133). To paraphrase Erikson, the challenge is for democracies to deal with diversity and rapid social change, which is precipitated by technological advances, by presenting its youth with ideals which can be shared by youth from diverse backgrounds and which emphasise "autonomy in the form of independence and initiative in constructive work". Ideology, then, is the "guardian" of identity. "It is through ideology that social systems enter the fibre of the next generation" (p 134) and the social order is thus perpetuated.

Erikson (1968, p 309) alleges that identity has two kinds of time, "a *developmental stage* in the life of the individual, and a *period* in history." The "crisis of youth" then, is the "crisis of a

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[11] Chapter Heading, Erikson, 1968, p 295.

generation and of the ideological soundness of its society". This identity crisis, he argues, is least evident in that segment of youth who are able to invest themselves in the ideological trends and changes taking place in that society. In recognising this, one also has to acknowledge the adverse repercussions of "systematic exclusion" from such ideological trends and changes. He goes on to state that in youth, ego strength emerges from the confirmation of the individual by society's recognition of the youth as the continuation of that society. In that confirmation, the youth is able to recognise society as a living process to which s/he is able to commit and give support.

Erikson (Ibid., p 298-9) states that each positive identity which the youth develops is defined by a negative identity. This negative identity often leads to the degradation of others and the creation of a "*pseudospecies*". The idea of "*Pseudospecies*" is a consciousness which develops as a result of a person's ingrained belief that his/her group is naturally superior to other groups. He outlines how rapid technological advances combined with moral righteousness and "*territoriality of identity*" may lead to intolerance of the out-group and even violent oppression of, for example, African Americans in the USA, Jews in Nazi Germany and of course, Black people in South Africa. As one group attempts to consolidate its position, they project negative identities onto the outgroup (p 304). The outgroup's identity then comes under attack. He goes on to detail Du Bois's (1940) statements about the "inaudibility" of the African American. He links this with Baldwin and Ellison's (1947) work on the "invisibility, namelessness, facelessness" of African Americans. In effect, they are all talking about the loss of a coherent African American identity in the face of systematic oppression and negation of positive identities for African Americans. Erikson (1968) argues that these works are not merely a preoccupation with the African American's social role but rather a powerful demand to be heard. These writers were beginning the battle to "recover" a "surrendered identity". This is important for two reasons. Firstly, it emphasises that a person's identity is not destroyed by oppression but rather becomes latent; and secondly, it shows that that which is latent can become a living actuality and a bridge from the past to the future. Thus, a preoccupation with 'recovering' identity is not only a symptom of alienation but also a corrective trend in historical evolution (Erikson, 1968, p 297). Erikson is not clear on how this process of recovery occurs. He does suggest that a "certain identity-consciousness" may provide people with a critique of

the current social conditions. This would provide "the insight and conceptions necessary to heal themselves" and to emerge from "*pseudospecies*" (p 298).

The South African social order has experienced what Erikson (1968, p 296) terms a "*revolution of awareness*" which was precipitated by a national and racial crisis. Erikson (1968) warns that under such circumstances what was previously unconscious hate and fear, will be replaced by a "conscious remorse and mistrust". This remorse and mistrust may lead to the reinforcement of group stereotypes and the outgroup's negative identity (p 300). This is analogous to the concepts of symbolic racism theory (Jacobson, 1985; Murrell et al, 1994) outlined in chapter II. White South Africans are thus facing an "inner realignment by intense contact with historical actuality" and an awareness of "man's specieshood" (p 298). All South Africans are fighting to recover their identities - White South Africans to regain a moral rightness and Black South Africans to recover their identities which were marginalised and rendered negative by the Apartheid system. However, a strong counter to this was provided by the Black Consciousness and Africanist movements dating back to the 1970s. The case in the present would seem to be that Black or African identities can now be powerfully and positively asserted.

The youth of South Africa are facing a redefinition of their previous group identities. As mentioned above, a sense of loss of identity can result in the formation of intolerant groupings. Thus, as the past social hierarchy shifts, the emergent democracy has the responsibility of providing a democratic ideology which promotes tolerance for diverse identities. Erikson thus provides a helpful way in which to view the impact of social changes together with an understanding of the anxiety of various groups about these changes. Specifically, Marcia's concept of moratorium is useful in describing the process through which South African youth may go in order to establish, recover or redefine their identities.

3. Intergroup perspectives

In examining intrapsychic processes, a particular context for understanding perceptions of the impact of social change has been established. However, as mentioned previously, the contexts are personal, social and political. This section deals specifically with an intergroup perspective which is intended to compliment the framework discussed in the above section. The assumption underlying the discussion below is that identity is a set of meanings which are socially constructed and contextually influenced (Burke & Freese, 1989; Burke, 1991).

The intergroup perspective on identity, which is developmental in nature but prefers to focus on the group dimension of identity as opposed to the intrapsychic, contributes to the complexity of identity and addresses different but complementary aspects of identity. Various authors have conceptualised identity as being the composite of those dimensions by which the individual and others contribute to the formation of identity (Breakwell, 1983; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Du Preez, 1991). Turner & Brown (1978) make the distinction between the relatively stable, organised self-concept as a cognitive structure and self-image as a relatively transient interaction with the social environment. Deaux (1993, p 6) considers identity in terms of reasonably "stable categories of membership to which a person claims to belong, together with sets of meanings and experiences linked to the identities." Identity can thus be represented as a hierarchical structure in which sets of identities are related to categories of features or attributes.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a prominent model of intergroup relations which provides useful insights into identity. The central tenet of social identity theory is that group membership is largely a psychological state which is distinct from that of being an "individual". It "confers *social identity*, or a **shared/collective representation of who one is and how one should behave**" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p 3). Tajfel (1981, p 309) defines social identity as the "individual's knowledge that (s)he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional significance to (them) of the group membership". The group referred to may be two or more individuals who share this social identification of themselves or perceive themselves to be members of the same social category. The dynamic nature of this conceptualisation is embodied in its insistence on treating the group (and its membership) as an integral part of social processes which are not operating in isolation from other complex social processes.

Tajfel (1981) echoes Erikson's proposal that one of the individual's main tasks is to create or define a niche in currently existing social networks. This social identification is phenomenologically real and has important self-evaluative consequences. For example, a youth may value the identity of 'graduate' as s/he believes that this will confer on him/her a particular social status and that a degree will increase job opportunities and facilitate a career. This social identification will vary in salience, over time and as function of a variety of social situations, and may vary from time to time within the same context. For example, this study is focusing on three specific identities which are hypothesised to operate in the context of Affirmative Action policies which are a consequence of recent socio-political change. They are 'graduate', 'job seeker' and 'historically-defined population group member'. The research examines the interplay of these identities in light of socio-political change. These identities may have no importance in other areas of the sample's lives, e.g., intimate relationships, the sports arena or in the family.

While the factors which may lead to group identity salience are not fully understood (Breakwell, 1983), some authors have proposed various possibilities. Foster (1983) proposes that the permeability of boundaries is a crucial condition. "In rigidly stratified social structures, mobility is restricted and identity through group membership rather than individual actions becomes highly salient" (Foster, 1983, p 47). These are similar to the Cairns' (1982) prerequisites for group identity salience which are social divisions along two clearly defined and exclusive categories; and low social mobility between these groups. Given the existence of the conditions mentioned above, Tajfel (1981) agreed behaviour is more likely to be determined in terms of one's group identities as opposed to one's personal identities. In South Africa, we are just beginning to move out of the environment which Foster and Cairns describe above and into one with more fluid boundaries and increased social mobility.

Social identity theory contributes to an understanding of how membership of a certain groups can influence developmental processes in a specific social context. Theories of social comparison take this further by emphasising the importance of group comparisons in social identity formation.

a. Categorisation-Identity-Comparison (CIC) Theory

Tajfel's CIC theory (in Walker & Pettigrew, 1984; & in Turner et al, 1987) has 3 main elements:

The first dimension of CIC involves categorisation or differentiation "of the environment into discrete categories". Brown (1988) refers to differentiation as a cognitive function of simplifying and understanding the world; one is able to categorise oneself through this process. Tajfel (1981) and Brown (1988) refer to this categorisation as stereotyping.

Social categorisations are discontinuous divisions of the social world into distinct classes or categories. When a person is "affiliated with any social category", the person has "a social identification" (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984, p 301). Social identification can refer to the process of locating oneself, or another person, within a system of social categorisations or to any social categorisation used by a person to define themselves and others. It denotes elements of cognitive structure in self-perception and person-perception (Turner et al, 1987, p 17). For example, especially pertinent for understanding the South African situation, is Aboud's (1988) observation that heterogeneity or 'ethnic mix' is psychologically represented as social categorisation. People will be inclined to resort to ethnic terms to identify themselves if and when the association leads to self-enhancement. If group identification does not lead to self-enhancement because of the low status of the group, other strategies emerge. These strategies may include dis-identification with the group, utilising individualistic strategies, selective comparisons or mobilising for social change.

Group identification can be defined as the "collective awareness" of the group as a distinct social entity (Lau, 1989, p 220). Lau's (1989) definition of group has two elements :

1. A group can be defined as a "collection of individuals who have relations to one another that make them interdependent to some significant degree" (e.g., a sports team). The more often and markedly a person is treated as part of a group, the more strongly they will identify with that group (Lau, 1989).

2. A group can be broadly defined as a perceived social category whose members need not have meaningful interaction for some common purpose (Ibid.) (e.g., a socio-economic class). [Jenkins (1994) sees 'category' as theoretically separate from group because category is externally defined and maintained whereas group is internally defined and maintained.]

The second component of CIC theory is identity. Walker & Pettigrew (1984) state that "functions of a person's set of social identifications comprises a person's social identity".

The third component of CIC theory is its focus on comparisons. In order to define their identity, "people...compare their own membership group to some other reference group(s) along evaluative dimensions..." Thus, comparisons, mediated by perceptions of legitimacy and stability, "lead to the definition and change of social identities" (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984, p 302). Comparison can also be described as the process whereby an individual internalises some form of social categorisation so that it becomes a component of the identity (whether lasting or ephemeral) (Turner et al, 1987). More importantly, however, social comparisons form a link with social categorisation and form a coherent explanation for social/group behaviour. The importance of intergroup comparisons in shaping people's behaviour is best explained by a striving for a positive social identity and an attempt to lessen a potential experience of deprivation relative to other groups. Traditional studies (Tajfel, 1981) show the need of the individual to achieve and maintain a positive social identity. The social group provides this function by allowing members to distinguish themselves along salient value dimensions.

In CIC theory, a person evaluates their identity by comparing their group with other groups. If the evaluation is negative, the person may experience their own group as deprived relative to the other. Relative deprivation theories formalise the relationship between "social comparisons...and a variety of behavioural outcomes" (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984, p 302). The comparative processes outlined here, form the underlying basis of perceptions of relative deprivation. In addition, however, certain motivational and cognitive conditions are necessary.

Branscombe, Wann, Noel & Coleman's (1993) study on in- and out-group extremity focused on the importance of "threatened identity" in this process. They proposed that among people who identified strongly with their group, in-group extremity was predicted (p 382). This means that should a person identify strongly with a particular group and that group comes under threat, then the in-group extremity will be stronger. While in-group extremity is one reaction, another is that of "cutting off reflected failure" (p 382), i.e., distancing oneself from the group. Branscombe et al (1993) review current evidence which shows that the stronger the identification with the group, the more likely it will be that the reaction to threat will be in-group extremity. However, if the identification is not strong, then the reaction to threat may be that of distancing from the group.

An increase in the salience of a social category should also polarise intergroup behaviour (Ng, 1982 in Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985, p 418). "Any social group, having a status differential to some other group with which it compares itself, may develop expectations about its treatment by external agencies. When the comparison group also has expectations regarding its treatment by the same external agency then the intergroup comparisons may be related both to the group's perception of its relative status and to its relative treatment" (Commins & Lockwood, 1979, p 281).

While Social Identity and CIC theories offer valuable insights, consideration of a more strategic approach to adjustments to social change and to the repositioning of social groups will be helpful. Social identity theory postulates that the desire to achieve a positive social identity is important in social categorisation. While this is important in assessing categorisation, one has to ask does achievement of a positive identity (or self-enhancement) explain all the contexts which lead one to identify ? And secondly, what, practically speaking, is a "positive" identity (or self-enhancement) ? A strategic approach to identity, being developed by Du Preez (1991), attempts to address these questions. Furthermore, many of the above mentioned theories of identity do not explain intentions and plans adequately. A strategic theory of identity "explains why people elaborate their positions in relation to others in stories, histories, theories and ideologies" (Du Preez, 1991, p 94). An important feature of a strategic approach to identity, is that it is an attempt to spell out clearly how hypotheses relate to the original postulate. Du Preez's (1991)

argument politicises the concept of identity, especially when formulating an understanding of failed domination and successful liberation. An overview of some of the main tenets of his position follows.

b. A strategic approach to identity

A strategic approach to identity assumes that identification is purposeful. An "act of identification is an act of categorisation and attribution which is negotiated or contested in a specific self/other relationship...(People) attempt to recognise themselves and each other in a grid of similarities and differences to which they can sometimes attach names" (Du Preez, 1991, p 77). He goes on to (1991, p 79) suggest that the "other" referred to above, could be "an ideology, a social category, or an individual". Thus, acts of identification may recognise collectives or individuals. This review of the strategic approach to identity will focus on the collective nature of identity.

Following Tajfel, Du Preez notes that a person identifies with a group to achieve some end (Du Preez, 1991). For example, a person may identify with a group in order to "understand the world, to consolidate a (social) position... or to achieve a positive social identity" (Du Preez, 1991, p 74). Du Preez (1991) elaborates on the concept of a "project" which he uses to explain identification. He argues that when one's "construal of a situation is enduring and significant, we may refer to it as a project, where a project is an attempt to bring about a state of affairs" (p 77). Projects contain all a person's myths, histories, ideologies, plans, theories and fantasies. He contrasts projects with intentions, the latter being less organised and less persistent projects. He submits that when a person's projects are clarified, one can understand the direction of their life. Similarly, once a collective's projects are known, one can understand the sort of world it is trying to facilitate.

Du Preez (1991) then presents a structure for understanding strategic identity. He submits that identity is structured as a set of narratives which may take the form of "myths, histories, ideologies, theories and hypernarrative (narratives about narration)" (p 79). He argues that "(p)eople construct their identities through their engagement in discourse and practice" (p 79). This process of engagement may be understood in terms of interests (structural) and

intentions or projects (motivational). To the extent that a person engages in conflicting discourses and practices, he argues, "they construct dissociated or conflicting identities" (p 80). The conflict which may result when two or more discourses are brought together can give rise to confusion or surprise. A full analysis of the relations between identities requires one to analyse the orchestration of discourse/practice.

He goes on to postulate that tension will be experienced as a result of the anticipation of, or the incoherence or failure of, identity. "Incoherence or failure of identity takes the form of "bad fit; of inability to maintain an identity; of contradictory positions; of loss of respect" (Du Preez, 1991, pp 79-80). A person will then reconstrue their identity in an attempt to avoid this sense of loss of identity. "To the extent that people share a collective identity, they experience the same tensions in intergroup relations. (And people) who adopt the same resolutions of tensions in collective identity, will become increasingly similar" (Ibid., p 80).

Du Preez (1991) uses this formulation to explain collective projects of failed domination and successful liberation. He suggests that White people in South Africa have built a collective identity on their ability to dominate others, and Black South Africans have had an identity imposed on them. Du Preez (1991) elaborates on this point by explaining :

> "If they are dominant, they see themselves as identifying and naming the objects of their world, even inserting these categories and their obligations into legislation. If they are dominated, they find themselves being named and described. Political action (and ideology) is an attempt to control the process, to transform ourselves and our allies from objects to subjects" (Du Preez, 1991, p 75).

Du Preez raises the question of how people, who have built their identity on this ability to dominate others, react when that identity is threatened with failure. There are, he argues, many possible resolutions to these tensions as well as constraints on the scope of these responses. He outlines a minimum of 4 constraints which he feels will necessarily influence the range of responses to tension. They are :

A) The original structure of collective identity

B) The nature of past and present conflict

C) Calculations of strategic advantages

D) And "ideological hitch-hiking" ("linking a nasty and nice project") (Ibid., p 82).

Responses to the failure of a project of domination can thus be thought of as strategies which form part of a teleological system. There are two types of possible responses to this failure, those which attempt to continue a project of domination and those which do not. Responses which attempt to continue this project would include the following strategies :

a) Substitution - where the previously dominant group attempts to govern interactions with the previously dominated group by fear;
b) Fanaticism - weaknesses in the previous strategies are eliminated and its perceived strengths exaggerated;
c) Antagonistic identification - the self is defined by polarisation and opposition to the enemy. If a person's collective identity is to be destroyed, the self is then defined as its opposite and a person may disavow their previous collective identity;
d) Conspiracy - locating and attacking the group perceived responsible for one's identity failure;
e) Splitting - division of the world into clear cut "friends and enemies" (Ibid., p 85);
f) Utopianism - striving for a society in which one's projects become those of society and
g) Purification - elimination of all who are not fit to live in utopia.

Strategies for the abandonment of domination would include :

a) calculation - rational assessment of the odds/risks involved in abandoning the project and choosing accordingly;
b) cynicism - abandonment of public life;
c) idealise the past - the failed project of domination gave life a meaning which no one else can understand;
d) repent - recognise the past evil and the need for restitution and
e) negotiate - work with those who were dominated (Du Preez, 1991).

These strategies can be used to understand South African youths' responses to socio-political change and Affirmative Action. Thus, the collective identities of "White" and "Black" South Africans have partly been built on the expectation of advantage on the part White South Africans, for example, reserved employment opportunities, which was secured by the

oppression of Black South Africans, who were systematically by being denied certain employment opportunities. These groups are now faced with a change in this set of social positions. Furthermore, a university degree can no longer secure the advantages (i.e., a job and better life chances) which it may have in the past). Graduates' anxiety regarding this may be exacerbated for White students and alleviated for Black students as a result of Affirmative Action employment policies.

In the face of these changes, students who experience tension will reconstrue their identity in an attempt to alleviate the perceived threats. White students, for example, may attempt to reconstrue that identity and adopt a strategy which they believe will enable them to fulfil positive social roles and commit to an ideological position (Erikson, 1965; Marcia, 1980). These strategies may include an identification with a more 'productive' identity, that is, they may choose not to identify with the collective "White" identity but choose to identify with the broader "South African" identity, or with an "English"/"Afrikaans" identity. This alternative identification may even go as far as antagonistic identification in which case the student will actively denigrate the collective "White" identity. They may also choose to divide the world into friends and enemies, thereby providing a simplified understanding of what is happening to them and their social context. This may be manifest in the polarising of intergroup attitudes, i.e., racism. Alternatively, students may rationally calculate their odds and realise that a graduate, regardless of collective population group identity, has a better chance of getting a job than anyone else and proceed to seek out employment. Or, rational calculation may lead them to believe that there are few or no jobs for White graduates in South Africa and they may choose to emigrate in the belief that their career goals will be achieved elsewhere.

Black students, on the other hand, are experiencing an increase in their employment and life opportunities. It must be noted, however, that the Black identity does not form a homogenous group. In terms of this study, Black includes Coloured and African students.

For African students, their collective "African" identity may be maintained in light of perceptions that this identity may yield many opportunities for them in the form of Affirmative Action employment policies. One would thus anticipate high expectations from

African students and experimentation with the avenues of identity and opportunity open to them.

Coloured students, however, are facing a *multiplicity* of identity. For example, Coloured students were part of the dominated Black group, but they were given more rights and privileges than Black Africans. This, it can be argued, resulted in a fear of political change as it meant the loss of relative privilege and a move to the bottom of the social hierarchy (Caliguire, 1996). The argument, then, is that the degree to which Coloured students identified with the previous social hierarchy will be likely to influence their response to the shifts in that hierarchy.

This strategic approach to identity leads one to conclude that identity is developed by a series of commitments to or investments in our relations with others (others being ideologies, social categories, or individuals). This parallels Erikson (1965) and Tajfel's (1981) proposition that a vital function of identity is commitment to acceptable social roles and to an ideology. In conclusion then, when analysing individual differences, the ways in which each person tries out various positions and experiments with forms of identity, should be examined. When analysing social or collective differences, the common or shared positions and experiments of members of a social set should be examined.

The problem with this strategic approach to identity is that it is a relatively new position which does not have the benefit of extended critique or empirical validation. Thus, the concepts involved, being newly formulated, are not thoroughly explicated. Furthermore, the theory was developed to explain macro level phenomenon, i.e., political behaviour. There is little explication of the interactions at an interpersonal level. Lastly, the approach focused on the "failure of domination" with little reference to the reactions of groups facing improvement in their situation.

In conclusion, Du Preez's (1991) strategic approach to identity offers a valuable way in which to view responses to the potential failure or loss of group identity project. While Du Preez's work addresses the possible responses to threat in terms of possible actions, his work does not consider how individual group members cope with threats to group identity.

This requires a return to the dispositional level of analysis. The position of social groups may shift, but it is individuals who deal with these shifts. These individual dispositional elements are likely to influence the individual's response to the threats of this kind.

c. Coping with threatened identities

When there is socio-structural change, group and individual identities will be affected. The experience of the threat may be controlled/alleviated before the stress response becomes too great. Thus, responses to threats to identity involve coping strategies (Breakwell, 1983, 1986; Berzonsky, 1992; Thoits, 1991; Burke, 1991). However, another body of theory suggest that coping strategies are influenced by underlying coping styles or traits. This refers to the things that people do to prevent, avoid or control emotional stress produced by life-strains (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978).

Pearlin & Schooler's work (1978) suggests that everyday life produces stress with which the individual is required to cope. They were particularly concerned about stress which was "determined by threatening circumstances in the environment...(and which had) clear boundaries" (Ibid., p 4). Pearlin & Schooler (1978) suggest that strain may be experienced as a result of fulfilling social roles. One can thus anticipate that strain may be experienced as a result of the non-fulfilment of those same roles. Thus, students who are faced with high unemployment levels and Affirmative Action employment policies and the possibility of not getting a job, will experience strain. Pearlin & Schooler's (1978) study focused on the general psychological resources which represent "the things people are" as opposed to specific coping responses which represent "the things people do" (Ibid., p 5). They define psychological resources as

> "...the personality characteristics that people draw upon to help them withstand threats posed by events and objects in their environment. These resources, residing within the self, can be formidable barriers to the stressful consequences of social strain" (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978, p 5).

While acknowledging that both coping resources and responses are equally important, they found that in terms occupational stress, psychological resources had a slightly stronger buffer effect than did coping responses. Specifically, they conclude, "the evidence

indicates that it is psychological characteristics that are more helpful in sustaining people facing strains arising out of conditions over which they may have little direct control" (Ibid., p 13).

They refer to three of many types of psychological resources - self-esteem, self-denigration and mastery. For the purposes of the current study, only mastery is deemed relevant. Mastery as a psychological resource is concerned with the extent to which the individual regards their life chances as being under their control, in contrast to being fatalistically determined. In terms of the current study, it is argued that, should a person's psychological resources include the belief that they have some control over their own lives, the threat arising from a perceived decrease in their life chances and job opportunities, will be reduced.

Breakwell (1986, p 191), on the other hand, focuses on stress that arises from threats to identity. She submits that identity is "created within a particular social context within a specific historical period". Breakwell (1983) mentions various types of threats to identity and is concerned with both the internal and external processes which generate these threats. Any experience can potentially pose a threat to one's identity. She proposes that these threats operate on two levels -

- threats to the **content** of one's identity; and
- threats to the **evaluation/value** of an identity.

These operate on a further 3 levels :

⇒ attacking the individual;

⇒ attacking the individual's membership of a group; and

⇒ attacking the group.

Threats can originate from the individual themselves; from other people; and from the material/physical world (Breakwell, 1986). A fourth area from which threat emanates is the **socio-political context**. When macro-social change occurs, it is independent of the individual. The social matrix is thus moving around them "transforming the meaning of the position she or he occupies" (Ibid., p 40). For example, students had no control over the macro changes which elicited high unemployment and Affirmative Action employment policies. Their positions in the social hierarchy have been shifted as a result of this change.

Breakwell argues that one of the factors on which identity modification depends, is the "degree of personal relevance of the social change" (Ibid., p 41). Thus, conditions of employment and Affirmative Action employment policies can be seen as highly relevant to a student who is about to enter the job market. To some of these students, Affirmative Action will be seen as a threat.

With regard to this, one should note that a distinction is made between the experience of threat and the threatening position. Whether a threat, in the objective sense, is perceived to be a threat, in the subjective sense, will depend on the construal system of the individual (the state of their identity prior to the emergence of the threat). This study is dealing with a perception of threat regardless of its actual objective existence. That is, if Affirmative Action polices are perceived to negatively effect life chances and to reduce job opportunities, then the student is experiencing a threat to the establishment of an adult identity (Marcia, 1980; Erikson, 1965), regardless of whether this threat is objectively real or not. Following on from this point, is the distinction between "residing in a threatening position" and "the experience of threat." The threat to identity is invariably "transient" (Breakwell, 1986, p 77). As soon as a person experiences a threat to an identity, s/he will initiate coping strategies to alleviate the threat. The threat from Affirmative Action can be dealt with on a number of levels and in several different ways within each level.

Breakwell (1986) outlines three aspects of a person's coping strategies - inter-group, interpersonal and intrapsychic coping strategies. She argues that inter-group coping strategies operate at various levels. Her hypothesis regarding inter-group coping strategies are depicted in Figure 2 below.

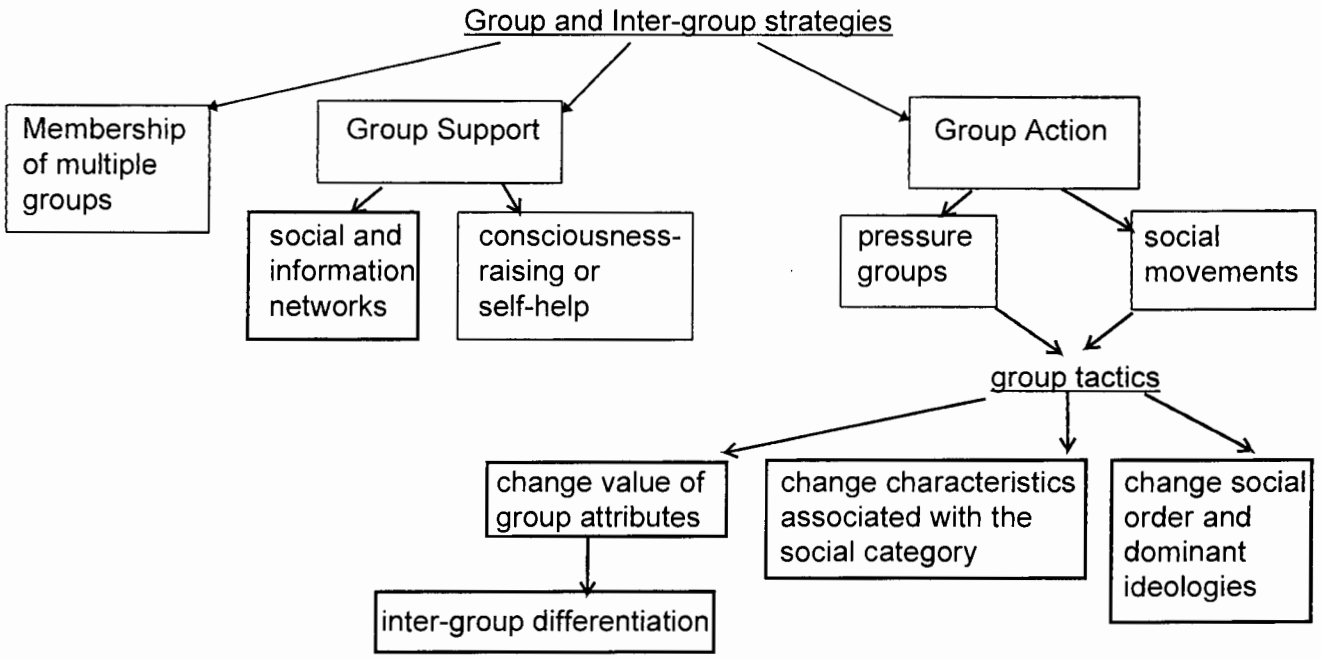

Figure 2. Coping Strategies at the group level (Breakwell, 1986, p 129).

Interpersonal strategies "rely on changing relationships with others" in order to cope (Breakwell, 1986, p 129). Breakwell suggests four main interpersonal strategies. They are depicted in Figure 3.

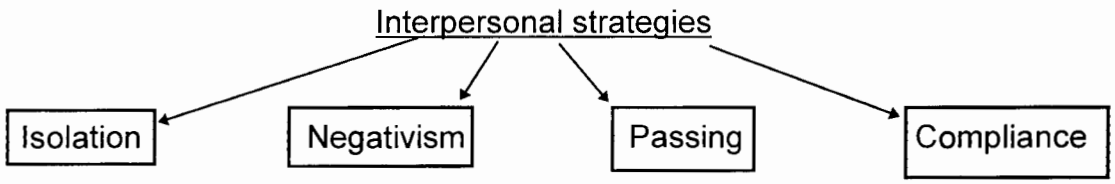

Figure 3. Coping strategies at the interpersonal level (Breakwell, 1986, p 109).

Intra-psychic coping strategies operate at "levels of cognitions and emotions rather than in terms of action, although they may have very serious implications for subsequent action. They rely upon the process of assimilation-accommodation and evaluation" (Breakwell, 1986, p 80). Figure 4 below depicts these strategies.

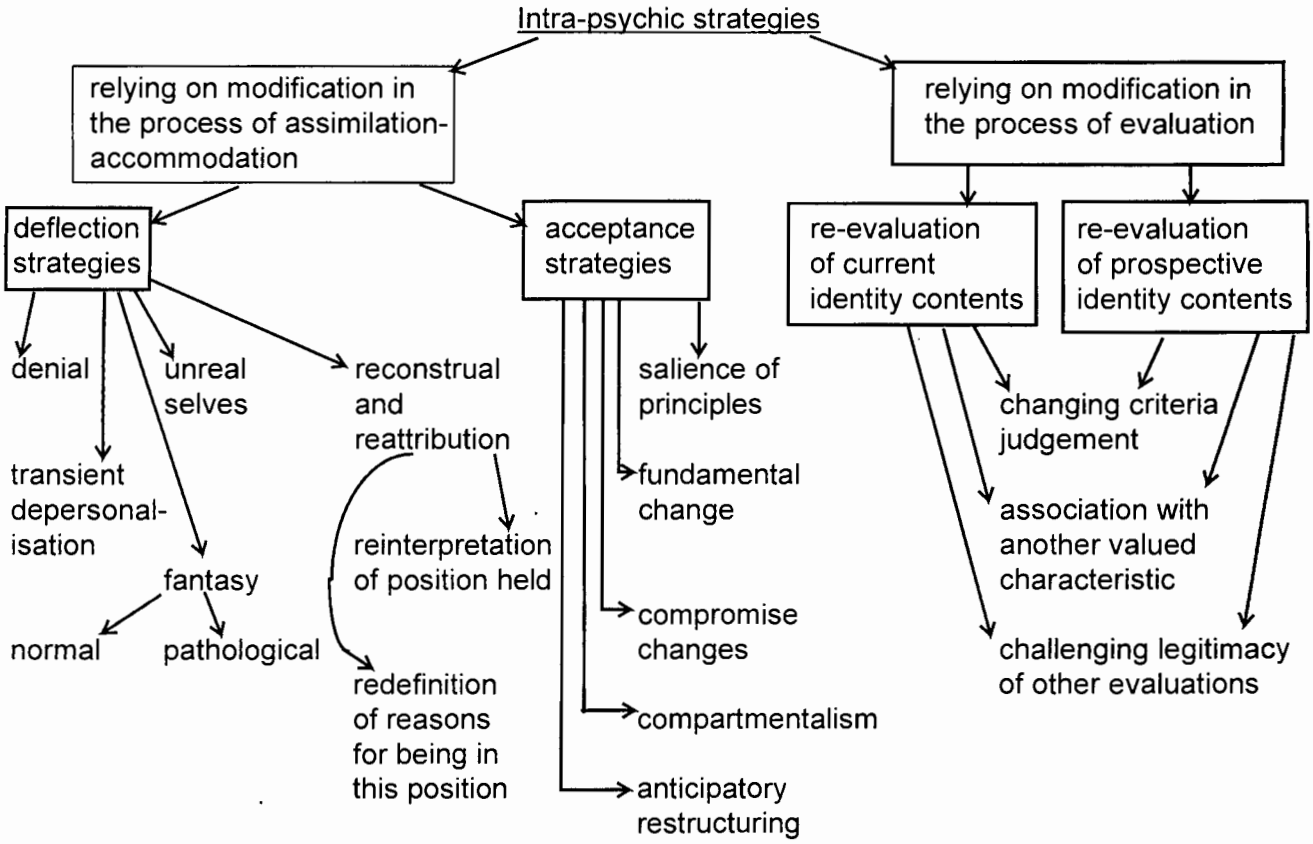

Figure 4. Intra-psychic coping strategies (Breakwell, 1986, p 80).

The choice of coping strategies is determined by the interaction between "the type of threat; the salient parameters of social context; prior identity structure and the cognitive capacities available to the individual" (Ibid., p 193). Breakwell (1986) argues the subjective interpretation of threat will determine the choice of coping strategy.

In conclusion, these approaches suggest that an individual's coping style and choice of coping strategies will influence their responses to changes in their social environment. The former approach adopts the view that psychological resources, specifically a belief in the ability to control one's environment, will buffer the stress response. The latter suggests that coping strategies are chosen in order to alleviate the stress experienced as a result of threats to an individual's group's position. They both provide valuable insights into the possible responses from students who are experiencing stress as a result of shifts in the social hierarchy.

4. Conclusion

"One of South Africa's most valuable assets is the vibrant civil society forged by its people in the struggle for freedom. It is on this continued vibrancy of this civil society that the future of our democracy depends" (Mandela, 1996, p 6). However, it is the establishment of this democracy that may be its undoing.

The transition to democracy has brought with it, amongst other things, uncertainty and fear. Transition has opened "a political space...for individuals and communities to re-negotiate and redefine their own place as well as their relations to one another" (Caliguire, 1996). It appears as if what is happening in South Africa is a re-definition or recovery (Erikson, 1965) of group identity. Caliguire (1996) outlines how Apartheid imposed racial categories to which people were assigned. These apartheid categories, which have become an integral part everyday life, are being challenged and dismantled. It is "clear that identities have never been as fluid in South Africa as they are today" (Alexander, 1996, p 107).

For some the search for this identity is essentially a personal one and for others it is a reclaiming and acknowledgement of the past. Regardless of the method or strategy, a search for identity runs the risk of carrying forward the "baggage" inherited from the past (Caliguire, 1996, p 12). For example, Caliguire (1996, p 11) quotes Le Mark, "because we are in transition and change, people are clinging to what they still know...Coloured people want to be Coloured - they want to know who they are." The need for people to have an identity "and to have a security of place that this in turn confers" is strong (Ibid., p11). This provides an alternative explanation of resistance to change to Du Preez's (1991) concept of maintaining the oppressive status quo. A person who clings to a failed identity is not necessarily trying to continue domination but may be trying to avoid having "no clear" identity (Caliguire, 1996, p 12).

The re-animation of ethnic consciousness after February 1990 and April 1994 does not come as a surprise given the economic stage on which transition is played out (Alexander,

1996, p 107). In part atleast, Apartheid was designed to deal with conflict over resources. The critical link which was established between race and resources remains today. The uncertain position which certain population groups have in relation to resources appears to be fuelling the tension, especially between Coloured/Indian and African groups (Carrim, 1996). The "scrambling for housing, land and benefits in the present context of delayed RDP implementation adds to an existing tension" between these groups (Caliguire, 1996, p 13). This conflict over resources extends to job opportunities; which are influenced by Affirmative Action employment policies. Population groups in South Africa are likely to evaluate what they have, or have access to, in relation to other groups (Appelgryn, 1991, 1993) and this includes comparing their job opportunities. These evaluations are likely to lead to groups perceiving themselves to be advantaged or deprived in relation to other groups. Theories of relative deprivation are thus useful to this thesis in that they facilitate a further understanding of group comparisons. They are reviewed in chapter IV in order to complement this framework for understanding orientations to socio-political change and perceptions of job and life chances.

IV. RELATIVE DEPRIVATION AND SOCIAL COMPARISON

Social comparisons, as described in chapter III, are a significant influence on identity processes. Relative deprivation theories provide a useful formulation of social comparisons in contexts of differential power, and they offer a critical assessment of the outcomes of these comparisons. Relative deprivation theory thus completes the framework from which we can view responses to socio-political change and perceptions of job and life chances.

The concept of relative deprivation (RD) was first proposed by Stouffer, Suchman, De Vinney, Starr & Williams (1949) in their work on the American soldier. It was however, Davis (1959) who offered the first formal interpretation of relative deprivation. Since then, a lot of work has been done and the theory has become a sophisticated tool of analysis for intergroup relations and social behaviour theories.

Relative deprivation theory (RD) formalises the negative outcomes of social comparisons and is directly linked to social identity theories. Group members evaluate their social position by comparing themselves with other groups. If a negative evaluation is made, the person may experience relative deprivation which acts as a powerful motivator for change. That change may be manifest as a change in group membership or the change of the status of the group.

People's behaviour and attitudes are partly formed by the groups with which they identify. They evaluate themselves and others in terms of these groups. Their position in the groups and those groups' status within a social hierarchy[12] are vital factors in the person's evaluation process. People's attitudes and behaviour cannot be predicted on the basis of formal group membership but in terms of "reference groups"[13] (Merton & Rossi, 1968). This has a common sense meaning - any groups (which may not necessarily be formally defined, e.g. a categories) which the person uses, consistently or otherwise, as a "frame of

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[12] A group's position in society rests largely with that society's political and economic structure.
[13] A person need not formally belong to a reference group.

reference" for their evaluations of themselves and others, formulating their attitudes, values, norms, self-image/esteem and/or their behaviour (Runciman, 1966, Schmitt, 1972). It is accepted that 'similarity' (related attributes hypothesis) forms part of the basis for a choice in reference groups, even if that similarity is experienced on only one of many dimensions (Festinger, 1954). The reference groups chosen will influence the person's experience of reality and justice[14] (Appelgryn, 1991, 1993).

Status systems may be seen as institutions which mediate in the perception of similarity - i.e. status systems may exacerbate the differences between groups. Dominant groups may use status systems to limit the subordinate groups' range of comparisons. Turner & Brown (1978) argue that this is a restricted view of status systems. Differences between groups can be seen as a result of stable and unstable comparisons (Tajfel, 1981). The comparisons are determined by the "perceived results...of a specific comparison between two groups". When these perceived differences are accepted as just, their is no alternative to the situation and thus decreased comparability. However, when there is a possible "cognitive alternative", intergroup comparisons are made and the differences are perceived as unjust (Appelgryn, 1991, p 240). Various factors can influence the level of comparability - the media (indirect contact), direct social contact, and social mobility. The first two increase the contact people have with cognitive alternatives whereas the third promotes a shifting in reference groups.

The nature of the group (its norms and values) with which a person identifies will influence attitudes and behaviours. Equity theory (Greenberg & Cohen, 1982) suggests that an individual experiences a situation as **just if the inputs** (attributes of the group members - academic qualifications, race, gender etc.) **of each person and group are proportionate to the outputs and rewards** (e.g. salary, political rights, status etc.) received by the person or group. This is also known as the *merit principle*. A level of comparison is that of input/output ratios between groups. Those who have similar attributes should be treated in a similar way. Moreover, people are socialised to believe that membership of specific

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[14] Theorist have battled with the problem of predicting which group will be chosen as a reference group and along which dimensions evaluation will take place. Since theory must predict, this is no small problem (see Walker & Pettigrew, 1984).

groups (White/Black; men/women) implies that members are entitled to certain rights over non-members (Crosby, 1976). Thus, "reference groups provide norms for deciding whether...a perceived deprivation is just or unjust" (Appelgryn, 1991, p 244).

When a person perceives something as unjust, they try to find a cause which will explain this injustice. They apply the information they have in order to structure their world in a less confusing and unjust way. Sometimes people do this without all the necessary facts. When there is little or no information available, the individual contrives information by making attributions based on inadequate data, or by adhering to stereotypes or "cultural truisms" (Appelgryn, 1991; Pettigrew, 1971; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972). Many studies have highlighted 'blaming the victim' tendencies as an attempt to avoid a situational attribution which would imply that the context/social situation is unjust. Whites, for example, may believe that their "Whiteness" should provide a better life for them and that Blacks deserve their fate because of their "Blackness".

Crosby (1982 in Walker & Pettigrew, 1984) itemises 5 preconditions for the experience of relative deprivation :

1. "The person sees others[15] possess a desirable X;
2. wants X;
3. feels entitled to X;
4. thinks it is feasible to attain X;
5. and does not blame him/herself for not having X" (p 304).

Three variables mediate in the effects of RD - "the person's direction of blame for not having X (external or internal), level of personal control, and actual opportunities for effecting change" (p 304). Furthermore, Gurr (1970) makes important observations regarding intergroup relations at specific times and historical periods. An understanding of RD in a particular context, requires an understanding of the patterns of RD over a period of time as well as the shifting values (reference points/groups) of these groups.

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[15] Individual or group

Current theories tend to make a distinction between and emphasise the important differences between relative deprivation on a personal level (egotistic) and a group level (fraternalistic) (Walker & Mann, 1987). This has a direct bearing on behaviours, as egotistical deprivation is not likely to lead to group behaviour. In this study, both dimensions are considered important.

Walker & Mann (1987) cite numerous studies which show that in terms of race relations, the experiences of fraternalistic relative deprivation were significantly related to/predictors of attitudes towards other groups. They conclude that the social form of relative deprivation should be used in analysis as it is a better predictor of social behaviours and attitudes than egotistical RD theories. The studies which have focused on fraternalistic RD, however, have not always been successful in conceptualising the personal vs group basis of RD theory.

Smith, Spears & Oyen (1994) use Social Identity Theory (SIT) as a framework to examine the personal and group basis of social perception and evaluation. In terms of fraternal RD, if a person's social identity is salient, people are likely to make group comparisons which may lead to relative deprivation. SIT and self-categorisation theory propose that when a person thinks of themselves as part of a group, they are more likely to pay attention to group outcomes and less attention to their own personal situation. Thus, salience of group identity is believed to mediate in the experience of relative deprivation.

1. A South African perspective

Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt's (1987) research findings suggest that Black South Africans experienced deprivation in relation to all other groups and that those with high educational qualifications experienced it more acutely. Furthermore, White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans did not experience deprivation in relation to other "non-White" groups and they suggest that opposition to social reform may be a result of the White Afrikaner protecting his/her social identity and high status. Appelgryn's findings of 1985, 1987, 1988 (cited in Appelgryn 1991) show that the more "pronounced the feeling among Afrikaans-speaking

Whites that, in the future, their personal economic situation would be poorer than that of Blacks, the stronger their resistance to desegregation" and reform (Appelgryn, 1991, p 265). Thus, experiences of relative deprivation seem to significantly influence attitudes towards racial reform policies. Other studies cited by Appelgryn (1991) (Van Dyk (1988) and Du Toit & Mynhardt (1989)) confirm these findings. More recent studies show that as political transformation progresses, the White South African tends to experience deprivation (Appelgryn, 1993).

A study, which is of interest to us in South Africa, was conducted by Harper (1992). Namibia gained independence in 1990 at which time discriminatory legislation was removed and a "Namibian" civil service was instituted. The national government became, "in effect, Black" (p 5). According to Harper, goodwill amongst Whites at the time was high. Two years later, she wanted to establish if there was a sense of RD amongst Whites. And whether this would correlate with their attitudes towards Blacks. Results indicated that Whites experienced a greater sense of RD when comparing their relative position with their **own** groups' perceived demise than they did when comparing their change in status with Blacks. Furthermore, only the aforementioned RD significantly influenced their attitudes towards Blacks. This suggests that the deprivation experience is not relative to an outside reference group but rather their own group. This congruent with Runciman's (1966) proposal that comparisons with ones own group in the past can produce feelings of RD which then removes the necessity for social comparisons. Thus, the strong emphasis normally placed on a comparison group other than own group did not necessarily apply in this instance. Appelgryn (1993, p 6) comments on Harper's findings and suggests that "where a formerly dominant becomes a minority", their own group (as opposed to other reference group) status in the past, present and future tends to play a more vital role both in the perception of RD and attitudes towards outgroups.

Political change combined with the increasing violence, escalating crime and poor economy precipitate high levels of uncertainty and fear for the future especially amongst Whites. This may cause people to create negative scenarios and rumours (Appelgryn, 1993). Attribution theory confirms this by describing how people explain information in order to control their environment (Pettigrew, 1979). Appelgryn's (1993) prediction of increased

White RD is further supported by Mynhardt & Du Toit's (1991, cited in Appelgryn, 1993) research which indicates that fearful rumours concerning deteriorating socio-economic and physical conditions constituted a major predicting variable among attitudes of Whites towards reform. Milner (1981) proposes that in a changing context, traditional manifestations of racism are replaced by this fear and uncertainty. Furthermore, there is a perceived racial threat emanating from an allegedly all powerful Black group. This is a manifestation of the theory of symbolic racism described by Jacobson (1985) (see chapter II).

The link between Affirmative Action in South Africa and RD theory can be formulated in the following way. (Adapted from all the above mentioned sources.)

- Following major political shifts in the country, groups may be threatened by or feel positive towards a change in their status.
- White South Africans may experience deprivation as a result of output reduction. Individuals' expectations with regard to previously established output values (i.e. a guarantee of jobs) may remain constant but they perceive that their position in society or their potential to attain these values are diminishing (i.e. as a result of political change and Affirmative Action). They feel deprived as a result of a loss of an output which they had previously enjoyed or thought that they could always attain.
- Black South Africans may continue to experience deprivation relative to other groups as a result of their real socio-economic and physical conditions.
- Black South Africans may also experience aspirational relative deprivation as a result of rising expectations (i.e. the promise of jobs, Affirmative Action) without a corresponding increase in their opportunities.

A further point to consider is - progressive relative deprivation experienced as a result of unfulfilled expectations following major social transformation which initiates rising expectations of continuing reforms. These reforms and transformation then begin to stabilise or diminish.

V. RATIONALE AND WORKING HYPOTHESES

The aim of this study is to investigate the way in which three samples of students from different historically determined backgrounds perceived the effects of recent socio-political change and Affirmative Action policies on their life and job chances.

The literature has shown that a person's socio-historical and political background will influence the way in which they perceive and relate to their environment (Burke, 1991; Burke & Freese, 1989; Breakwell, 1983, 1986; Kroger, 1989). In South Africa, this background comprised imposed class and race divisions, with race being a major determinant of economic and social status (Green & Lascaris, 1988; Louw & Foster, 1991).

Racial divisions have become an every-day reality to most South Africans. If one observes society's activities and institutions, one is struck by the contests around group identity that prevails. A vocal group of right-wing Afrikaners wanted protection of their cultural identity, largely through the demarcation of a tenth region for the Afrikaner homeland and special protection for their language (Marais, 1993). Certain members of the Inkatha Freedom party have been calling for a Zulu homeland or independent state and more recently, greater devolved regional powers (Campbell, Mare & Walker, 1993). Some Coloured groupings have formed the *Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging* (Coloured's Resistance Movement) in order to protect the rights and integrity of the Coloured people (Caliguire, 1996). A prominent sticking point in the negotiations for an Interim Constitution was the protection of minority groups' rights. The 1994 Transitional Government is made up of representative groups and any negotiations that take place are supposed to have representation from all stakeholders. Thus, it can be argued that, in South Africa, group identity has been and is an important dimension in this society.

The specific identities on which this thesis is focused are those of population group membership and graduate job seeker. These identities are arguably salient to final year students who will soon begin the job search and are faced with the threat of unemployment

and the threats or opportunities of Affirmative Action policies. Affirmative Action is a comprehensive policy which is designed to redress the inequalities which have existed in the educational and economic sectors. Some groups may perceive their job opportunities to be under threat from these policies. This threat, and the lack of clarity with regard to Affirmative Action policies and the "disastrous" ways in which certain companies have implemented these policies (Alexander, 1996, p 107), may lead to resistance to Affirmative Action policies. Secondly, the policies may be seen as procedurally and substantively unjust.

According to relative deprivation theories, the White sample whose socio-political status is changing negatively (i.e. losing privilege) and who are negatively affected by Affirmative Action, will be likely to perceive themselves as deprived when compared to the African Sample in terms of their life chances and job opportunities. For White youth, their opportunities are under threat from the results of rapid socio-political change. Practically, this means that White graduates, who were previously virtually guaranteed a job, are now facing competition from Black graduates, who are benefiting from these policies. No matter how clever, academically or technically qualified they are, nor how much effort they put in, White graduates are not guaranteed a job. In fact, that job may be given to some-one less qualified and, in their perception, less deserving of that job. In effect, their "White" identity now disqualifies them from the preferential treatment to which their group was accustomed.

A central hypothesis of this study is that the value of the identity "White person" no longer brings the expected rewards for graduates. By virtue of their socio-historical categorisation (i.e. White) and/or their identification with a "White" identity, this group are likely to have negative attitudes towards Affirmative Action because this policy is perceived as depriving them of their expected job opportunities. Furthermore, the socio-political changes in the country, if perceived negatively, will also effect their perceptions of job opportunities and more importantly, their life chances.

African people may experience socio-political changes as an opportunity because the recent socio-political changes in South Africa will probably result in better life chances for them. It is expected that African students will be positively oriented towards current socio-

political changes as their status has been (politically) improved. African graduates are expected to benefit from Affirmative Action policies. Thus, one would anticipate that, as beneficiaries, African students would approve of Affirmative Action policies. Their perception of their job opportunities should have increased relative to their own groups' past opportunities. However, considering the state of unemployment in South Africa, this anticipated increase may be tempered. A similar pattern is expected for their perception of their life chances.

The Coloured Sample, who, as discussed in chapter II, are caught between being "non-White" and "non-African", are likely to swing between the two depending with whom they most strongly identify (i.e., beneficiaries of change or not). Recent literature suggests that Coloured people do not perceive themselves to be beneficiaries of change. (James, Caliguire & Cullinan, 1996). The scenario for Coloured students' then, is expected to be fairly similar to that of White students. Giliomee (1996) argues that a number of Coloured people sided with the former oppressor (i.e., the National Party) in the 1994 elections because of "racial census" which means that the choice of political party "correlated with the position in the racial or ethnic hierarchy of particular group." (p 97) The Apartheid system, which fuelled racist tension between communities by linking access to resources with race (Caliguire, 1996), favoured Coloured people relative to African people. That is, Coloured people occupied an "intermediate position" between White and African people. There is a "fear within Coloured communities that the new democratic order will see a reversal of fortunes between the Coloured and African communities" (Caliguire, 1996, p 12). Given this, it can be argued that Coloured students will perceive themselves as losing relative privilege. One would expect then, that Coloured students and/or those that identify with a "Coloured" identity will have negative attitudes towards Affirmative Action because this policy is perceived as depriving them of their expected relative privilege with regards job opportunities. Moreover, perception of socio-political changes in the country will also influence their perceptions of job opportunities and their life chances.

The literature on relative deprivation suggests that of the three groups studied, Whites will experience the most reduction in their perceived job and life chances when their current situation is compared to that of the past. Coloured students will experience relatively less

of a reduction, and African students will perceive a gain in their opportunities relative to the past. We are however, cautioned to remember the real physical and economic conditions of Blacks' everyday lives which are not necessarily keeping up with the pace of the ideological and political changes which, may result in their still perceiving themselves as worse off than Whites. This may also lead to perceptions of deprivation as a result of unfulfilled aspirations.

Furthermore, links between historical political background (i.e. race) and perceptions of political transformation will influence perceptions of job opportunity and "general life chances". This may be true only to the extent that the respondent identifies with their previous status (i.e., White, African or Coloured) or perceived the status hierarchy as legitimate. An important assumption which should be challenged at this point, is clarified by Finchilescu (1991, p 221). In her study she found that contrary to expectation, intergroup attributions depended on whether the social status hierarchy was perceived as legitimate or not. The implications of this finding for the experience of relative deprivation (RD) needs to be considered. If, according to Finchilescu (1991), the perception of the legitimacy of the status hierarchy determines one's perception of group attributions. Then one must question whether the current study is correct in using race as a basis for comparing orientations to Affirmative Action and life/job chances. Furthermore, one should also consider Harper's (1992) findings that comparisons with one's own group was a stronger predictor of relative deprivation than comparisons with other groups. The question thus arises, are intergroup comparisons of any use at all. These two questions will be tested and they should be borne in mind when reading the following sections.

A final investigation will assess and describe the role of coping (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) in the orientation of students. It is expected that students who have a greater sense of their abilities to control life circumstances will be less threatened by change. An exploratory regression analysis will be performed in order to describe the relationship between certain variables and to see which variables account for the most variance in the individual's perception of their life and job chances.

The Research Questions

The central research questions are as follows :

1. What are the effects of population group or self-reported identity group on perceived :
   * changes in job opportunities of graduates ?
   * changes in graduates' life chances ?
   * socio-political changes ?
   * the effects of Affirmative Action on job opportunities ?

2. Are university graduates perceived to have better life chances than non-graduates, and does this vary across population group ?

3. What are students' attitudes towards other population groups ? Do these attitudes correlate in any way with orientations to socio-political change and perceptions of Affirmative Action ?

4. To what extent do the following variables influence **PERCEPTIONS OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES** ?
   a) Perceived change in one's own (graduate's) life chances
   b) Perceived change in one's own group's job chances
   c) Perceived deprivation relative to other groups in terms of
      A. Job opportunities and
      B. Life chances
   d) Orientation to recent socio-political changes
   e) Perceived effects of Affirmative Action on one's job chances
   f) Approval of Affirmative Action policies
   g) Perceived life chances as a graduate
   h) Coping resources

Note : "Change" in the above questions refers to perceptions of change between the situation in South Africa 5 years ago and the present. On occasion potential future (i.e., in 5 years time) changes were also assessed.

VI. METHODOLOGY

1. Development of Measures

(See Appendix 1 for a copy of the Questionnaire)

Section 1 of the questionnaire ascertains demographic details : it establishes for which degree/diploma the respondent is reading, major subjects, other degrees/diplomas already obtained, intention of further post-graduate study, participation in career guidance, anticipated occupation, socio-economic status, home language, population group and gender. Due to having a smaller sample than anticipated, many of these factors could not be subjected to statistical analysis.

a. Identity Ranking

Section 2 of the questionnaire comprises a list of possible social identities. The respondent is asked to tick those with which they identify and then to rank them in terms of perceived importance. The identities selected were generated from historical political categories of race (which have been the traditional basis on which to discriminate against or advantage certain people of South Africa), ethnicity and language. From this, one is able to describe with which groups the respondents' identify. This researcher chose to focus on racial and ethnic identities which, it could be argued, are on the forefront of the Affirmative Action debate in South Africa. For this reason, the relatively less prominent identities of, for example, gender, religious group, sexual orientation or disabled person were not on the list. Furthermore, including all these identities would have rendered the study unmanageable.

The study sought to investigate the effects of population group (historical race classification) on a number of variables. In identifying which groups were most important to them, the subjects' illustrated their identification or socio-political reference groups. Most students identified 4 groups. Only the first two have been reported as identities ranked 3 and 4 tended to be numerous with small numbers identifying with each identity.

In addition, it was considered important to investigate the effects of the subject's chosen or self-reported identities on key variables, as emerging identities such as "South African" or language group identities such as "Xhosa" could produce different results. Therefore, identities ranked most important were selected to construct alternative groups which, in some instances, cut across Apartheid defined population groups. Possibilities for this type of comparison were limited however. The groups themselves consisted different population groups which elicited huge ranges and means/medians of zero. This was as a result of combining groups which tended to respond in opposite ways.

b. Job Chance

Section 3 of the questionnaire utilised a ladder ranking scale (adapted from Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale, 1965) to compare the relative privilege of various population groups over time and required the respondent to include themselves on the ladder. Respondents were asked to rank the chances that graduates of various population groups had for getting a job 5 years ago, in the present and in 5 years time.

This section aimed at establishing respondents' perceptions of their group and other groups' opportunities, on graduation, for getting a job. From this relative ranking exercise, the following measures were generated :

1. Perceived job opportunity. This score is the raw ranking score which each person marked for their own population group at the present time (NOW).
2. Perception of change in job opportunity status. This measure was helpful in describing the different perceptions of the relative positions of the population groups between the samples. A measure of how each of the 3 samples perceived the changes in job opportunities for all population groups from "5 years ago" (PAST) to the present (NOW) and from the present (NOW) to "5 years time" (FUTURE) was generated. This was done using the raw score from the ranking ladders for the following variables :
   Difference 1 : [NOW] - [PAST] for each group
   Difference 2 : [FUTURE] - [NOW] for each group.

3. Perception of relative deprivation. Two relative deprivation (RD) measures were created. They measured each samples' perception of deprivation relative to the two other population groups. The RD scores are calculated by subtracting the ranking of both the other population groups' perceived job opportunity from the perceived job opportunities for their own group. That is, Relative deprivation score = [ranking of own groups' job opportunities] - [ranking of other population group's job opportunities].

c. Graduates' Life Chance

In a similar way, **Section 4** of the questionnaire utilises a ranking system (adapted from Cantril, 1965) to indicate subjects' perceptions of the relative positions of their own and other population groups from past to the present and future. However, this measures asks the students to consider the broader perspective of "the very best life has to offer in social, political and economic terms" for each population group, with and without university degrees. They are required to place themselves, as individuals, on the ladder as well.

From this, measures of the following were generated :

1. Perceived life chance. This aimed to measure the respondent's perception of the life chances of each population group. This was done using the raw ranking score for the respondents' own population group at the present.
2. Perception of relative deprivation. Two relative deprivation (RD) measures were created. They measured each sample's perception of deprivation relative to the two other population groups in terms of graduates' life chances. The RD scores were calculated by subtracting the ranking of the other two population groups' life chances from the ranking of their own groups' life chances. That is, Relative deprivation score = [ranking of own group's life chances] - [ranking of other population group's life chances].
3. The influence of "graduate" status on perceptions of life chances. A measure of each sample's perceptions of members of the three population groups with degrees and without degrees was generated. The measure was generated using the raw ranking scores for each group (degree and non-degree) at present.

d. 30 Item Likert Scale

Section 5 of the questionnaire is a 30 item, seven point Likert Scale developed for the study. An initial version of this scale was piloted on a student population who were invited to make comments on the clarity of the instructions and items. On the basis of this pilot, the questionnaire was then changed. It incorporates 7 items[16] from a coping questionnaire developed by Pearlin & Schooler (1979). The items were generated to map onto the following 3 factors :

1. Orientation to recent socio-political change;
2. Perceived effects of Affirmative Action policies on job opportunities;
3. Coping (items drawn from Pearlin & Schooler's (1979) Mastery of the Environment subscale)

One item from this scale was treated separately, it was approval of Affirmative Action. Items other than those drawn from Pearlin & Schooler (1978) were based on concerns of South Africans which have been identified in recent empirical studies (e.g., Dawes & Finchilescu, 1993; Amos et al, 1995) and in theoretical contributions.

On completing a principal factors analysis routine (communalities = multiple R^2; varimax normalised rotation), the scree plot indicated that there were 3 factors. This assessment was supported by perusal of the eigenvalues. After completing an analysis stipulating 3 factors, item loadings were assessed. The criteria for inclusion were the following (Bryman & Cramer, 1990) :

- items must achieve at least a 0.3 loading
- items should only load onto one factor.

Twelve items (i.e. item 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 23, 25, 26 and 30) were dropped from the analysis following this procedure (See Appendix 3 for breakdown of items). Of these, item 15 and item 23 were treated as separate measures. They are described towards the end of this section.

On completion of the refined factor analysis routine (see Appendix 4) the following factors emerged.

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[16] Pearlin & Schooler (1978) do not report inter-item correlations.

Factor 1 - Orientation to socio-political changes.

Total percentage of explained variance - 14.7 %

Cronbach's alpha - 0.77

This factor consists of 8 items which relate to orientations towards the recent changes in the political dispensation of South Africa. Included in this factor are two items which make reference to Affirmative Action as an element of these changes. These items however, assess orientations to Affirmative Action as a mechanism for redressing past discrimination, and not assess approval or disapproval of Affirmative Action per se

Factor 2 - Coping.

Total percentage of explained variance - 11.4 %

Cronbach's alpha - 0.703

The 6 items on this factor were taken from Pearlin & Schooler's scale (1978) which focuses on the psychological resources available to a person in stressful situations. In particular, the items were chosen from the "mastery" scale which assess the extent to which a person regards their life chances as being under their own control as opposed to the mercy of fate.

Factor 3 - Perceived effects of Affirmative Action on job opportunities.

Total percentage of explained variance - 11.2%

Cronbach's alpha - 0.76

This 4 item scale focuses on the perceived effects of Affirmative Action on the respondents' job opportunities.

Despite the strict criteria used to define these factors, there are problems. Firstly, the factor structure only explains 37.3 % of the total variance. This means that almost two thirds of the variance is unexplained.

Secondly, items 24 and 28 only load at 0.3. Items 28 load onto factor 3 and also onto factor 1 at approximately 0.28 indicating that the loading is fairly weak. This is of particular importance when one considers that factor 3 only comprises 4 items. Item 24 (a coping

item) also loads at 0.3^{+} but does not load onto any other factors. It is important that these points be kept in mind when reading the interpretation of these factors.

Lastly, the reliability scores of the scales, 0.77, 0.7 and 0.76 respectively, are quite strong but do not quite reach the 0.8 rule of thumb suggested by Bryman & Cramer (1990) as an acceptable level.

Approval of Affirmative Action. Item 15 which was dropped from the factor analysis, is used as a scale on its own. The item is "I approve of Affirmative Action policies". It was used to establish the subjects orientation towards Affirmative Action.

e. Social Distance Scale

Section 6 of the questionnaire is Plug & Nieuwoudt's (1983) social distance scale which generates a measure of the respondents' attitudes towards their own and other socio-political groupings.

This was intended to establish whether or not group polarisation, in the form of polarised ethnic attitudes, was present. If polarisation was present, one could assess if and how it contributed to the perception of Affirmative Action and life/job chances. The Plug & Nieuwoudt (1983) scale was rejected by a significant number of the respondents in this study. This measure has not been used in the final analysis as 54 (33.3%) respondents refused to answer this section. In total, 30.2% of the White sample's protocols; 42.3% of the Coloured sample's protocols and 25.6% of the African sample's protocols were not scorable. Comments made by the subjects regarding this scale raised serious questions as to the validity of the measure. There appears to be great sensitivity in the student sample in response to questions probing racial orientation. This may be a reflection of changing attitudes or it may be an attempt to reflect socially desirable attitudes. Whatever the case, the use of these scales may become increasingly problematic.

In conclusion, the length and complexity of the questionnaire may have negatively impacted on the response rate. The respondents were asked to complete a number of complex and sensitive ranking exercises and to fill in two lengthy scales. This may have deterred students, firstly, because it was time consuming, and secondly, since it was close to study break and examinations, students may not have had the time to complete the questionnaire. Ideally, then, this study should have been done in the third term when students had more time. Lastly, the nature of some of the questions may have resulted in several students not responding or biasing their responding; i.e., some of the scales were perceived to be racist or perceived as trying to categorise people as racist.

2. Sampling Procedures

A stratified random sample was identified. The following criteria were set when selecting the population upon which the study would be based :

1. Students should be in their final year of under-graduate or any year of post-graduate study. Final year students were used as they were, at the time of the study, very near to entering the job market
2. Representatives from the largest classes in the following fields of study available at University of Cape Town. These fields were identified as they best represented the array of degrees from which the sample was drawn :
   a) Professional degree;
   b) Arts & Humanities,
   c) Commerce and
   d) Science.

This was done in order to get a fair representation of the opinions of students in different fields. The Arts and Humanities were, however, over represented as a field for four reasons. The numbers (except for commerce) are representative of the proportion of students reading in those fields. Furthermore, the response rate from the commerce students was particularly poor. Thirdly, the 3rd year science classes are very small relative to the other 3rd classes. And lastly, the post-graduate time table presented a problem.

The HDE students were particularly difficult to get access to as their classes were held in seminar format with numerous lecturers; the Law (N=6) and Accounting (N=0) students had a different time table to the 3rd year students and had finished lectures earlier than anticipated. Thus, those students doing "professional" degrees were under represented.

On a broader level, the sample in this study is limited to one university which has its own culture and context. It would have been informative if samples from other universities in the country were obtained. The findings of this study could then have been generalisable to all university students. However, this was not the case. One is thus cautioned to remember that the university from which the sample was drawn, may have biased the sample in ways not evident immediately. There is no way to assess whether this biases the sample in any way. Secondly, it is a so called "White" university which has a different historical context and culture to so called "Black" universities. Once again, there is no way to assess the influence of this on students' perceptions.

Lastly, UCT has a tradition of career guidance and job placement opportunities which may vary from other universities. Moreover, in the current sample, only 50 respondents (31%) had been exposed to career guidance compared to 104 (64%) who had no exposure. This was not controlled for in the planning of the study or the data analysis. However, there were no significant differences between those who had been exposed to career guidance and those who had not ($t=-0.49$; $df=146$; $p<0.62$).

3. Data Collection

a. Method 1

The largest classes were determined by tallying class totals from the registration lists. The class lists were chosen following discussions with people in the various faculties and assessing their perceptions of the size of various classes. From this information, class sizes of 30+ were identified.

The lecturers concerned were approached and permission was obtained to administer the questionnaire. It was agreed that the researcher have, at the most, five minutes of their class time in order to briefly explain to the class the purpose of the study and to distribute the questionnaire.

The students were introduced to the researcher, who then informed them of her research, briefly explaining that the aim of the study was to assess students orientations to recent changes in South Africa and their perceptions of their job opportunities in the new South Africa. Students were assured of the confidentiality of the research and, if they had any queries, were invited to contact the researcher in order to discuss them. Lastly, the researcher explained that she would return at the following lecture to collect completed questionnaires. At the following lecture, the researcher collected the completed questionnaires and informed the class that she would be at the next lecture in order to collect the outstanding questionnaires. She also thanked the students who had responded. In the final collection time, those with outstanding questionnaires were encouraged to return them to the psychology department. The questionnaires were collected over the last two weeks of the academic year, just before lectures ended. 394 questionnaires were distributed and 103 questionnaires returned from the classes (response rate = 26.1 %).

b. Method 2

Following difficulties obtaining a large sample, a research assistant was hired to go to three student residences in order to distribute and collect questionnaires. The research assistant was informed about the nature of the study, and issues were discussed until both were satisfied that the assistant was prepared to distribute the questionnaires. Over a period of a week and a half, just before the end of year exams, the questionnaires were distributed in three multi-racial residences (one was a single sex residence). Respondents selected from the residences were final year or post-graduate students. A total of 134 questionnaires were distributed and 73 questionnaires were collected from the residences (response rate=54.47%).

The total response rate of 33.33 % may have been affected by the different attitudes of the lecturers towards the researcher and the research which may have influenced students' perceptions of the importance of the research. Furthermore, the length of the questionnaire combined with the time period in which the data was collected, i.e., the last week of lectures before study week for the examinations, may have resulted in students not completing or returning the questionnaires.

4. Respondents

There were 162 respondents from 25 different major subjects (See Appendix 2 for a breakdown of major subjects). Table 1 below depicts the break down of the respondents into field and degree.

Table 1 *- Breakdown of the fields into which degrees were placed*

Field	Degree	n (degree)	n (field)
Arts & Humanities	B.Soc.Sci	66	86
	B.A	18	
	other	2	
Commerce	B.Com	11	19
	B.Bus. Sci	8	
Science	B.Sc	37	37
Professional	HDE	12	20
	Law	8	

Tables 2 - 4 show the demographic representation of the subjects.

Table 2. *- Race of respondents*

population group	n
African	79
White	57
Coloured	26

Table 3 *- Gender of respondents*

Gender	n
Female	83
Male	77
unknown	2

Table 4 *- Language of respondents*

Language	n
English	71
Xhosa	24
Sotho	23
Tswana	14
Zulu	6
Afrikaans	6

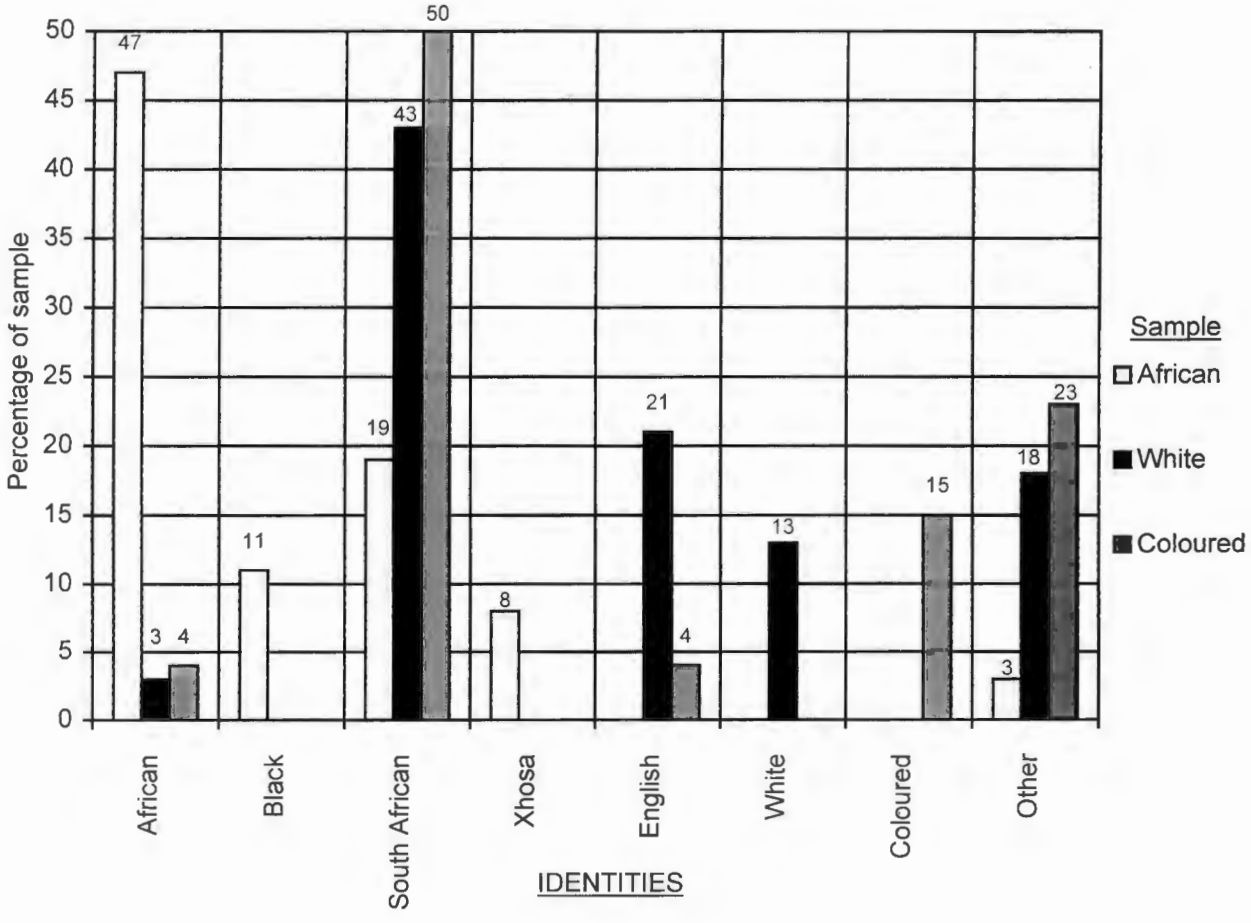
Language	n
Other African	8
Eng & Afrik	2
European	3
Chinese	1
unknown	4

VII. DATA ANALYSIS

1. Socio-Political Identity Ranking

In section 2 of the questionnaire, students were asked to tick and rank those identities they considered the most important. Secondary identities and those with which less than 5% of each of the sample identified have not been reported.

Figure 5. Students' Primary Group Identity



One can see that African Students (n=78) most frequently identified with "African" (47%), then "South African" (19%), and lastly "Black" (11%).

White students (n=56) tended to identify mostly with "South African" (43%), then "English" (21%), then "other" (17%) and lastly, "white" (12%). Other consisted of "female" and "Christian" (or variations on the religious theme).

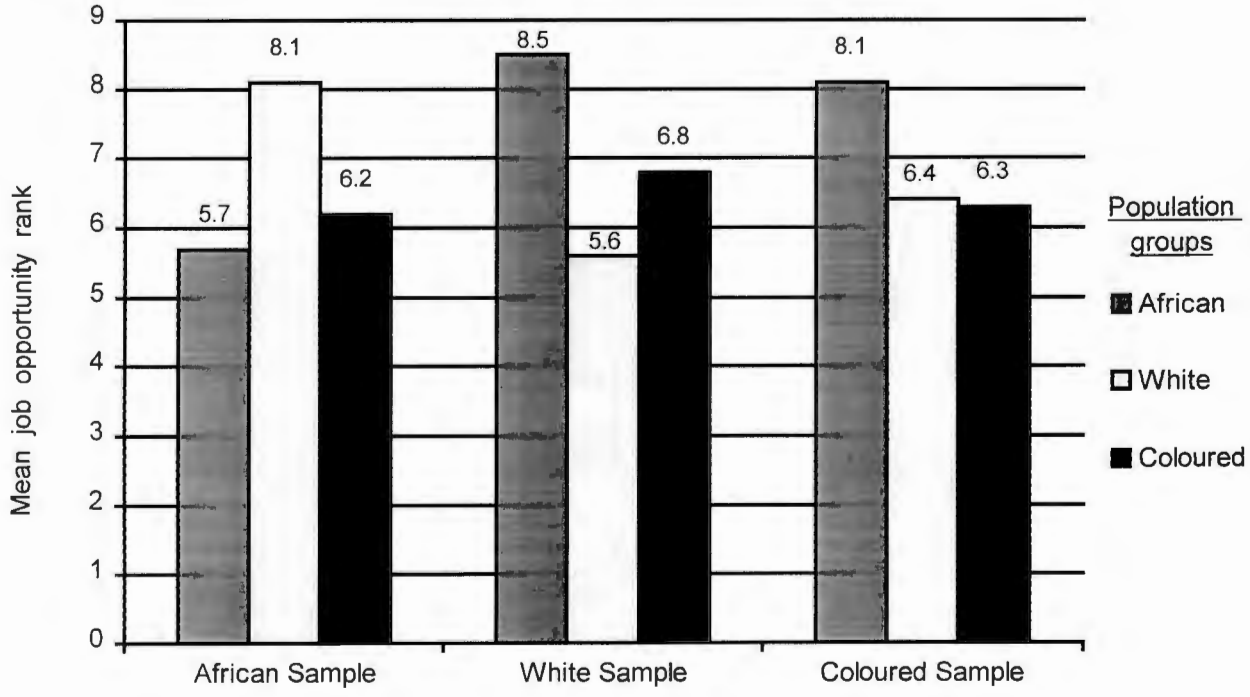
Coloured students (n=26) felt that "South African" (50%), then "other" (23%) followed by "Coloured" (15%) represented them. "Other" consisted of "female", "Christian" and "Muslim" (or variations on the religious theme).

It appears as if the prior Apartheid categories remain salient for some members of the Coloured and White samples, but the identity of "South African" is the most prominent choice. Thus, a "Coloured" identity may not be as salient for this sample as recent literature suggests. For the African sample a "South African" identity is proportionally, much less salient. This suggests the possibility that identification with some notion of "African-ness" over-rides feelings of primary affiliation to the more inclusive "South African" construct.

2. Perceived Job opportunities

This data is drawn from section 3 of the questionnaire. Each sample's mean ranking of the position for each population group is illustrated in figure 6 below.

Figure 6. Each sample's perceptions of population group's job opportunities at present



DIFFERENCES IN EACH SAMPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Each sample's view of their own personal job opportunities was compared with their view of their population group's job opportunities using a dependent t-test. Firstly, there were no significant differences in the way in which Coloureds ($t=-0.32$; $df=20$; $p<0.754$), Africans ($t=0.97$; $df=44$; $p<0.338$) and Whites ($t=1.33$; $df=50$; $p<0.188$) ranked their own groups' chances for getting a job now and their ranking for their individual chances (i.e. "Me"). This means that their view of the opportunities of their group is congruous with their view of their perceived job opportunities.

Each Sample's perceptions of the difference between the three population group's job opportunities was also compared using a dependent t-test. That is, each group's perception of the job opportunities of other groups relative to themselves was examined.

Coloured Sample

Coloured students perceived significant differences in job opportunities between the respective groups. Coloured students saw themselves and Whites as equally disadvantaged ($t=0.15$; $df=24$; $p<0.88$) in relation to Africans, who they saw as having better job opportunities than themselves ($t=-4.16$; $df=24$; $p<0.0004$) and Whites ($t=-2.31$; $df=25$; $p<0.029$).

African Sample

African students felt that they ($t=6.9$; $df=73$; $p<0.0001$) and Coloureds ($t=7.47$, $df=73$; $p<0.0001$) had significantly less of a chance of getting a job than did Whites. They saw themselves and Coloured as equally disadvantaged in terms of job opportunities ($t=1.97$; $df=72$; $p<0.0528$).

White sample

White students perceived significant differences in job opportunities between all population groups. African's were perceived to have the best chance of getting a job compared to both Coloureds ($t=-8.0$; $df=54$; $p<0.0001$) and Whites ($t=-8.49$; $df=54$; $p<0.0001$). Furthermore, Coloureds were perceived to have better job opportunities than Whites ($t=-4.49$; $df=54$; $p<0.0001$).

Self-reported primary identity group

A one way ANOVA was conducted using self-reported primary identity groups as the grouping variable. The self-reported primary identity groups are "South African", "Language" and "Ethnic" group (see chapter VI section 1 for an explanation of these groups). Each groups' perceptions of the difference between their and other group's job opportunities was compared. No significant differences between their perceptions of job opportunities for their own group and other groups were found ($F=2.11$; $df=2$; $p<0.13$). On

a closer analysis of the descriptive statistics, it was found that ranges and variance of the groups was problematic. This is depicted in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics for self-reported primary identity group's perceived job opportunities.

Group	N	Mean	Min	Max.	Range	Variance	Std Deviation
South African	50	6.2	0	10	10	3.5	1.9
Language	26	5.4	1	9	8	3.5	1.9
Ethnic	62	5.7	1	9	8	3.3	1.8

From the descriptive statistics one can see that any further analysis regarding perceived job opportunities would produce similar non-significant results. Therefore, no further analysis using self-reported primary identity groups was done.

PERCEIVED CHANGES IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES

A further point to consider is each sample's perceptions of the changes in the job opportunities of their own and other population groups from 5 years ago to the present, and from now to 5 years time. Note : this measurement is a difference score where

- time difference 1 (diff 1) = [NOW score] - [PAST score]; and
- time difference 2 (diff 2) = [FUTURE score] - [NOW score].

Thus, the comparison can be read as - Population group X perceived significant differences in the change in job opportunity status from time A to time B between population groups X and Y. A negative score will thus indicate a perceived decrease in job opportunities and a positive score will indicate a perceived increase in job opportunities. The means of these perceived changes from the past to present are illustrated in figure 7 and the changes from the present to future are illustrated in figure 12 below. One way ANOVA's of differences in perceived job opportunities for time difference for the 3 population groups were conducted. An LSD test was used to compare the means.

PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES FROM THE PAST TO PRESENT

Figure 7. Perceptions of change in population groups' job opportunities from the past to present

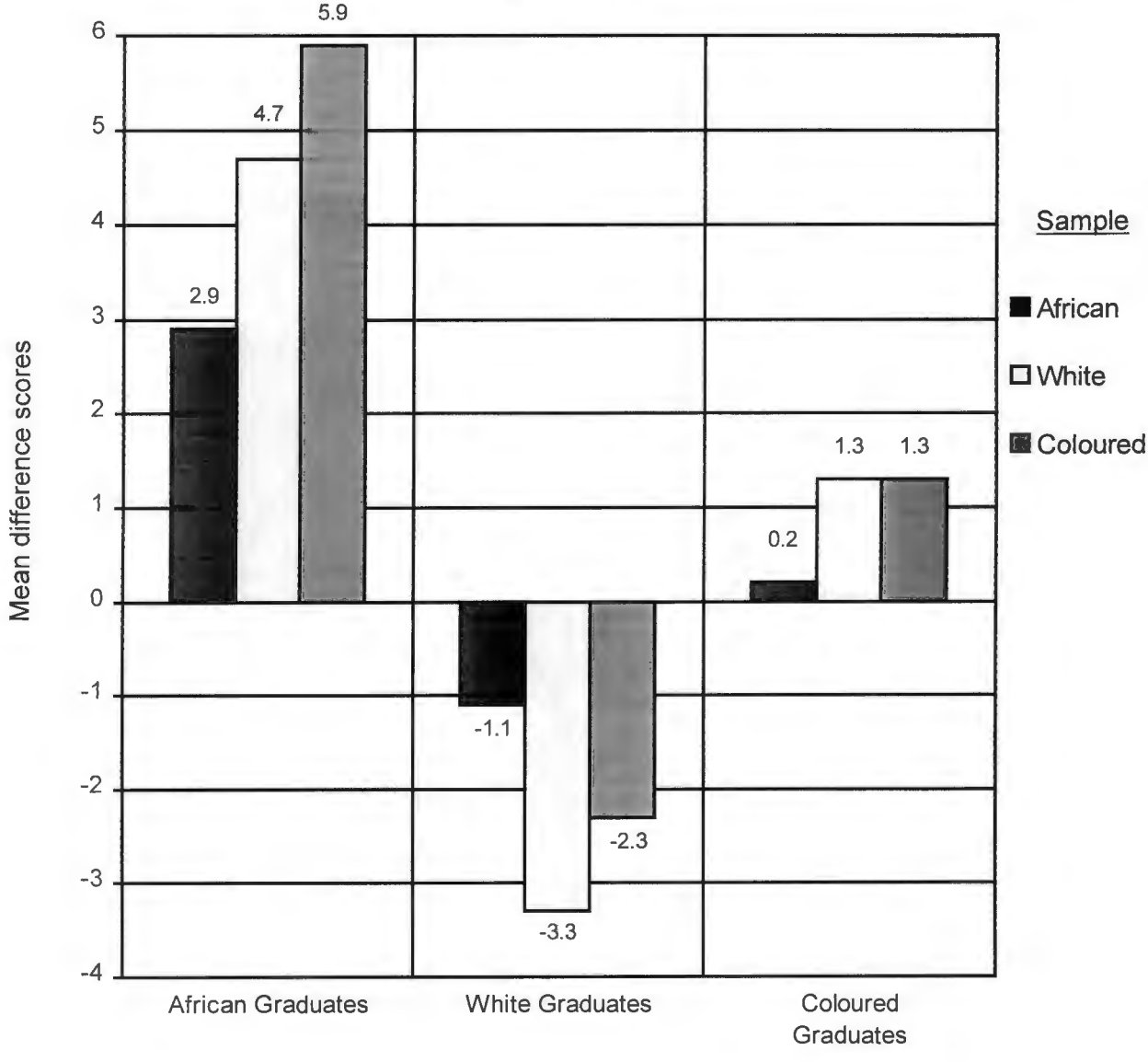
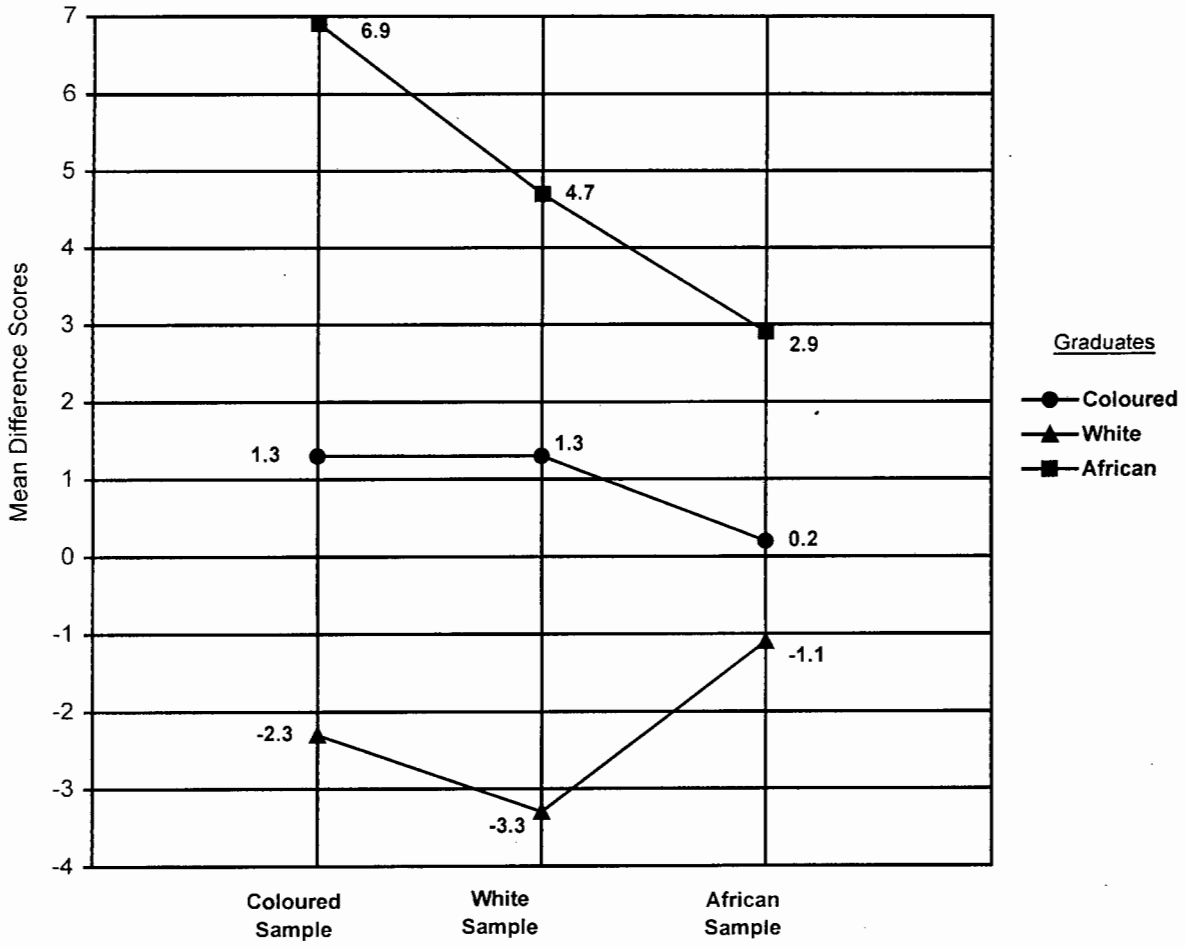


Figure 8. Means interaction plot of Sample x Perceived changes in job opportunities for all graduates from the past to present

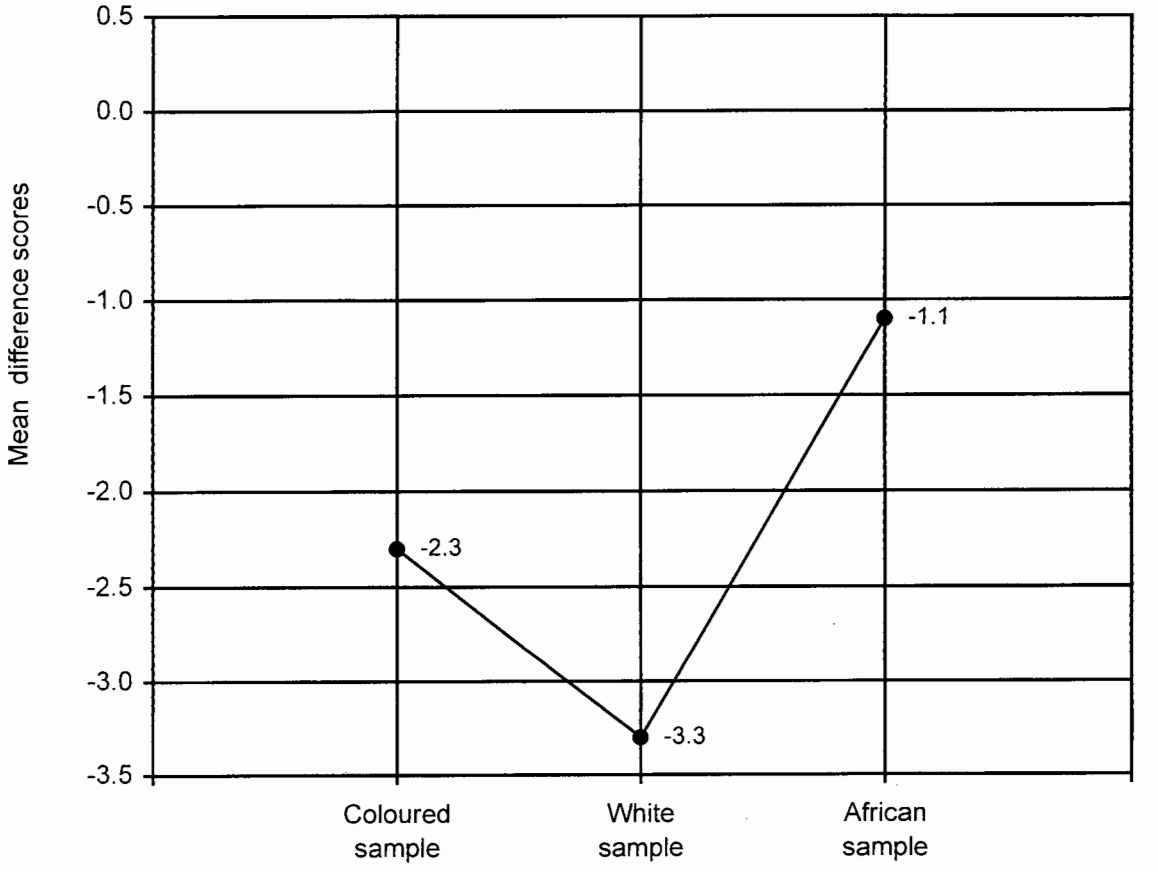


The samples tended to agree on the general pattern of the current changes in job opportunities for graduates.

Perceived changes in job opportunities for Whites across time difference 1.

All samples perceived the job opportunities of Whites to have dropped from past to present ($F=25.223$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$), with Whites and Coloureds agreeing in the amount of difference. African students, however, saw White job opportunities as having dropped less than the other two samples claimed they had. Figure 9 below illustrates this interaction (see Appendix 6 for summary statistics).

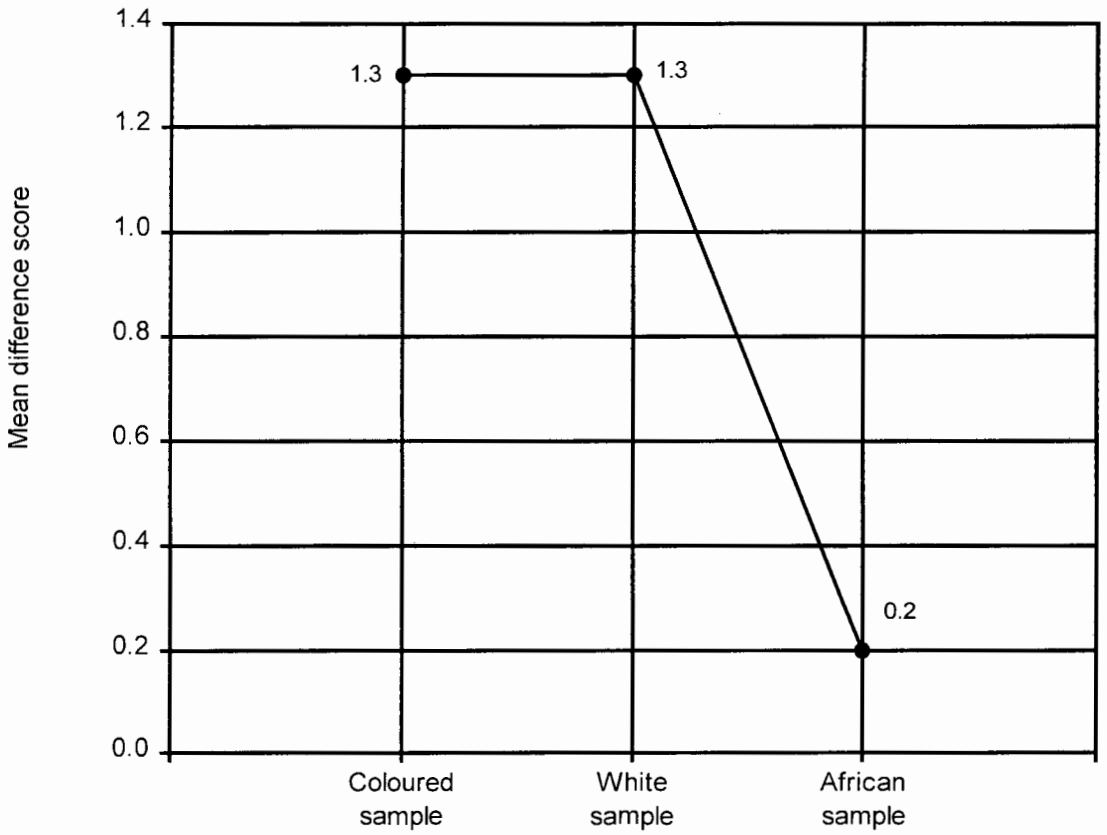
Figure 9. Means plot of Sample x Perceived changes in job opportunities for White graduates from the past to present ($F=25.223$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$)



Perceived changes in job opportunities for Coloureds across time difference 1.

All groups perceived job opportunities for Coloureds to have increased slightly from past to present (F=6.77; df=2; p<0.0015). Whites and Coloureds agreed on the amount of change, whereas African students saw less of increase in Coloureds job opportunities from the past to present. These findings are illustrated in figure 10 below (see Appendix 6 for summary statistics).

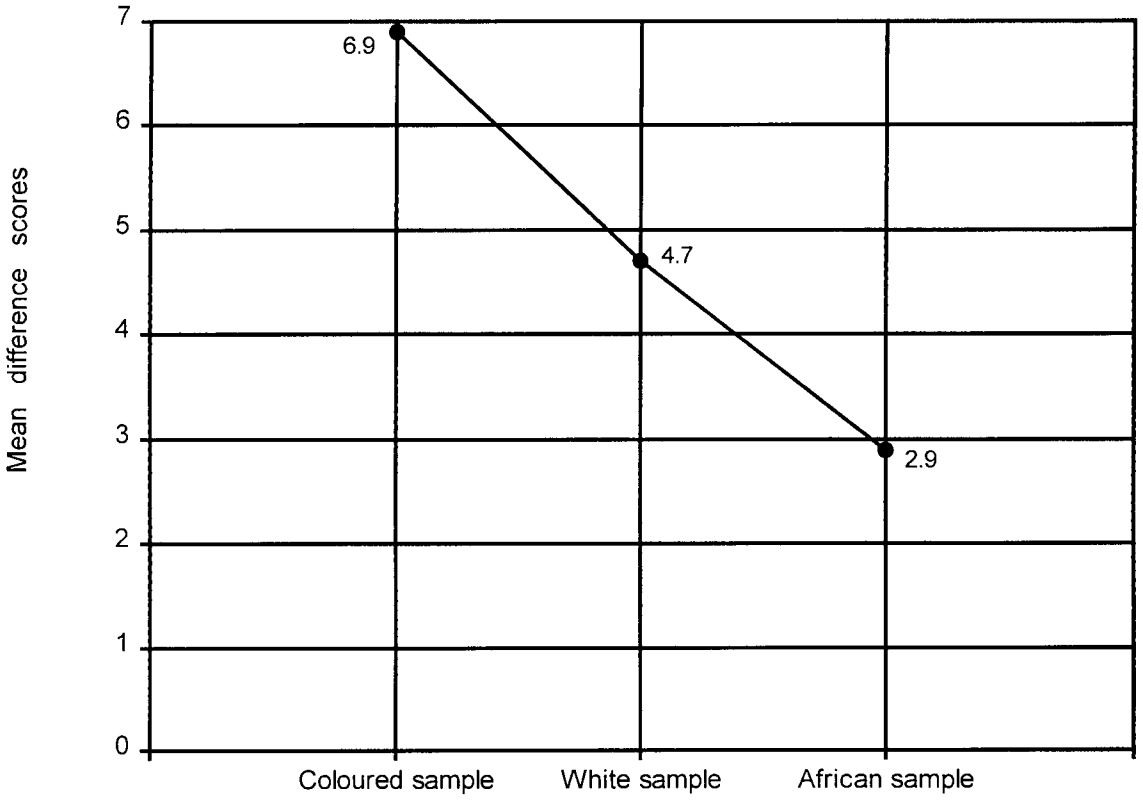
Figure 10 Means plot of Sample x Perceived changes in job opportunities for Coloured graduates from the past to present
(F=6.77; df=2; p<0.0015)



Perceived changes in job opportunities for Africans across time difference 1.

All groups perceived the job opportunities of African graduates to have increased from past to present ($F=21.64$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$). Coloured students thought that African graduates job opportunities had increased the most. White students did not think that Africans job opportunities had increased as much as Coloureds did, while African students saw their job opportunities as having increased less than the other two groups did. These findings are illustrated in figure 11 below (see Appendix 6 for summary statistics).

Figure 11. Means plot of Sample x Perceived changes in job opportunities for African graduates from the past to present
($F=21.64$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$)



PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN JOB OPPORTUNITIES FROM THE PRESENT TO FUTURE

An analysis of perceptions of changes in job opportunities from the present to the future was then conducted. Figure 12 below illustrates the perceived mean changes in job opportunities for each population group.

Figure 12. Perceptions of change in population groups' job opportunities from the present to the future

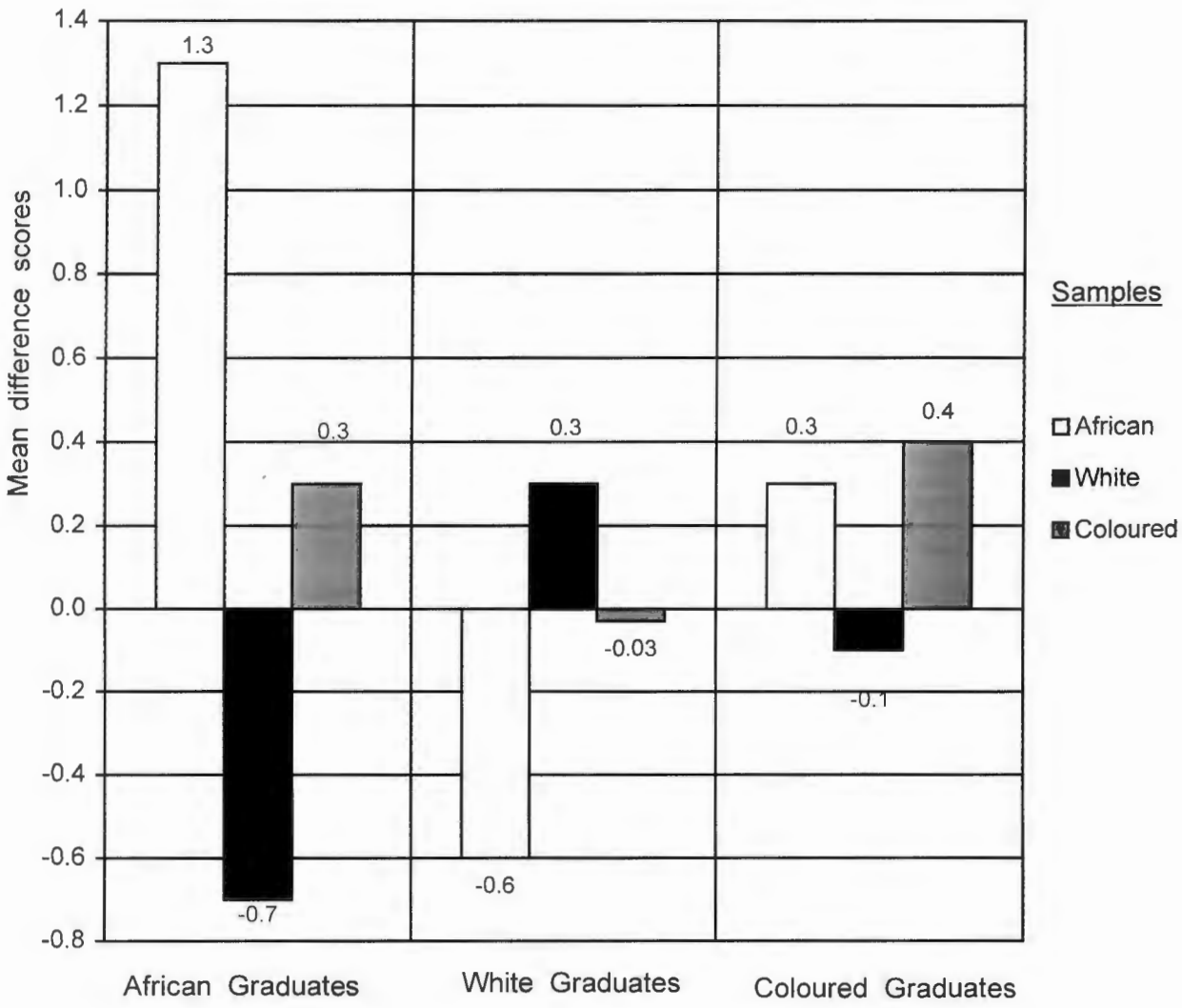
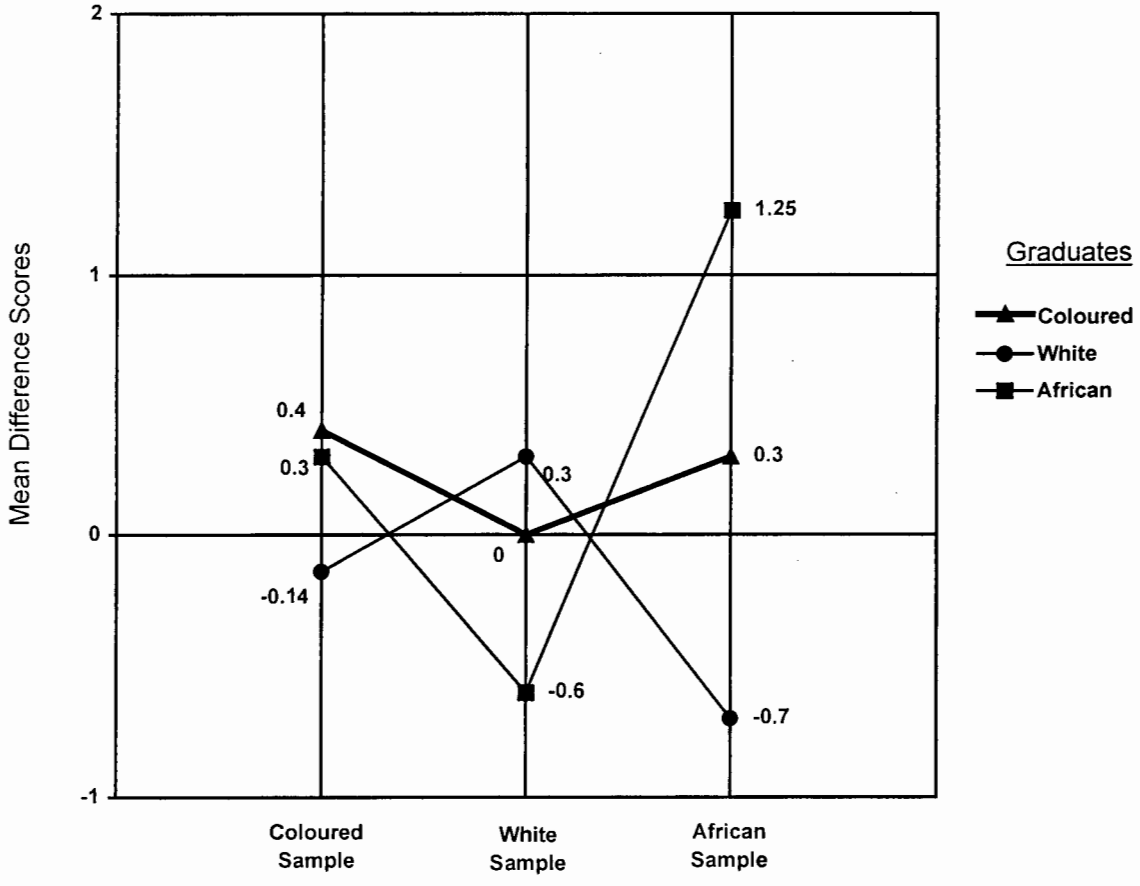


Figure 13. Means interaction plot of Sample x Perceived changes in job opportunities for all graduates from the present to future

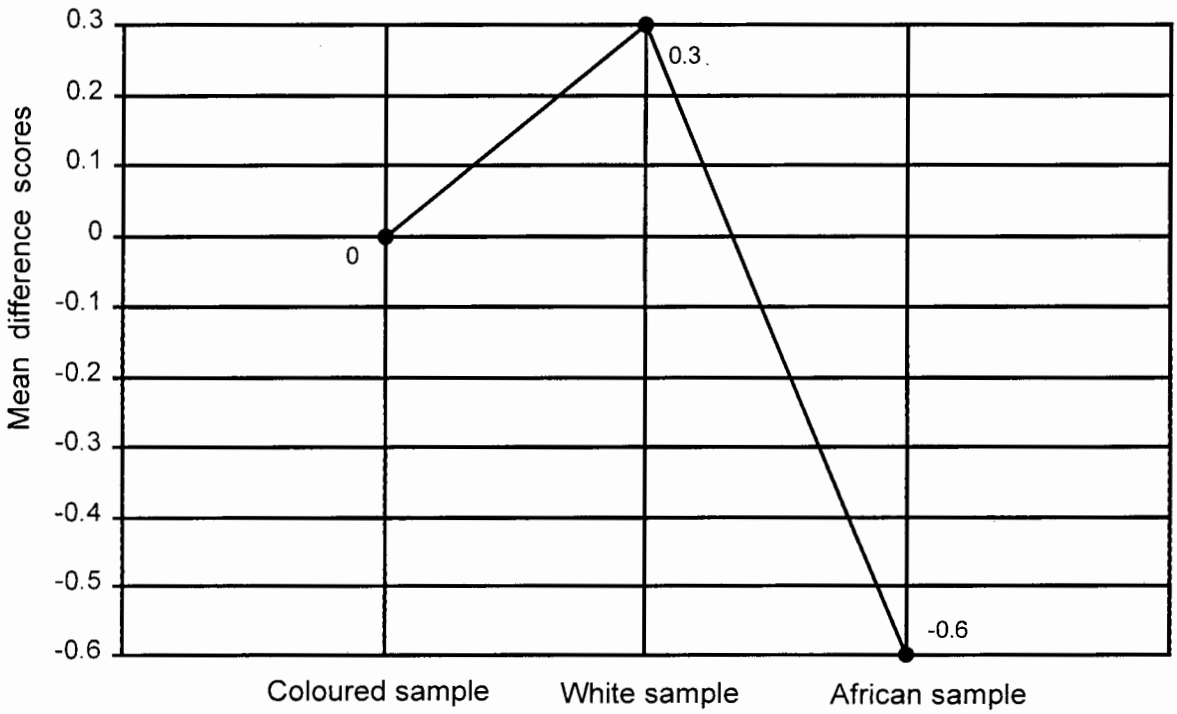


The sample tended to agree that Coloured graduates would face a little or no increase in their chances of securing a job. Differences emerged in the way the samples viewed African and White graduates. The Coloured and African sample believed that African graduates job opportunities would improve in the future whereas the White sample felt that these opportunities would decrease with time. In contrast, the White sample felt that employment opportunities for White graduates would increase. The Coloured and African sample, however, believed that White graduates' job opportunities would decrease in the future.

Perceived changes in job opportunities for Whites across time difference 2.

An analysis of perceptions of population groups differences in future job opportunities for Whites revealed significant differences between samples ($F=3.26$; $df=2$; $p<0.04$). An LSD test showed that the Coloured and White samples both anticipated little or no change in the current job opportunities for White graduates. The African sample however, felt that job opportunities would continue to decrease for White graduates. These differences are illustrated in figure 14 (see Appendix 7 for summary statistics).

Figure 14. Means plot of Sample x Perceived changes in job opportunities for White graduates from the present to future
($F=3.26$; $df=2$; $p<0.04$)



Perceived changes in job opportunities for Coloureds across time difference 2.

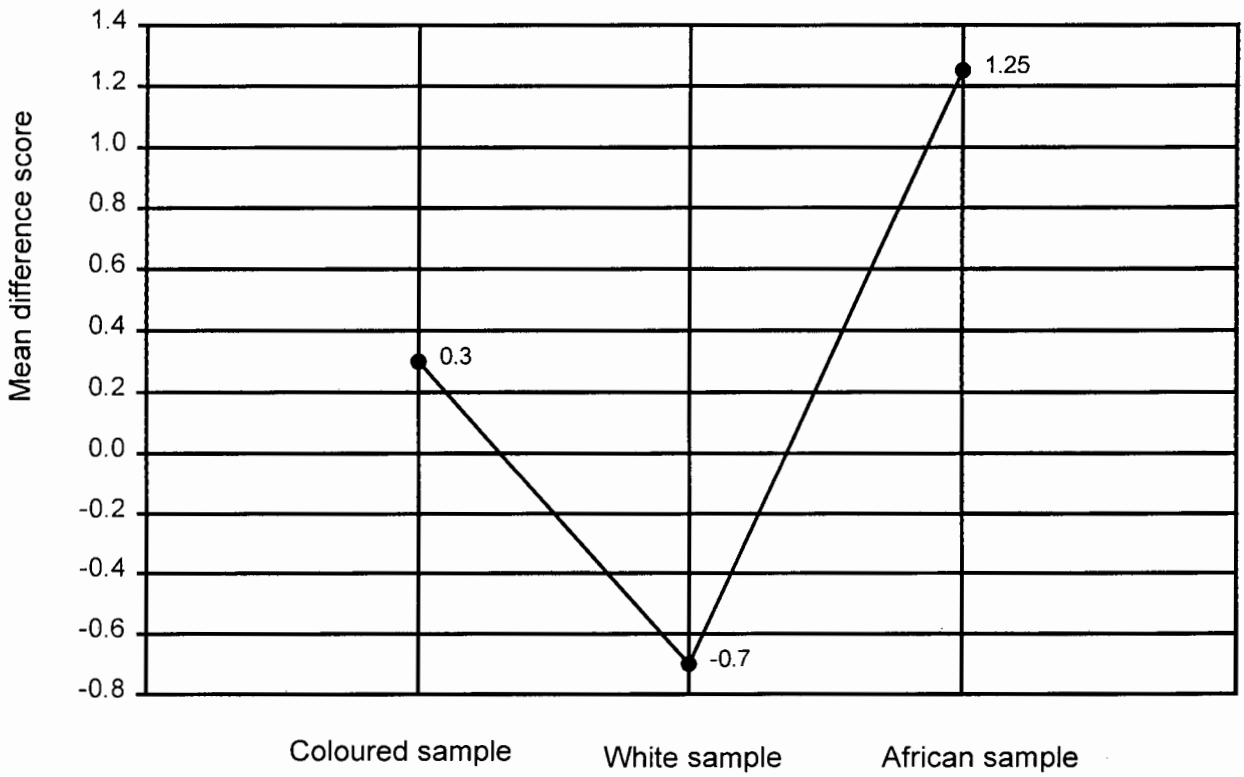
An analysis of perceived mean changes in job opportunities for Coloured graduates from the present to the future revealed no significant differences in the samples' perceptions ($F=1.77$; $df=2$; $p<0.174$). The White sample saw a mean decrease of 0.14 for Coloured

graduates, whereas the Coloured and African sample perceived mean increases of 0.4 and 0.3 respectively (see Appendix 7 for summary statistics).

Perceived changes in job opportunities for African across time difference 2.

An analysis of perceived changes in African graduates job opportunities from the present to future revealed significant differences ($F=23.34$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$). The White sample anticipated a small decrease in African graduates job opportunities. Whereas the Coloured sample foresaw a small increase in African graduates' job opportunities, the African sample saw a proportionally larger increase in the their group's job opportunities in the future. These differences are illustrated in figure 15 below (see Appendix 7 for summary statistics).

Figure 15. Means plot of Sample x Perceived changes in African graduates job opportunities from the present to future ($F=23.34$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$).



In conclusion, the White sample felt that their job opportunities had decreased from the past to present and that they had less of a chance of getting a job than any other population

group. Despite this, they saw their job opportunities as increasing slightly in the future. The Coloured sample felt that although their job opportunities had increased from the past to the present to equal that of Whites, they had less of a chance of getting a job than did African graduates. They did not foresee this scenario changing in the future. The African sample believed that their job opportunities had increased from the past to present. In their perception, however, White graduates still had a better chance of getting a job than either Coloured graduates or themselves. However, the African sample did anticipate an increase in their job opportunities in the future.

3. The perceived role of a university degree in life chances

This data is drawn from section 4 of the questionnaire

PERCEPTION OF GRADUATES' COMPARED TO NON-GRADUATES' LIFE CHANCES

Table 6 below depicts each sample's mean ranking of each population group with and without degrees.

Table 6. Mean rankings of life chances for population groups with and without degrees for the present

Sample	Population group	Mean - without degree	Mean - with degree
	White	4.9	7.1
White	Coloured	4	6.8
	African	3.8	7.9
	White	6.3	7.5
Coloured	Coloured	4.7	6.6
	African	4.4	8.2
	White	7.7	8.8
African	Coloured	5	7.9
	African	3.3	6

African students perceived that White, Coloured and African graduates had significantly better life chances compared to White ($t=-4.18$; $df=72$; $p<0.0001$); Coloured ($t=-7.33$; $df=72$; $p<0.0001$) and African ($t=-11.3$; $df=72$; $p<0.000001$) non-graduates respectively.

White students perceived that White, Coloured and African graduates had significantly better life chances compared to White ($t=-8.7$; $df=52$; $p<0.00001$); Coloured ($t=-12.1$; $df=51$; $p<0.0001$) and African ($t=-14.5$; $df=52$; $p<0.000001$) non-graduates respectively.

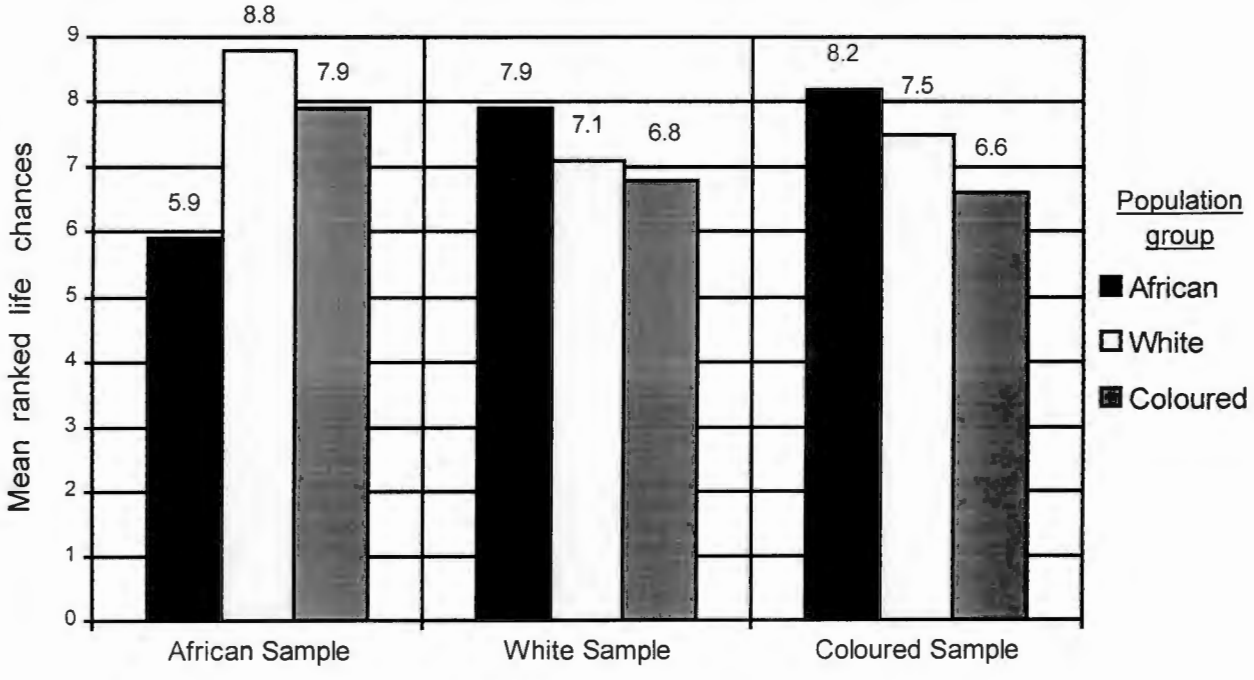
Coloured students perceived that White, Coloured and African graduates had significantly better life chances compared to White ($t=-2.4$; $df=23$; $p<0.023$); Coloured ($t=-5.1$; $df=24$; $p<0.00003$) and African ($t=-6.8$; $df=23$; $p<0.000001$) non-graduates respectively.

Thus, it can be seen that university graduates are perceived by all population groups to have better life chances that people who do not have degrees. These findings are substantiated in the ANOVA below.

PERCEPTIONS OF GRADUATES' LIFE CHANCES

Each sample's perceptions of graduates' life chances was compared using dependent t-tests. The mean ranking of graduates life chances are represented in figure 16 below (see Appendix 8 for summary statistics).

Figure 16. Perceptions of graduate's life chances



African students perceived themselves and Coloureds as having similar life chances (t=-1.6; df=73; p<0.11). Their group's life chances were significantly less than those of White graduates (t=-10.9; df=73; p<0.0001).

White students on the other hand, perceived African graduates to have better life chances than either themselves (t=2.5; df=52; p<0.014) or Coloured graduates (t=6.05; df=51; p<0.0001), who they believed had similar life chances to themselves (t=1.3; df=51; p<0.19).

Coloured students felt that African and White graduates had similar life chances (t=1.3; df=23; p<0.2) and that both these groups had significantly better life chances they did (African (t=3.86; df=23; p<0.03) and White (t=2.3; df=23; p<0.0008)).

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN DEGREE STATUS, POPULATION GROUP AND CHANGE OVER TIME

Section 4 of the questionnaire required students to rank the life chances for people with and without degrees for each of the population groups. Subjects ranked population group's positions for three time periods - past, present and future.

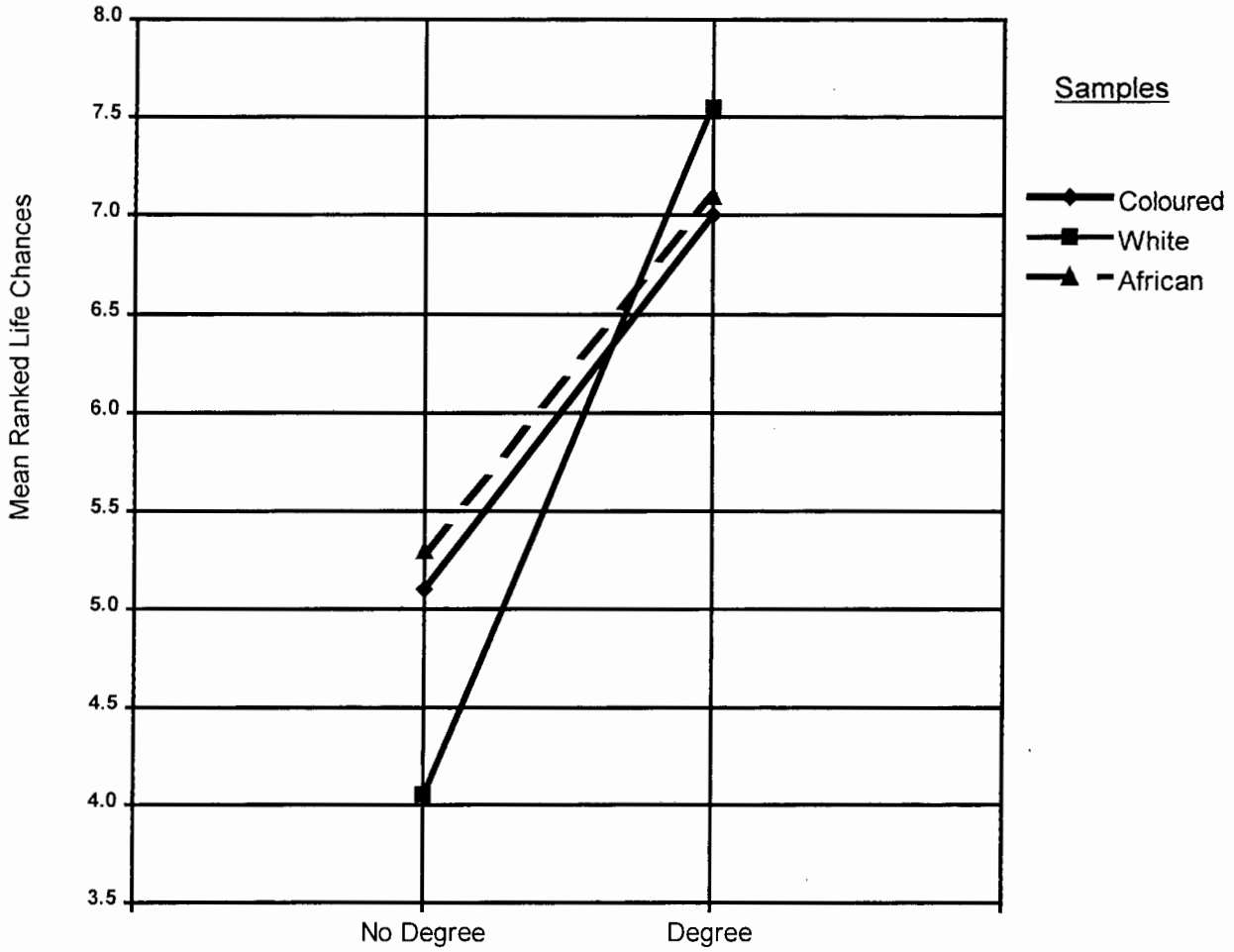
A four way repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was performed on this data, with the dependent variables being the above 3 sample rankings. Note that two sets of 3 rankings were obtained for each of the "degree" and "no degree" conditions. The independent variables were therefore :

1. **Population group** (3 levels of White, Coloured and African people)
2. **Degree status** (2 levels of "degree" and "no degree")
3. **Time** (3 levels of past (5 years ago), present (now) and future (in 5 years time))

There were main effects for population group ($F=33.9$; $df=2.29$; $p<0.0001$); degree status ($F=74.9$; $df=1.14$; $p<0.0001$) and time ($F=49.04$; $df=2.29$; $p<0.0001$). There were also two 2-way interactions for sample x time ($F=3.5$; $df=4.29$; $p<0.0001$) and population group x time ($F=118.37$; $df=4.57$; $p<0.00001$). These effects are not going to be discussed as they are better explained in the higher order interactions.

There was a 2-way interaction for sample x degree ($F=4.37$; $df=2.143$; $p<0.0143$). All students perceived a university degree to significantly increase one's life chances. Coloured and African students, however, saw this increase as less influential than did White students. See figure 17 below.

Figure 17. Two-way Interaction of Sample x Qualification level
(F=4.37; df=2.143; p<0.0143)



There was a 3-way interaction of sample x population group x time (F=5.27; df=8.57; p<0.0001). See figures 18, 19 & 20 below.

Figure 18. 3-Way Interaction of Sample x Population Group x Time for the past (F=5.27; df=8.572; p<0.00001)

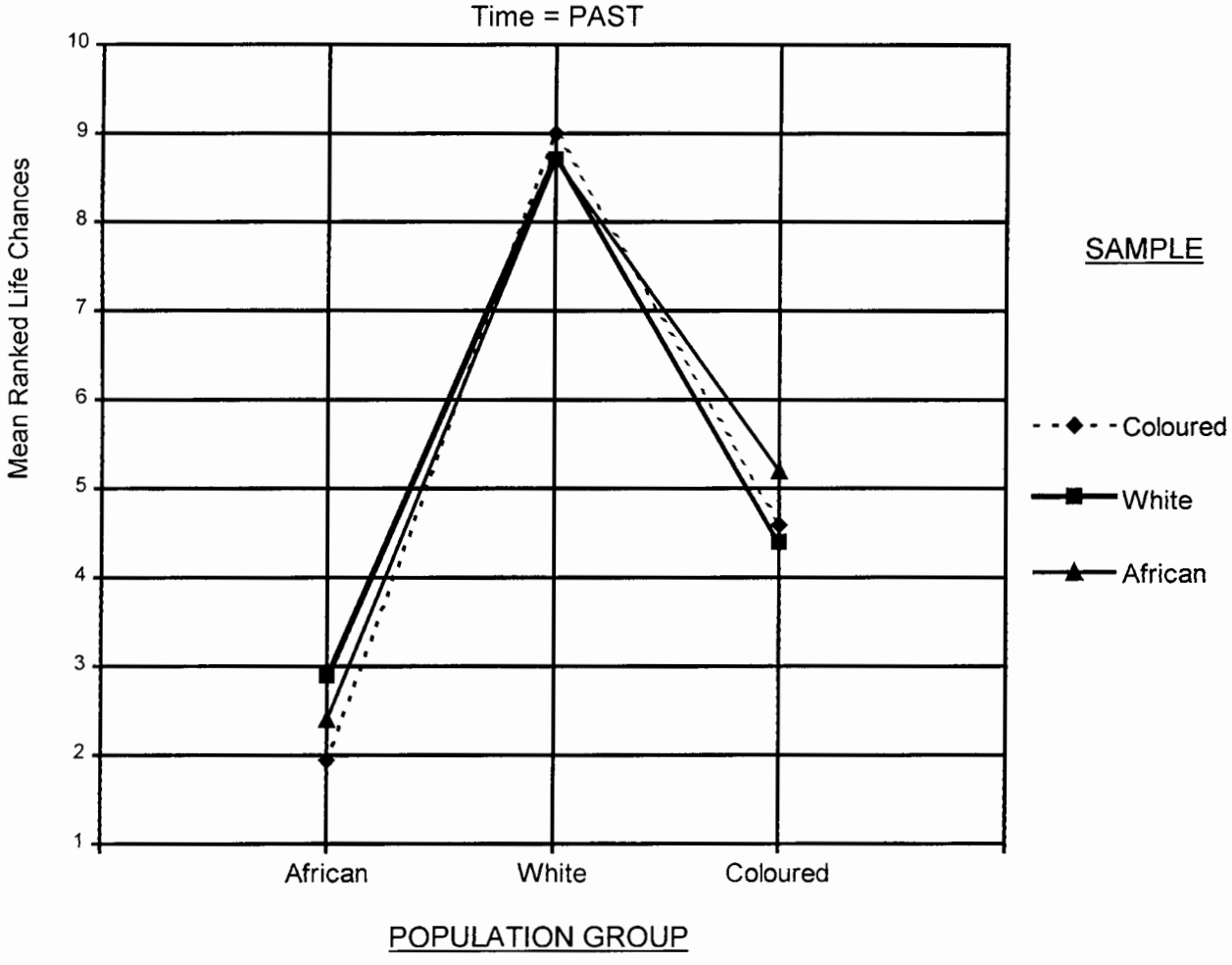
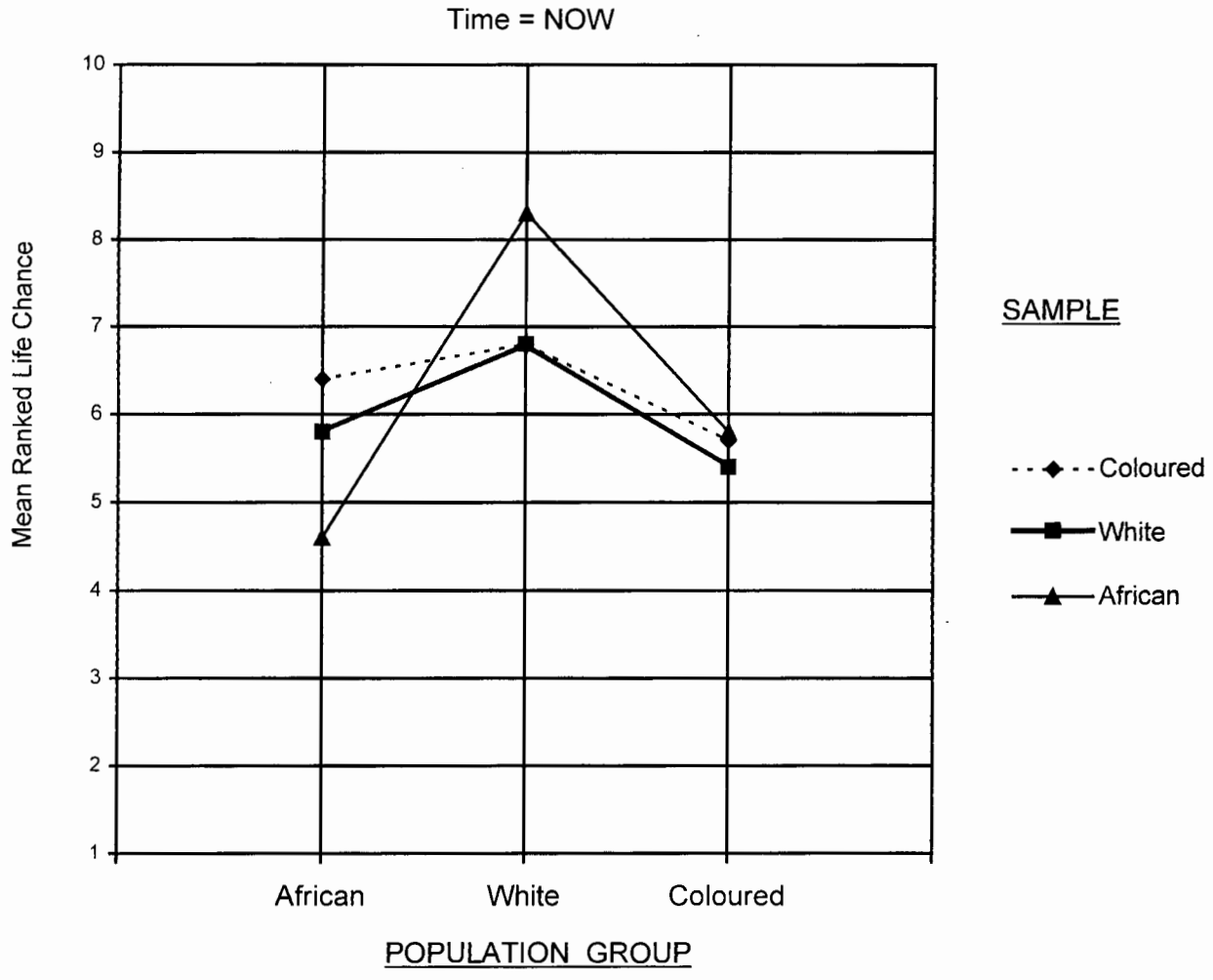


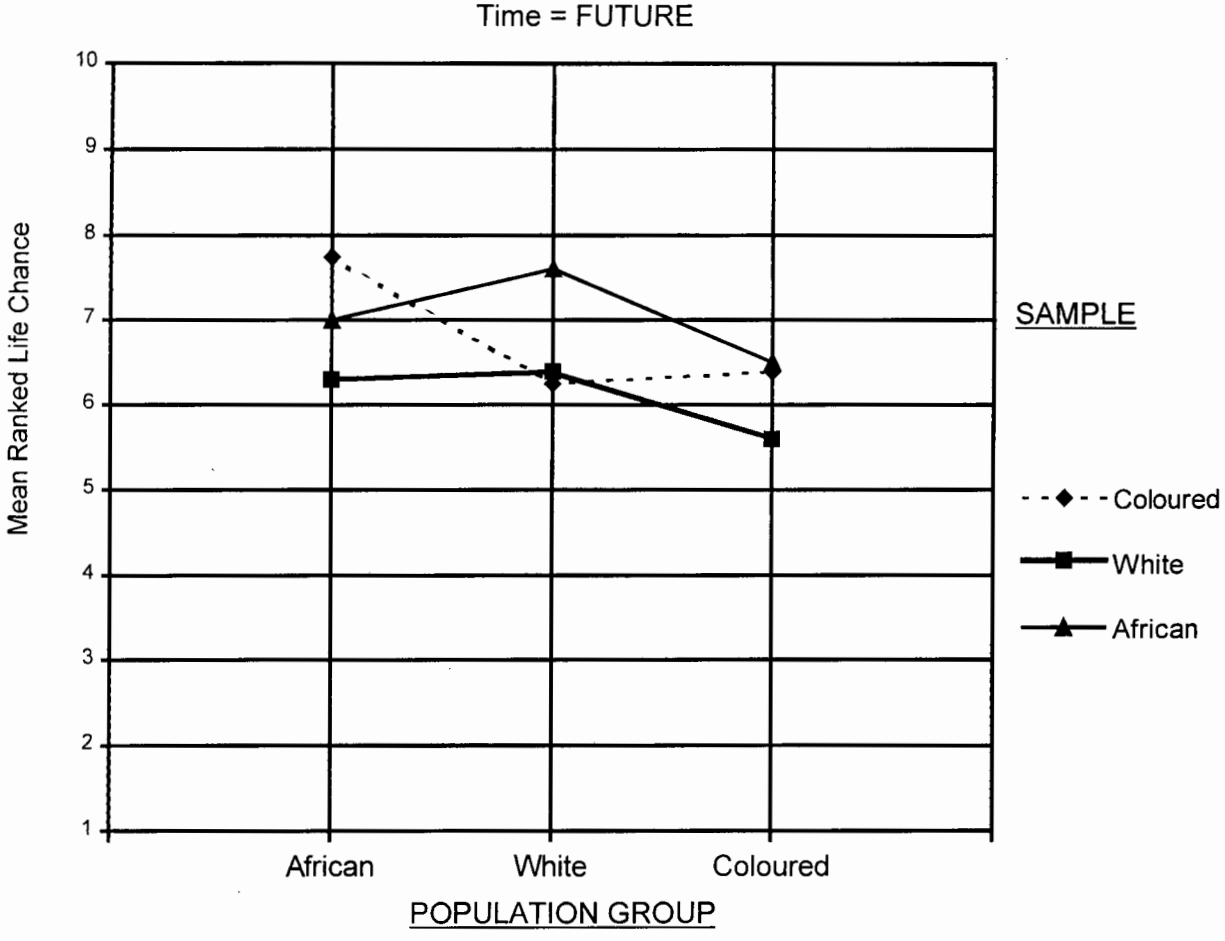
Figure 18 shows that in the past, all samples perceived the three population groups in a similar way. That is, they all perceived Africans to have the lowest rated life chance, Coloureds to have a better rated life chance and Whites to have the best rated life chance.

Figure 19. 3-Way Interaction of Sample x Population Group x Time for the present (F=5.27; df=8.572; p<0.0001)



In terms of the present, the White sample believed that they had the best chances in life followed by Africans and lastly, Coloureds. The Coloured sample viewed the relative positions of the population groups in a similar way to the White sample but the mean scores for African and Coloureds was lower than that given by the White sample. The African sample did not perceive changes in the position of each population group, however Whites' chances were seen to have decreased while their own group and Coloured graduates' chances had increased. Thus, the sharpness of the perceived disparities between groups had softened.

Figure 20. 3-Way Interaction of Sample x Population Group x Time for the Future (F=5.27; df=8.572; p<0.0001).



For the future, the Coloured sample perceived Africans as having the best life chances, followed by themselves and then Whites. There was no significant difference between their chances and those of Whites. The White sample perceived Africans and then themselves as having the better life chances, followed by Coloureds. There was no significant difference between their perception of Africans' chances and their chances. The African sample saw Whites as having the best life chances, followed by themselves and then Coloureds.

4. Measures of Relative Deprivation

Two Relative Deprivation (RD) scores were calculated for the present using perceived job opportunities for graduates (section 3 of the questionnaire) and perceived life chance of graduates (section 4 of the questionnaire). For each sample four new variables were generated.

A mean relative deprivation (RD) score for the perceived differences in current **Job Opportunities** was generated for each sample in relation to the other population groups.

A mean RD score for the perceived differences in current **Life Chances** was generated for each sample in relation to the other population groups. The mean RD scores for job opportunities are represented in figure 21 and the mean RD scores for life chances in figure 22 below (see Appendix 9 for summary statistics).

Figure 21. Mean Relative Deprivation scores for each sample in terms of current job opportunities

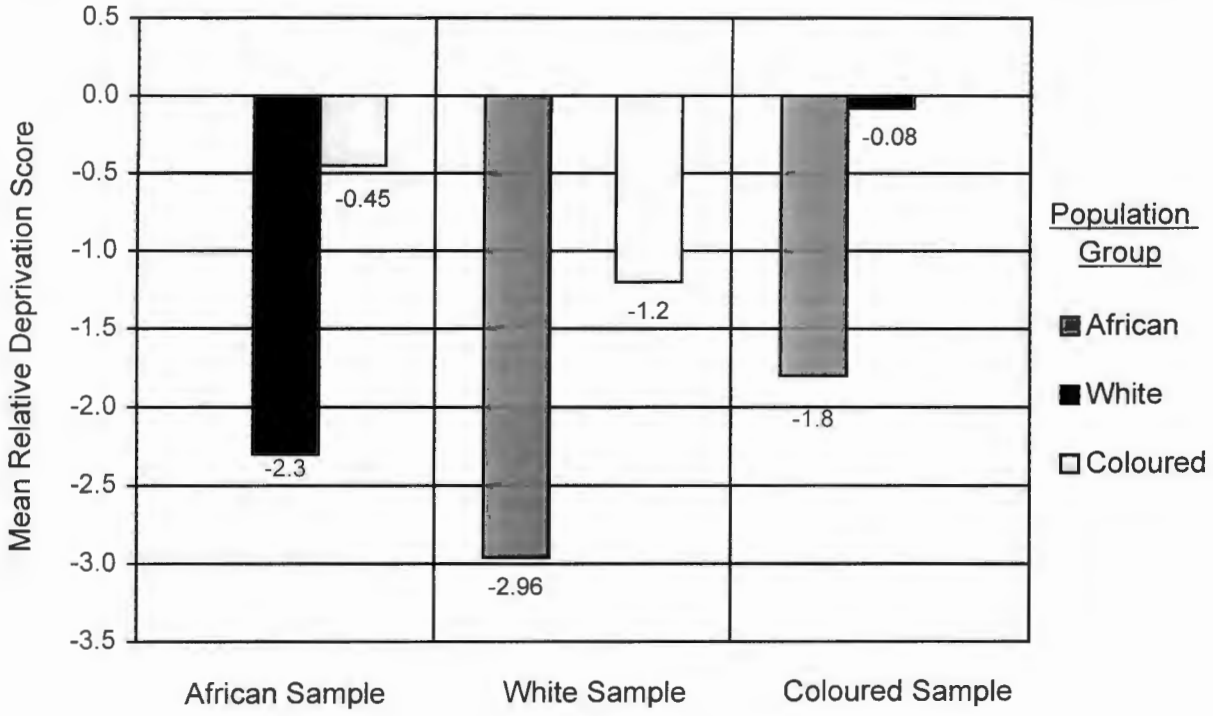
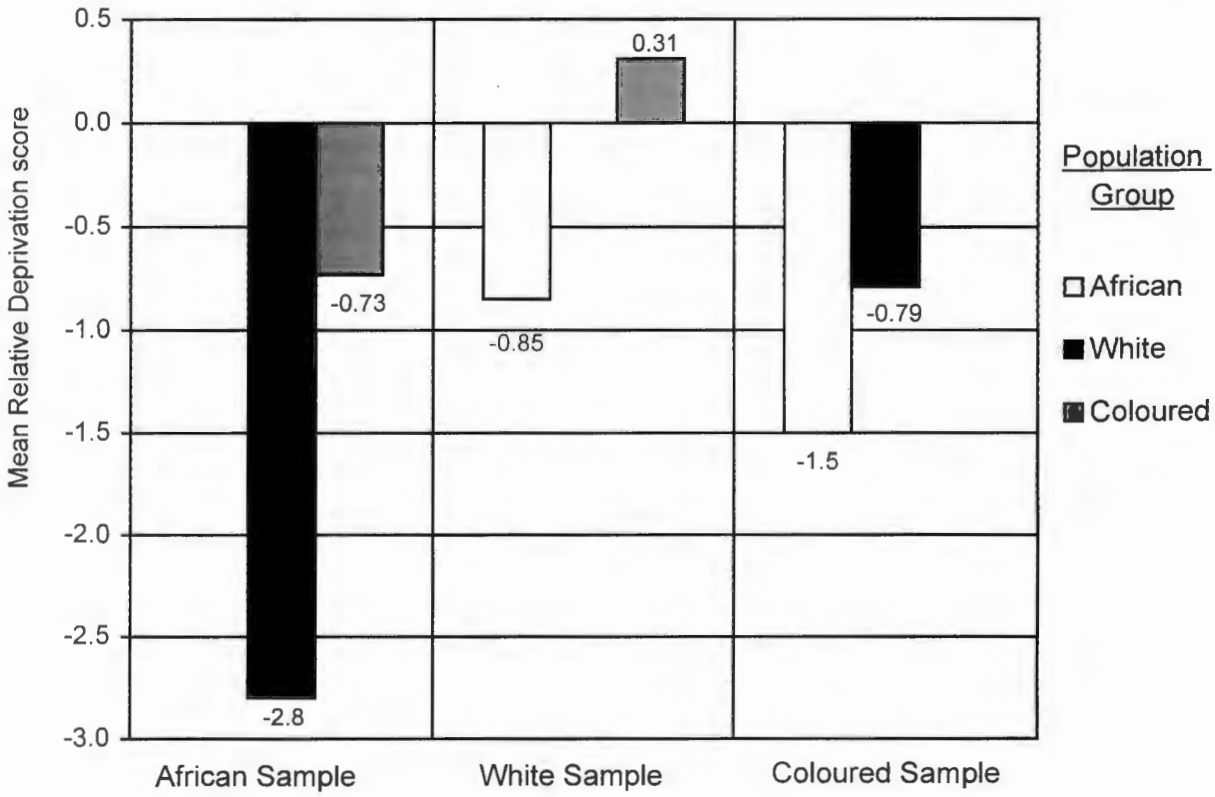


Figure 22. Mean Relative Deprivation scores for each sample in terms of current life chances



White sample

White Students perceived themselves to be significantly worse off than both Coloured graduates ($t=-4.48$; $df=55$; $p<0.00004$) and African graduates ($t=-8.49$; $df=54$; $p<0.0001$) in terms of present job opportunities. For the variable Life Chances however, White students did not perceive a difference between themselves and Coloured graduates ($t=1.32$; $df=51$; $p<0.2$). Their perception of deprivation relative to Africans persisted ($t=-2.54$; $df=52$; $p<0.014$).

Coloured sample

Coloured students perceived themselves to be significantly worse off compared to African graduates ($t=-4.16$; $df=24$; $p<0.004$) but not any different from White graduates ($t=0.146$; $df=24$; $p<0.88$) in terms of job opportunities at present. For the variable Life Chances, however, Coloured students perceived themselves as worse off than both White graduates ($t=-2.29$; $df=23$; $p<0.03$) and African graduates ($t=-3.9$; $df=23$; $p<0.0007$).

African sample

African students perceived themselves to be significantly worse off compared to White graduates ($t=-6.9$; $df=73$; $p<0.0001$) but no different from Coloured graduates ($t=-1.9$; $df=72$; $p<0.053$) in terms of current job opportunities. For the variable Life Chance, a similar pattern persisted, that is, significantly worse off in relation to White graduates ($t=-10.9$; $df=73$; $p<0.0001$) but not significantly different from Coloured graduates ($t=-1.6$; $df=73$; $p<0.11$).

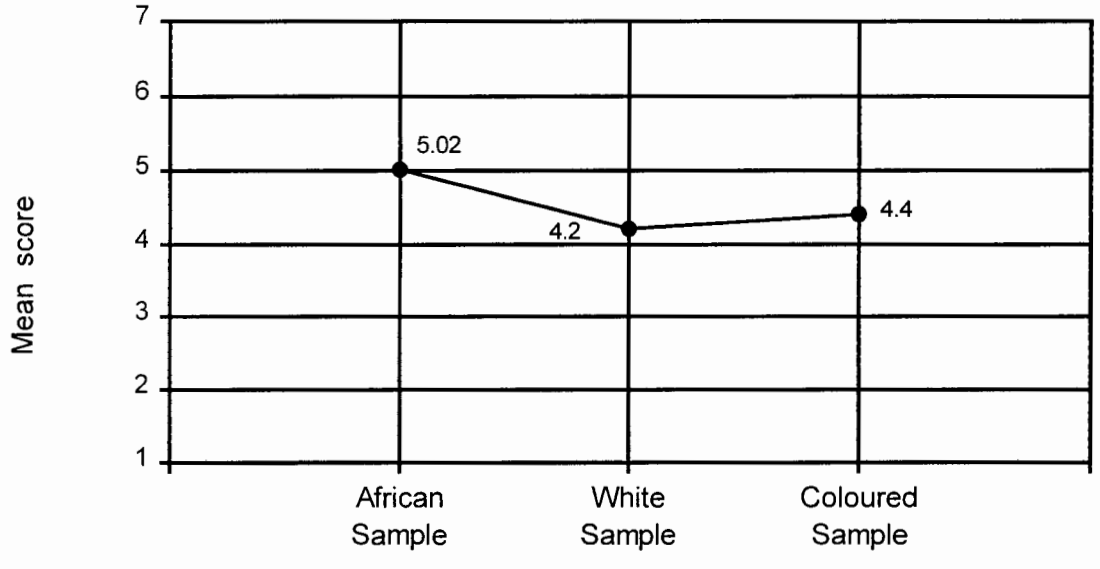
What emerges from these results is that at present the African sample see their own situation as worse off relative to Whites and not Coloureds, who they see as in a similar position to themselves. Also proportionally more of the African sample felt deprived relative to Whites (83.75%) than they did relative to Coloured (53.1%). The Coloured sample perceived themselves to be worse life chances relative to both other groups but only worse off relative to Africans in terms of job opportunities. More of the Coloured sample experienced deprivation relative to Africans (65.2%) than they did relative to Whites (51.2%). The White sample felt they were worse off in the job market compared to both

Africans and Coloureds but their life chances were only perceived as worse than Africans not Coloureds. More of the White sample felt deprived relative to Africans (72.8%) than they did relative to Coloureds (50.2%).The following measures were developed from section 5 of the questionnaire.

Orientations to Socio-Political Change

A one-way ANOVA was conducted in order to test whether there were differences in the samples' orientations to socio-political change. The ANOVA showed that there were significant differences between the samples on this variable ($F=13.52$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$) (see Appendinx 10 for summary statistics). An LSD test for the post-hoc comparison of means showed that the African sample was significantly more positive in their orientation towards the recent socio-political change than was the Coloured and White samples. The Coloured and White samples, however, were on average, "neutral" towards this change. There was no significant difference between White and Coloured students' perceptions of political change. On examination of the distribution of their responses, it appeared as if the majority of the Coloured (68%) and White (53.7%) sample were positive towards the recent socio-political changes but a few responses (16% and 22% respectively) pulled the groups' mean score towards "neutral". Figure 23 below depicts this pattern with a score of 1 indicating a negative, and 7 a positive orientation to socio-political change.

Figure 23. Means plot of Sample x Orientation to Socio-Political Change ($F=13.52$; $df=2$; $p<0.00001$)

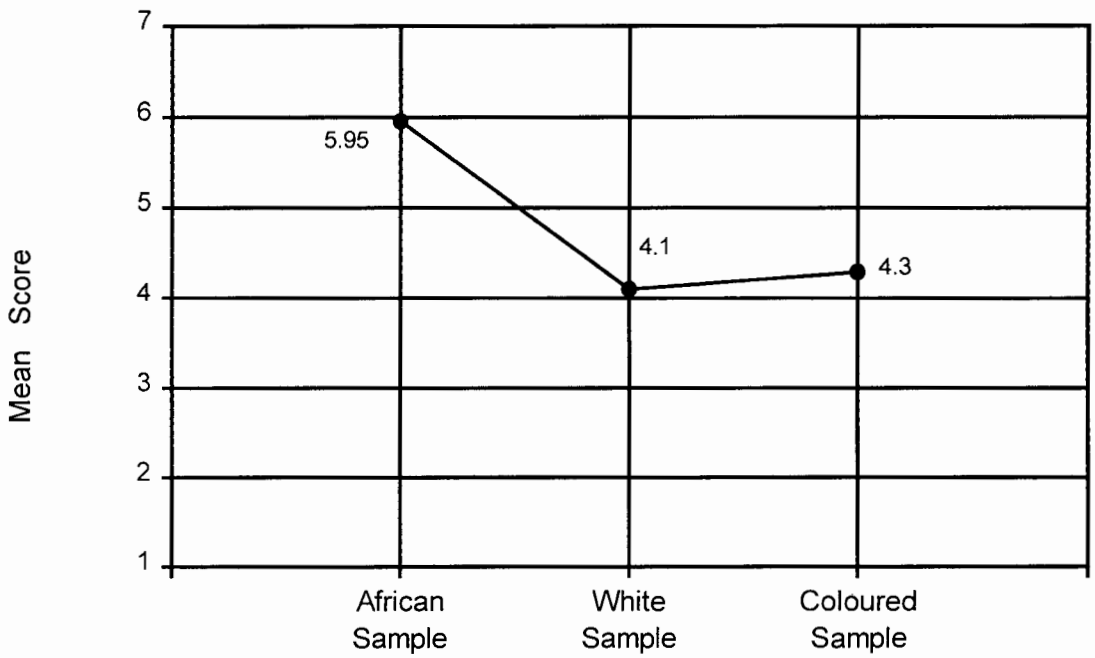


Note : The x-intercept is at 1 and not 0. This represents the range of responses on the 7 point Likert scale. The same applies for figures 24 and 25 below.

Approval of Affirmative Action employment policies

A 1-way ANOVA was conducted in order to test whether the samples' differed in the approval of Affirmative Action employment policies. The ANOVA showed that there were significant differences between the samples on this variable ($F=37.12$; $df=2$; $p<0.001$) (see Appendix 11 for summary statistics). An LSD test showed that Coloured and White students were significantly less approving of Affirmative Action policies than were African students. There were no significant differences between Coloured and White students' opinions. While the Coloured and White sample may have been less approving than the African sample, they were "neutral" in the perception of Affirmative Action. Both the Coloured and White sample showed a large range of responses from strong approval to strong disapproval with high variance and standard deviations which may account for the average response of "neutral". Figure 24 illustrates these results with a score of 1 indicating disapproval, and 7 approval of Affirmative Action.

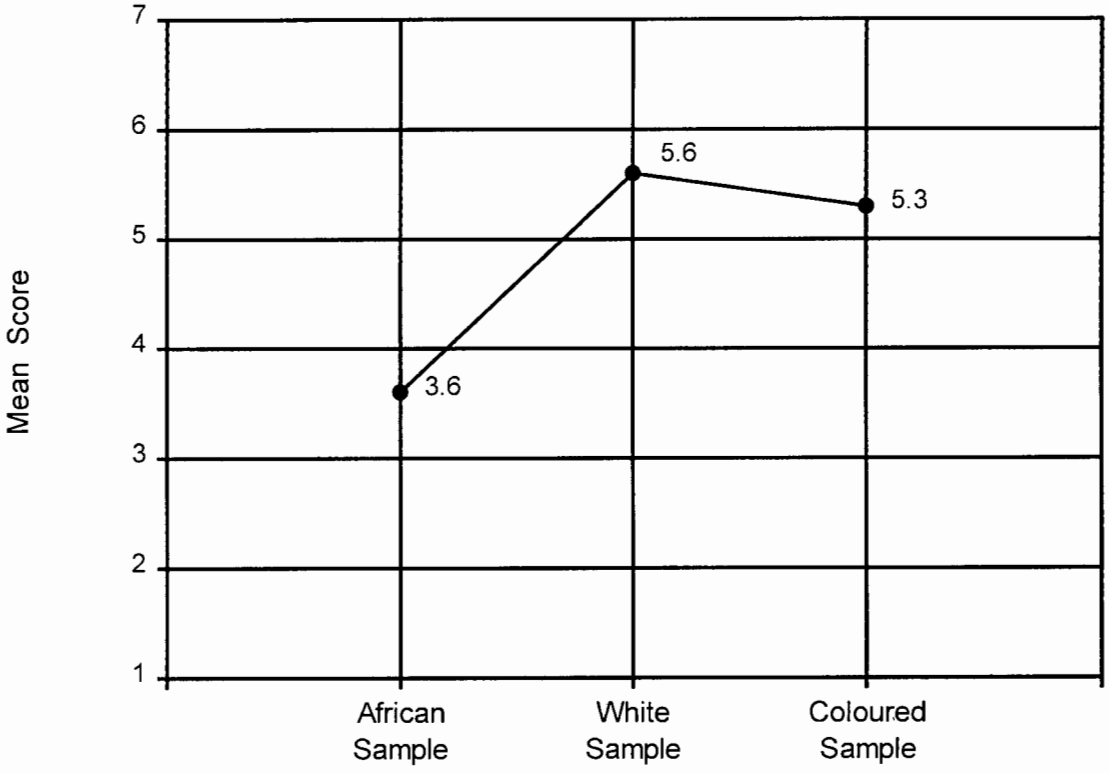
Figure 24. Means Plot of Sample x Approval of Affirmative Action ($F=37.12$; $df=2$; $p<0.001$)



Perceived Effects of Affirmative Action on Job Opportunities

A one-way ANOVA was conducted in order to test whether the samples' differed in their perception of the effects of Affirmative Action on their job opportunities. The ANOVA showed that there were significant differences between the samples on this variable ($F=82.06$; $df=2$; $p<0.001$) (see Appendix 12 for summary statistics). An LSD test for the post-hoc comparison of means showed that Coloured and White students thought that Affirmative Action would negatively effect their job opportunities whereas the African students thought that Affirmative Action would have positive effects on their job opportunities. There was no significant difference between White and Coloured students' perceptions of the effects of Affirmative Action on their job opportunities. Figure 25 depicts this means on a scale where a score of 1 indicating the positive effects, and 7 the negative effects of Affirmative Action on their job opportunities.

Figure 25. Means plot of Sample x Perceived Effects of Affirmative Action on Job Opportunities
($F=82.06$; $df=2$; $p<0.001$)



In conclusion, African students tended to be the most positive towards socio-political changes, approving of Affirmative Action and positive about its effects on their job opportunities. They were followed by Coloured students and lastly, by the White sample who tended to be more negative.

5. Regression Analysis

A multiple regression routine was performed for each sample in order to determine the relative influence of orientations to socio-political change, perceptions of Affirmative Action employment policies, experience of relative deprivation and coping resources would have on perceptions of their job opportunities. By comparing the results of the 3 multiple regression procedures, one can then assess whether different or similar variables influenced the views of the three samples. The independent variables which were used to predict perceptions of job opportunities were :

1. Perceived change from the past to present in their life chances
2. Perceived change from the past to present in their job chances
3. Perceived deprivation of their own population group relative to other groups in terms of
   (A) Job opportunities and
   (B) Life chances
4. Orientation to recent socio-political changes
5. Perceived effects of Affirmative Action on their job chances
6. Approval of Affirmative Action policies
7. Perceived life chances as a graduate
8. Coping resources.

A stepwise regression was done to assess which of the independent variables produced significant partial F-statistics. Those variables were then tested using a standard multiple regression routine. The findings are outlined below.

The African Sample

The results of the regression for the African sample are depicted in Table 7 below. Before examining the results, there are issues which need to be clarified regarding the multiple regression procedure.

An influential outlier (case 50) was excluded from the analysis because it exerted strong leverage on the regression coefficients. There is some question as to whether an influential outlier, such as case 50, should be dropped. When case 50 was excluded from the analysis, however, two previously excluded independent variables were included in the stepwise routine. In light of this, literature shows that it is acceptable to drop the case from the analysis (Fox, 1993).

The standard error of estimate (0.9266) was low in comparison to the standard deviation of the dependent variable (sd=2.028) which indicated that the residual error was relatively low. Furthermore, the sample size of 62 was smaller than that suggested by Howell (1992, p 498). That is, there were only 8.85 cases for each independent variable as opposed to the suggested 10 cases per independent variable. The small sample size may thus, have biased the F statistics. However, other statisticians suggest that a sample size of at least 2 cases more than the number of independent variables is sufficient (Berry & Feldman, 1993; Fox, 1993). Therefore, sample size was not considered to be a problem.

Significant zero-order correlations (range of 0.29 to 0.86) were obtained between all but two of the independent variables and the dependent variable. The two independent variables with a non-significant relationship with the dependent variable were "perceived deprivation relative to whites in terms of graduates' life chances" (0.05) and "the perception of graduates' life chances" (0.12). This indicates that these variables do not contribute significantly to the sample's perceptions of its job opportunities.

Considering the above finding, it was interesting to note that both these non-significantly correlated variables were found to significantly influence perceptions of job opportunities and that they highly correlated with one another ($r=0.71$; $df=60$; $p<0.05$). Furthermore, "perceived deprivation relative to whites in terms of graduates' life chances" turned out to

have a negative beta weight in the regression equation. There are two possible explanations for this anomaly.

Firstly, multicollinearity has been known to produce negative beta signs (Lewis-Beck, 1993). Four inter-correlations between independent variables were higher than 0.5 which indicated that variables which explain "perceived job opportunities" have a lot of common variance. This means that one or two of these variables would tend to explain most of the shared variance. Furthermore, the standard errors of the Beta's were large, ranging from 0.06-0.09, "reflecting the imprecision of estimation of the Beta's" (Fox, 1993, p 253). This means that the variability of the statistics over repeated sampling will be large. There was thus, evidence of multicollinearity in this sample. Berry & Feldman (1993) suggest that a better test of multicollinearity is to regress each independent variable in the equation with all the other independent variables. If the R^2's for these regressions are close to 1.00, then there is a high degree of multicollinearity present. In this case, the highest adjusted R^2 for the regressed independent variables was 0.57 which indicated that there was evidence of relatively high multicollinearity. It was thus felt that multicollinearity may explain the negative Beta weight encountered above.

Thus, one could say that the negatively weighted variable could be the product of an "ill-conditioned data matrix" (Draper & Smith, 1981), produced by the multicollinearity. The purpose of the regression analysis influences possible responses to this problem. Since, in this case, the goal of the regression was to show which variables influence the African sample's perceptions of job opportunities (and not to explain the effects of the individual independent variables on the dependent variable), Berry & Feldman (1993, p 191) concur that "the large standard errors resulting from high multicollinearity are generally of little consequence". In adopting this approach, one should note then that "the conclusions drawn about the relative impacts of the independent variables on the dependent variable based on coefficient estimates from one sample are very shaky" (Ibid., p 192).

A second explanation of the negative Beta weight is that it may be an indication that deprivation relative to Whites in terms of life chances is a suppressor variable (Howell, 1992). According to Cohen & Cohen (1983, p 95), the term suppression can be understood

to mean that "the relationship between the independent variables (X_1 & X_2) is hiding or suppressing their real relationship with (the dependent variable) Y. Variable X_2, "although not correlated with the criterion Y, is correlated with the available measure of the predictor X_1 and thus adds irrelevant variance to it and reduces its relationship with Y." They go on to state that "statistically significant suppression effects are likely to be found in aggregate data, where the variables are sums or averages of many observations and R^2 's are likely to approach 1.00 because of the small error variance that results in these conditions" (Ibid., p 96). In light of this, the variable "experience of deprivation relative to White graduates in term of life chances" was tested to see if its total effect was restricted to reducing the error variance in the variable "African graduates' life chances". The suppressor variable was regressed on to the alleged suppressed variable ("African graduates' life chances"). The error residuals were saved as a new variable and this new variable was then regressed onto the dependent variable, "perceived job opportunities". This regression was not significant (R^2 =0.0001; F=0.008; df=1.67; p<0.93) and the assumption of suppression was thus brought into question. The fact that removing the suspected suppressor variable from the regression equation resulted in the suppressed variable also being removed and other variables becoming significant, showed that the assumption of suppression could not be completely disregarded in this instance. One could thus argue that the negatively weighted variable's role is confined to reducing the error variance of the suppressed variable and it is therefore, useless to try to interpret it.

Regardless of the cause of the anomaly discussed above, the author has adopted the position that the current regression is the best equation in statistical terms; and in doing this, is acknowledging the numerous constraints that this places on the interpretation of the analysis.

Table 7. African Students : Multiple Regression Summary for dependent variable "perception of job opportunities"

R^2 = 0.81910803; Adjusted R^2 = 0.79565907
F (7.54) = 34.932; p<0.00001; Standard Error of estimate : 0.92666

N=62	Beta	Std Error of β	B	Std Error of B	t(54)	p
Intercept			6.2891	1.099089	5.72206	0.00001
RD -> Whites ito Job Opportunities $	0.6122$	0.090444	0.4064	0.060031	6.76907	0.00001
Perceived Change in Job Opportunities $	0.2412$	0.079815	0.2398	0.079339	3.02192	0.003835
Perceived Life Chances of Graduates *	0.18057*	0.085311	0.2003	0.094659	211670	0.038909
Perceived effect - AA on job opportunities *	0.1547*	0.064363	0.081	0.033514	2.40467	0.019645
RD -> Whites ito Life Chances $	-0.2317$	0.083612	-0.228	0.082207	-2.77132	0.007642
Coping resources	0.07798	0.061213	0.026	0.021070	1.27397	0.208130
Orientation to socio-political change	0.06656	0.063288	0.019	0.018887	1.05164	0.297648

* significant at p<0.05
$ significant at p<0.01

79.5% of the variance in the dependent variable "perceived job opportunities" is explained by the 7 variables found in Table 7. However, only 5 of those variables emerged as significant. For African students then, their perceptions of their job opportunities on graduation was predicted by

a) the experience of deprivation relative to White graduates in term of job opportunities;
b) the perception of change in their job opportunities from the past to present;
c) the perceptions of their life chances[17];
d) the perception that Affirmative Action will effect their job opportunities and
e) the experience of deprivation relative to White graduates in term of life chances (which will not be interpreted any further for the reasons outlined above).

It is noteworthy that coping resources and orientation to socio-political change were not significant influences.

The most powerful influence on the African sample's perception of their job opportunities was the estimation of their job opportunities relative to Whites. They still see Whites as having the edge when it comes to job opportunities. Nonetheless, they see their job opportunities as having changed for the positive and this fact exercises a significant influence on the dependent variable. This group see their graduate status as being important in enhancing their life chances. Finally, Affirmative Action is positively viewed as a mechanism for increasing their job opportunities.

[17] This is only significant when its error variance has been accounted for by variable (e).

The White Sample

The results of the regression for the White sample are depicted in Table 8 below. Before examining the results, there are issues which need to be clarified regarding the multiple regression procedure.

An influential outlier (case 38) was excluded from the analysis because it exerted strong leverage on the regression coefficients (Fox, 1993). That is, when case 38 was excluded from the analysis, one previously excluded independent variables was included in the stepwise routine. The standard error of estimate (0.705) was low in comparison to the standard deviation of the dependent variable (sd=1.867) which indicated that the residual error was relatively low. And, the sample size of 42 was smaller than that suggested by Howell (1992, p 498). That is, there were only 8.4 cases for each independent variable as opposed to the suggested 10 cases per independent variable. The small sample size may have biased the F statistics. However, since the sample size was greater than the number of independent variables, the relatively small sample size was not considered a problem (Berry & Feldman, 1993; Fox, 1993).

There were only 2 significant zero-order correlations. They are "perceived change in their job opportunities from past to present" (0.89) and "perceived change in their life chances" (0.39). The high correlation of the perceived change in job opportunities from past to present with perceptions of job opportunities indicated that this variable would be a strong predictor. The other eight independent variables produced weak, non-significant zero-order correlations. This indicated that these variables did not contribute significantly to this sample's perception of their job opportunities and it brought into question whether the specified variables were of relevance to the regression in this instance.

An initial regression analysis was performed and an examination of the results revealed that of the three variables that reached significance, approval of Affirmative Action had a negative Beta weight.

Steps similar to those outlined in the African sample's regression results section were undertaken in order to account for this anomaly. There was evidence of multicollinearity.

Five inter-correlations between the independent variables were higher than 0.5 which indicated that the variables which explained "perceived job opportunities" had a lot of common variance. This means that one or two of these variables tended to explain most of the shared variance. Furthermore, the standard error of the Beta's were large ranging from 0.061-0.047. This means that the variability of the statistics over repeated sampling will be large. Thus, the possibility of high multicollinearity causing the negative beta weight was investigated further. This investigation revealed that the R^2 's obtained from regressing the independent variables on each other were relatively high, i.e., four R^2 's were above 0.72.

Thus, one could say that the negative beta weight could be the product of an "ill-conditioned data matrix" (Draper & Smith, 1981) which was produced by multicollinearity. Referring back to the points made above, a similar position will be adopted with regards this negatively weighted variable. And, one should keep in mind Berry & Feldman's (1993, p 192) caution that "the conclusions drawn about the relative impacts of the independent variables on the dependent variable based on coefficient estimates from one sample are very shaky" (Berry & Feldman, 1993, p 192).

The second explanation suggested that a negative Beta weight is a sign of suppression. This was tested in a similar way as described in the section above. The test revealed that approval of Affirmative Action was not necessarily a suppressor variable ($R^2 = 0.01$; $F=1.54$; $df=1.49$; $p<0.22$). However, considering that several of the independent variables changed when this variable was excluded from the analysis, this assumption was not rejected. One could thus argue that the negatively weighted variable's role is confined to reducing the error variance of the suppressed variable and it is therefore, useless to try to interpret it.

Regardless of the cause of the anomaly discussed above, the author adopted the position that the current regression is the best equation in statistical terms; and in doing this, is acknowledging the numerous constraints that this places on the interpretation of the analysis.

Table 8. White Students : Multiple Regression Summary for dependent variable "perception of job opportunities"

R^2 = 0.86485883; Adjusted R^2 = 0.846089
F (5.36) = 52.297; p<0.000001; Standard Error of estimate : 0.70501

N=42	Beta	Std Error of β	B	Std Error of B	t(36)	p
Intercept			7.450	0.991816	7.5119	0.00001
Perceived change in job opportunities $	0.917$	0.064462	0.8063	0.056667	14.2290	0.00001
Coping resources *	0.1452*	0.063991	0.061	0.027421	2.21213	0.03339
Approval of Affirmative Action	-0.1744*	0.064780	-0.215	0.079927	-2,69157	0.010721
Perceived effect - AA on job opportunities	-0.07876	0.063460	-0.075	0.060751	-1.24114	0.22258
RD -> Africans ito Life Chances	0.0743	0.061459	0.5163	0.042714	1.20870	0.23465

* significant at p<0.05
$ significant at p<0.01

84.6% of the variance in the variable "perceived job opportunities" was explained by the 5 variables depicted in table 8. However, only 3 of these variables emerged as significant. White students' perceptions of their job opportunities were influenced by

a) the perception of change in their job opportunities;
b) coping resources and
c) approval of Affirmative Action policies (which will not be interpreted any further for the reasons outlined above).

It was interesting to note that while the perceived effect of Affirmative Action on job opportunities and the perceived change in their life chances relative to Africans were included by the stepwise routine, they did not reach significance.

The most powerful influence on the White sample's perception of their job opportunities was the perceived worsening of their groups' job opportunities from the past to present. This perception was however, mediated by their sense of control over their lives.

The Coloured Sample

The results of the regression for the Coloured sample are depicted in Table 9 below. Before examining the results, there are issues which need to be clarified regarding the multiple regression procedure.

There were only three significant zero-order correlations in the range of 0.49 to 0.67. The other seven independent variables were not significantly correlated to the dependent variable. This brings into question the importance of these independent variables; specifically, whether the regression model specification is accurate and whether the results of the regression are of importance in this instance.

There is strong evidence of high multicollinearity. Nine inter-correlations between independent variables were higher than 0.5 which indicates that the variables which explain perceived job opportunities have a lot of common variance. This means that one or two of these variables tended to explain most of the shared variance. This was confirmed by the relatively high R^2's, i.e., 0.62.

Furthermore, the standard error of the Beta's were extremely large ranging from 0.147 to 0.24. This means that the variability of the statistics over repeated sampling will be very large. Moreover, the standard error of estimate (1.0110) was almost the same as the standard deviation of the dependent variable (sd=1.573) which indicated that the residual error was relatively high. Lastly, the sample size of 20 was a lot smaller than that suggested by Howell (1992, p 498). That is, there were only 2.86 cases for each independent variable as opposed to the suggested 10 cases per independent variable. The small sample size may have biased the F statistics. However, since the sample size was greater than the number of independent variables, the relatively small sample size was not considered a problem (Berry & Feldman, 1993; Fox, 1993).

The above mentioned points should be kept in mind when interpreting the regression results.

Table 9. Coloured Students : Multiple Regression Summary for dependent variable "perception of job opportunities"

$R^2 = 0.75736995$; Adjusted $R^2 = 0.61583576$
F (7.12) = 5.3511; p<0.00569; Standard Error of estimate : 1.0110

N=20	Beta	Std. Error of β	B	Std Error of B	t(12)	p
Intercept			8.9646	2.384037	3.76026	0.002720
Perceived change in job opportunities $	0.5832 $	0.183240	0.5494	0.172637	3.18260	0.007883
Orientation to socio-political change *	0.600 *	0.244709	0.129	0.052947	2.45339	0.030404
Coping resources	-0.41554	0.203328	-0.121	0.059156	-2.0437	0.063577
RD -> Africans ito job opportunities	0.31767	0.207363	0.2299	0.150043	1.53196	0.151462
Perceived effect - AA on job opportunities	0.3033	0.210014	0.162	0.111981	1.44435	0.174241
RD ->Whites ito life chance	0.216101	0.147675	0.2049	0.140056	1.46335	0.169067
Approval of Affirmative Action	-0.24344	0.179865	-0.243	0.179157	-1.3535	0.200850

* significant at p<0.05
$ significant at p<0.01

61.6% of the variance in the variable perceived job opportunities was explained by the 7 variables depicted in table 9. Only 2 of those variables emerged as significant. For the Coloured sample, their perceptions of their job opportunities were significantly influenced by

a) their orientations towards socio-political change
b) and the perceived changes in their job opportunities from the past to present.

It is worth noting that coping resources almost reached significance at $p<0.06$. The other 4 variables which the stepwise regression routine included but which did reach significance in the multiple regression were their experience of deprivation relative to African graduates in terms of job opportunities and relative to White graduates in terms of life chances; approval of Affirmative Action and the perceived effects of Affirmative Action on job opportunities

The most powerful influence on Coloured students perceptions of their job opportunities was their less than positive orientation to the recent socio-political changes in South Africa. This predictor was countered by their perceptions of increased job opportunities for their group.

In summary, the common independent variable which significantly influenced predictions for the dependent variable in all three regression analyses was the perceived change in their own group's job opportunities. Otherwise, regression analysis results showed different significant independent variables to be influencing perceptions of job opportunities for each population group.

VIII. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Findings of the study

One of the aims of the current study was to investigate the effects of population group membership on orientations towards socio-political change in South Africa and perceptions of their job opportunities and life chances. It was found that White students, on average, seemed more negative than the other students. Although Coloured students' responses generally tended to fall somewhere between the White and African students, the findings supported the proposition that there were no major differences between themselves and White students on most measures. African students were generally more positive than the other students.

a. Orientations to socio-political change and perceptions of Affirmative Action employment policies

The findings confirmed that African students would be the most positive about the new South Africa. They believed that the recent socio-political changes were good and that the country would prosper as a result. They also approved of Affirmative Action employment policies and believed that these policies would have a positive effect on their job prospects. The reasons for these perceptions are fairly obvious. Africans have been liberated by the recent changes and stand to benefit from policies such as Affirmative Action (Thomas, 1993) and other reconstruction and development projects which are aimed at redressing the imbalances created by Apartheid.

White and Coloured students, as expected, were less positive towards the recent socio-political changes. They believed that conditions in South Africa would get worse and they were not very happy about the new dispensation. They neither approved nor disapproved of Affirmative Action employment policies but they believed that Affirmative Action would

negatively effect their job opportunities. The literature suggests a number of ways in which these perceptions could be understood.

White students, having been the beneficiaries of Apartheid policies, and Coloured students, who enjoyed limited franchise, job reservation legislation and relatively good social services, may fear the loss of this relative privilege as a result of the shift in the status quo (Jacobson, 1985). The aversive racism embodied in the politics of the Apartheid era may have been replaced by a fear of unfair competition from previously disadvantaged groups and fear of a change in life style as a result of these shifts (Jacobson, 1985). Negative orientations to socio-political change and resistance to Affirmative Action could thus be considered a revamping of "old" fears. It is unfortunate that the measure of social distance (Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983) was unable to be used in this study as it would have provided evidence on whether racism was indeed a significant influence on perceptions.

This interpretation of racism is closely linked with theories of self-interest (Jacobson, 1985; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Veilleux & Tougas, 1994). White South Africans have an interest in maintaining the current social and economic order, and Coloured South Africans have an interest in not seeing their more powerful position relative to Africans, eroded. Thus, these groups may fear that a new government will direct resources towards African communities at the expense of their communities. For example, Coloured and White students believed that Affirmative Action would negatively affect their job opportunities and that their access to resources was under direct threat from Affirmative Action policies. Realistic group conflict theory (Bobo, 1983) states that conflict over resources will result in subjective group classification and will thus exacerbate subjective group identifications and comparisons.

The above findings may lead one to expect White and Coloured students to disapprove of Affirmative Action policies and their neutrality may, thus, come as a surprise. This finding could be explained by Murrell et al's (1994) concept of macro and micro justice concerns. These groups may be faced by the conflict of supporting macro-justice concerns of redress and restitution, and the micro-justice concerns of procedural justice and the protection of one's interests.

Du Preez (1991) presents a paradigm which offers another explanation of this finding. It was found that White and Coloured students reported that they identified most strongly with a broad "South African" identity. However, it was population group membership that clearly influenced responses on all measures. This may point to what Du Preez terms a "multiplicity" of identity (1991, p 78). This means that to the extent to which a person engages in conflicting discourses and practices, s/he constructs conflicting identities. It could be argued that White and Coloured students are struggling to redefine (Sonn, 1994) or recover (Erikson, 1965) their identity. This struggle could be manifest in the confusion over which identity they use as a reference point. As a "South African", one may be expected to support the establishment of a democratic society and the redress of past discrimination (e.g., in the form of the RDP or Affirmative Action). As a "White" or "Coloured" person in the new South Africa, however, one may fear the outcome of these changes and the loss of relative privilege and power; and one would not support the changes referred to above. Thus, this neutrality towards Affirmative Action policies can be understood as the result of conflict between macro-justice concerns. i.e., being "South African", and micro-justice concerns, i.e., being "White"/"Coloured" and faced with perceptions of the negative effects of Affirmative Action on their job opportunities.

Furthermore, the literature suggests (Caliguire, 1996; Sonn, 1994; James, Caliguire & Cullinan, 1996; Alexander, 1996; Ramphele, 1996) that Coloured people are uncertain regarding their future in the new South Africa, especially their inclusion in the political processes (Marais, 1996). This may be contributing to their neutrality towards Affirmative Action policies. Moreover, the uncertainty regarding their inclusion as a target group of Affirmative Action (Caliguire, 1996) leads to an uncertain position regarding Affirmative Action policies.

b. Perception of job opportunities and life chances

White students thought that African graduates followed by Coloured graduates had the best chance of getting a job. They felt that African graduates' job chances had increased, and that their own job chances decreased, to such an extent that both African and Coloured

graduates' job chances surpassed that of White graduates. In fact, White students perceived their job chances to be decreasing to a larger degree than did African or Coloured students. They perceived themselves to be, in the subjective sense, losing the most relative to other groups. This could be explained by Breakwell's (1986) argument that the sense of loss or threat experienced by White students may exaggerate their perception of the extent of the changes in relative positions of advantage they accord to each population group. Bobo's (1983) submission that conflict over scarce resources will exaggerate the subjective group experience and Eberhardt & Fiske's (1994) assertion that power asymmetries between groups augment group identification, tend to support this explanation of why White students viewed their loss of opportunity so steeply.

Considering this view of relative change in status, it is not surprising that White students experienced deprivation relative to both Coloured and African students in terms of job opportunities. This confirms Appelgryn's (1993) findings that as political transition progresses, White South Africans would experience deprivation. Runciman's (1965) proposal that comparisons with one's own group can produce feelings of deprivation was also confirmed. White students felt that in the last five years they had moved down 3 rungs of a 10 rung ladder which represented graduates' job opportunities. However, Harper's (1992) prediction that comparisons with one's own group as opposed to a reference group would produce greater experiences of relative deprivation, were not confirmed. That is, White students' perceptions of their own group's change in position were not significantly different to their perception of their group's change in position relative to African students. An interesting point to note, is that White students' comparisons of their job opportunities now with their own group's anticipated job opportunities in 5 years time produced significantly stronger experiences of deprivation than did comparisons of their own group's and the African group's job opportunities in the future. That is, White students experienced significantly more deprivation relative to their own group than relative to Africans in terms of **anticipated changes** in job opportunities. This was illustrated by Appelgryn (1991) who showed that anticipation of loss of position was a predictor of negative perceptions of reform and of the experience of relative deprivation.

Despite this, White students still believe that they have better life chances than either Coloured or African students. One may speculate that there is a class phenomenon operating in this instance. Perhaps White students see 'white-collar' employment as the primary route to a good life whereas Black students see other possible routes, e.g., a trade. No major changes were perceived for the future except a further evening-out of life chances.

High unemployment rates and the finding that Coloured students feel that their job opportunities are negatively effected by Affirmative Action policies, leads one to expect a negative perception of their job chances (Caliguire, 1996). However, they thought that their job prospects had improved since 5 years ago and saw their chances of getting a job as equal to that of Whites. The findings that Coloured students thought that African graduates had the best job prospects and the fact that they felt most deprived relative to this group, supported the idea that Coloured South Africans do not see themselves as the beneficiaries of Affirmative Action policies (Caliguire, 1996). They see Africans as standing to gain more than they do from the recent socio-political changes (James, Caliguire & Cullinan, 1996). Furthermore, despite the fact that they saw the changes in the country as increasing their life chances, the pattern outlined above persisted, in that they believed African graduates had better life chances than themselves.

African students saw White graduates as still having the best employment opportunities despite recent changes which might suggest otherwise. This is not a surprising result if one looks at African students' perceptions of all the population groups' job opportunities in the past. Like the other samples, they saw White graduates chances as decreasing, Coloured graduates chances as increasing slightly and African graduates chances as increasing the most. However, they perceived large disparities in the past, with White graduates being substantially better off than Coloured graduates or themselves. In light of these differences, one can see that African students' perceptions of relative changes are not that different from Coloured or White students' perceptions but just smaller. One may thus conclude that African students, while perceiving an improvement in their job chances, do not feel that there has been a 'reversal of fortune'. Thus, African students may have viewed their job prospects as increasing but this was tempered by the disparities in the past

and a lack of visible, substantial change (Appelgryn, 1991). This is supported by the finding that African students believed that their life chances would increase as a result of tertiary education. However, they continued to view White graduate's as having better life chances than themselves. No major changes were perceived for the future except a further evening-out of opportunities. This implies that while African students still view themselves as worse off than Whites, they see this situation as improving and perceive that they have equal access to resources and job opportunities, Africans will experience a lessening of deprivation relative to Whites. One is cautioned to remember Appelgryn's (1991) argument that group's anticipating improvement in their situation may experience deprivation as a result of unfulfilled aspirations.

c. Influences on perceptions of job opportunities.

Another aim of the current study was to establish what influence orientations to socio-political change, perceptions of Affirmative Action employment policies, perceptions of change in job prospects over the last 5 years, experience of deprivation relative to other population groups, and coping resources, would have on the students' perceptions of their job opportunities.

All these variables were expected to influence students' views on their job prospects in the context under investigation. The literature suggests that the implementation of Affirmative Action policies will effect job opportunities. Similarly, when people experience socio-political change which they see as leading to a shift in their social position, this will also influence whether they see their job prospects as increasing or decreasing.

Finally, in cases where students see their opportunities as declining, if they have a greater sense of mastery of their environment, then this variable will shift the degree to which they feel positive or negative about their job chances. Thus, people with positive coping styles might be expected to be positive about their job prospects even when their social position has declined and when Affirmative Action policies favour other groups than their own.

We would expect each variable to have an influence but it is important to tease out the relative importance in groups occupying differing social positions. Thus, we would expect that groups who perceive their status to be declining to be affected by these variables in a different way to groups who see their position as improving.

A multiple regression analysis was utilised in order to assess the relative influence of these variables on the three sample's views of their job prospects. Considering the number of concerns raised in the reporting of the multiple regression results and the difficulty in interpreting regression results generally, it should be noted that the "interpretations" below are considered to be tentative suggestions rather than conclusive findings. Moreover, for all three samples, it is evident that multicollinearity has resulted in a few variables accounting for the shared variance. This is not to say that the other variables are of no importance, but that they have not reached significance in this instance because of their relationship with the variables which did reach significance.

For White students, 2 variables reached significance as predictors of their perceptions of their job opportunities. These perceptions depended on their view of the degree to the job opportunities of White graduate's had declined over the last 5 years. This finding supports Harper's (1992) and Runciman's (1965) proposal that comparisons with one's own group's position in the past are a stronger predictor of perceptions of job opportunities than comparisons with the current position of other groups. This is especially true for groups losing relative privilege (Appelgryn, 1993). For White students then, the perception of their own group's demise is of great significance.

Coping, in the form of mastery of the environment (Pearlin & Schooler, 1979), played a relatively small role. Thus, there is some evidence that students whose psychological resources included mastery of the environment will cope better with the changes that they confront. The results indicated that those who do believe they have more control over their environment are less likely to be pessimistic, but their coping style is not a major determinant of these feelings.

For Coloured students, comparisons of their job opportunities 5 years ago with their current job opportunities is an important predictor of their perceptions of their job prospects. The same applies to feelings about socio-political change. That is, Coloured students who felt that the recent changes in South Africa are for the best and who were of the opinion that their job prospects have improved of their over the last 5 years, were likely to believe that they stood a good chance of getting a job. If the converse is considered, it would seem to support James & Caliguire's (1996, p 137) proposition that many Coloured people in the Western Cape are negative towards socio-political change because they fear loss of relative social status. Moreover, further support is found for Appelgryn's (1993) suggestion that comparisons with the position they occupied before the changes took place, is predictor of attitudes for groups who perceive themselves to be losing relative privilege. In this case, the Coloured sample shows a similar pattern to the White sample.

African students' perceptions of job opportunities are greatly affected by their sense of deprivation relative to White graduates. As relative deprivation was measured in terms of job opportunities, it is logical to assume that as a person feels less deprived, they will perceive a greater availability of jobs. This variable, feelings of disadvantage in job opportunities relative to Whites, was only a predictor of perceptions of job opportunities for African students. It was noteworthy that it was only in the African sample that inter-group comparisons of current job prospects emerged as a significant predictor of perceptions of job opportunities. These Inter-group comparison were made with the previously dominant group (Whites). Previous research suggested that Africans perceived themselves as relatively worse off than all other groups. The current research shows that, on a student population in the new South Africa, this is not the case.

African people have experienced extreme disadvantage as a result of a politically assigned population group membership. This disadvantage has resulted in a lack of resources evident in a wide range of areas (health, education, housing etc.) and in Africans having no real economic control. The recent socio-political changes in South Africa have not changed these circumstances in a material sense. What this suggests is that this group, while seeing themselves as gaining power and steadily reversing their historically disadvantaged position, nonetheless still perceive themselves still to be at a lower level in the social

hierarchy (Appelgryn, 1991, 1993). Furthermore, according to Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt (1987), Africans with higher educational qualifications experienced deprivation relative to other groups more acutely. Thus, one could anticipate that a comparison between themselves and Whites would result in a negative comparison and an experience of deprivation.

In this instance, both inter- and intra-group comparisons emerged as predictors of job opportunities. The view that their job prospects had increased over the last 5 years was the second most important influence on perceptions of their job opportunities. But, it does not exert as strong an influence on their views as does the perception of a decrease in differences between themselves and Whites. The recent shifts in the social hierarchy have emphasised comparisons between population groups. That is, the changes have focused on redressing the past imbalances between population groups and thus, indirectly encourages comparisons with previously dominant groups. A group in this position is very likely to support strategies such as Affirmative Action which will further their opportunities relative to historically advantaged groups. They will also see such strategies as improving their chance of "the good life". This was supported by the results of this section of the current study. That is, African students' thought that Affirmative Action policies would increase their job opportunities; and they saw the improvement in their chances in life as improving their job opportunities.

d. In Summary

White students were generally fairly "neutral" towards socio-political changes in South Africa. While they appeared neither strongly for nor against Affirmative Action, they believed that Affirmative Action would have negative implications for their job opportunities. White students saw their own group's job chances as decreasing and African and Coloured graduates' job chances as increasing. Despite this perception, they believed that they had good life chances, better than either of the other groups. Furthermore, a university degree was perceived to increase their prospects of a good life. Lastly, comparisons with their own

group's job opportunities in the past was the strongest predictor of perceptions of job opportunities. Coping resources, in the form of mastery of the environment, also influenced perceptions of job opportunities.

Coloured students were generally "neutral" towards socio-political change. They felt neutral towards Affirmative Action policies. This was accompanied by a perception that Affirmative Action would negatively affect their job chances. Coloured students felt that their job chances were increasing slightly and that they had just as much of a chance of getting a job as did White graduates. African students were seen to have the best job chances. While Coloured students believed that a university degree would significantly increase their life chances, they perceived White and African graduates to have better life chances than themselves. Lastly, Coloured students' perceptions of their job opportunities was predicted by their orientations to socio-political change and comparisons with their own group's job opportunities in the past.

African students were generally positive about the recent socio-political changes in South Africa. They also approved of Affirmative Action policies and believed that Affirmative Action would positively influence their job opportunities. Despite the fact that African students believed that their job chances were increasing, they continued to believe that White graduates have the best job prospects. They did not see any significant differences between themselves and Coloured students' job chances. Africans students thought that possession of a university degree would significantly increase their life chances. The recent changes in South Africa were perceived to be balancing out (in terms of population group membership) graduates' life chances. African students' perceptions of job opportunities were strongly predicted by perceptions of deprivation in terms of job opportunities relative to White graduates and comparisons with their own group's job opportunities in the past. Other predictors were African graduates' life chances and the perceived effects of Affirmative Action policies on their job chances.

2. Conclusion

One of the central foci of the current study was students' perceptions of Affirmative Action policies and their perceived effects on their job and life chances, regardless of the way in which they defined them. Literature has shown that definitions of Affirmative Action play an important role in the perception of the policies' worth and in attitudes towards those policies (Jacobson, 1985; Turner & Pratkanis, 1994a; Barnes Nacoste, 1994; Major et al, 1994). Future research may thus benefit from incorporating these definitions in the analysis. For example, the literature suggests that concerns about the procedure of implementing Affirmative Action policies is a strong predictor of perceptions (Barnes Nacoste, 1994).

Furthermore, due to the failure of the social distance measure (Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983) to produce scorable data, an analysis of the influence of racism on students' perceptions of Affirmative Action was not possible. This raises questions of the appropriateness of current racism measures in the new South Africa. Moreover, the exclusion of a racism measure, which was considered to be a prime element informing resistance to Affirmative Action (Murrell et al, 1994; Jacobson, 1985) and social reform policies, meant that the current study was unable to address this level of analysis.

Another limitation of the current study was it unfortunate bias towards social science students. As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, while it was intended to include a mix of commerce, humanities and science students, the sampling procedure and methods of data collection resulted in an overwhelming representation of humanities students. Furthermore, a comparison of ordinary students with students reading for professional degrees was not feasible due to the sample size. The question thus remains, are perceptions of Affirmative Action and job prospects influenced by the fixed career path that may be offered by a professional degree ?

Lastly, the use of self-chosen identities was not successful because they seem to cut across and blur more fundamental distinctions which are based in population group membership. It is probable that it is population group membership which is more salient in the context being investigated than an over-arching category such as "South African".

Interestingly, the African group of students do not seem to be realigning their identity with some larger category, but are positively choosing their African identity. Furthermore, the sample size and a lack of a clear measure of socio-economic class did not allow for comparisons of perceptions of socio-political change and Affirmative Action policies across class. It is felt that future research would benefit from an investigation of the effect of socio-economic class on perceptions in order to complement a population group membership analysis.

Perhaps the most important result arising from this study, is the reminder that historically constituted population group membership is still a primary reference group for students. This clearly influenced their orientations towards socio-political change, perceptions of Affirmative Action policies and the views on their job prospects. This would suggest that careful consideration be given to the role that population group membership plays in the design and implementation of Affirmative Action policies.

There is clear evidence that the Coloured sample is threatened by the potential advantage that Africans are gaining. The current ambiguities in policy and practice may be contributing to this threat and they thus need to be clarified. If this is not done, it is likely to contribute to uncertainty and racism. The most probable strategy of this groups is to form an alliance with Whites, the other group facing this threat. These two groups are likely to increasingly challenge the relevance of Affirmative Action policies. It is also probable that racial hostility will arise as they perceive themselves becoming increasingly dislodged by the perceived advantages accruing to Africans. Regardless of emerging over-arching identities such as "South African", in some spheres of life the Apartheid categories remain salient for young South Africans.

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X. APPENDICES

1. Appendix 1 - The Questionnaire

Psychology Department
University of Cape Town
Private Bag
Rondebosch
7700
ph : 650 3435

Dear Student

I am currently doing research for my MA (research and community psychology) which focuses on the University of Cape Town's students' perceptions and thoughts about current socio-economic and political changes in South Africa. I would be grateful if you would assist me by completing this questionnaire.

I do not require your name and all individual responses will be kept confidential, though general trends will be reported in my thesis.

Thank you

Wendy Wright
UCT Psychology Department

Section 1 : Personal Details

Degree/Diploma for which you are studying _____

Majors _____ Year of study for **current** course _____

Please list all other qualifications (e.g., under-grad, post-grad, other courses)

_____

If under-graduate, are you intending to study any post-graduate courses ? If so, what ?

_____

Have you attended any career guidance courses (e.g., at Careers Office) ? If so, what ?

_____

Your anticipated occupation (when graduated) ?

_____

Age _____ * Gender [F] [M] Home Language _____

Parents' occupation

Mother _____ Father _____

* Population group [Coloured] [White] [African] [Indian] Other _____

(* I have to ask this, as the information helps to contextualise my study)

Section 2

Each of us has a number of identities. They are part of how we describe ourselves. The list below contains some group identities to which people belong. In the first column please tick which of them apply to you, and in the second, rank how important having that identity is to you. For example, if you see yourself as being South African and English, and if being South African is more important than being English, then mark South African "1" and English "2". If none of these apply to you, write those that do in the bottom space of the table.

Identity	Tick	Rank
African		
Afrikaner		
Azanian		
Black		
Tswana		
Coloured		
Sotho		
English		
Indian		
South African		
White		
Xhosa		
Swazi		
Zulu		
Venda		

Section 3

Using the code letters provided, please mark on each of the ladders below the chances that ALL the following people (assuming that they have the same qualifications and abilities) have for getting a job when they graduate.

W = White people
C = Coloured people
I = Indian people
A = African people
Me = Yourself

5 years ago	NOW	In 5 years time
10 - Very good	10 - Very good	10 - Very good
9	9	9
8	8	8
7	7	7
6	6	6
5	5	5
4	4	4
3	3	3
2	2	2
1	1	1
0 - Very poor	0 - Very poor	0 - Very poor

Section 4

Assume that the 10 rung ladder below represents social, political and economic life in SA. 10 represents the very best possible life a person in SA can have, and 0 the very worst life a person in SA can have. Using this ladder, please indicate on which rung each of the groups listed below sits NOW, 5 years ago (PAST) and in 5 years time (FUTURE) by writing the appropriate numbers in the table below.

10	The very best life in South Africa has to offer in social, political and economic terms.
9	
8	
7	
6	
5	***Using this ladder of numbers as a guide, fill in the table below.***
4	
3	
2	
1	
0	The very worst life has to offer in South Africa in social, political and economic terms.

Groups WITHOUT degrees/diplomas	**Past**	**Now**	**Future**
African people			
White people			
Coloured people			
Indian people			

Groups WITH degrees/diplomas			
African people			
White people			
Coloured people			
Indian people			

You personally			

Section 5

Please tick/mark the appropriate block.

1. I feel confident and happy about my future in South Africa.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

2. Political violence is likely to decrease over the next 2 years.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

3. Affirmative Action is one of the most effective ways of redressing past discrimination.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

4. There is no way I can solve some of the problems I have.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

5. Affirmative Action, as an employment or promotion policy, will lead to a drop in the standard of South African business.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

6. The change in government in South Africa will not affect my day to day living.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

7. Sometimes I feel that I am being pushed around in life.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

8. Affirmative Action policies will lead to a greater number of experienced employees.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

9. I feel positive about the new South African government.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

10. It is very seldom that I think about my future in South Africa.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

11. Affirmative Action policies are likely to result in prejudice towards the affirmative action appointee.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

12. I have little control over the things that happen to me.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

13. The recent political developments are going to have a positive effect on the economy.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

14. Unemployment will increase drastically in the next 5 years.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

15. I approve of Affirmative Action policies.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

16. I can do just about everything I really set my mind to.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

17. People should be hired on the basis of merit alone.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

18. In the new South Africa, given the same qualifications and abilities, an **African** person will probably be employed more often than a **White** person.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

19. In the new South Africa, given the same qualifications and abilities, an **African** person will probably be employed more often than a **Coloured** person.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

20. There is little I can do to change any of the important things in my life.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

21. Previously disadvantaged South Africans are entitled to benefit from affirmative action policies

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

22. There are more job opportunities available for White South Africans in the new South Africa than overseas

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

23. I will find a job easily because of the colour of my skin.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

24. What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

25. Black people would prefer to be appointed to jobs on merit alone without regard to Affirmative Action.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

26. In the long run, my degree/diploma will not increase my chances of getting a job.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

27. The standard of living in South Africa is not likely to drop significantly in the next 5 years.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

28. Affirmative Action will not affect my chances of a job.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

29. I generally feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

30. Affirmative Action for Black South Africans is a form of reverse racism.

strongly agree	agree	moderately agree	neutral	moderately disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

Section 6

Please circle the number which you feel illustrates the characteristics of the following South Africans.

WHITES

1. FAIR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNFAIR
2. RELIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNRELIABLE
3. DISHONEST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HONEST
4. BORING	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	INTERESTING
5. WISE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FOOLISH
6. WORTHLESS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	VALUABLE
7. CRUEL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	KIND
8. GOOD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BAD
9. LAZY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HARDWORKING
10. PLEASANT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNPLEASANT
11. UNFRIENDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FRIENDLY
12. COWARDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BRAVE
13. CLEAN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DIRTY
14. UNGRATEFUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	GRATEFUL
15. LOYAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DISLOYAL

COLOUREDS

1. FAIR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNFAIR
2. RELIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNRELIABLE
3. DISHONEST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HONEST
4. BORING	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	INTERESTING
5. WISE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FOOLISH
6. WORTHLESS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	VALUABLE
7. CRUEL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	KIND
8. GOOD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BAD
9. LAZY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HARDWORKING
10. PLEASANT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNPLEASANT
11. UNFRIENDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FRIENDLY
12. COWARDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BRAVE
13. CLEAN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DIRTY
14. UNGRATEFUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	GRATEFUL
15. LOYAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DISLOYAL

AFRICANS

1. FAIR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNFAIR
2. RELIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNRELIABLE
3. DISHONEST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HONEST
4. BORING	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	INTERESTING
5. WISE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FOOLISH
6. WORTHLESS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	VALUABLE
7. CRUEL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	KIND
8. GOOD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BAD
9. LAZY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HARDWORKING
10. PLEASANT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNPLEASANT
11. UNFRIENDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FRIENDLY
12. COWARDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BRAVE
13. CLEAN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DIRTY
14. UNGRATEFUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	GRATEFUL
15. LOYAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DISLOYAL

INDIANS

1. FAIR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNFAIR
2. RELIABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNRELIABLE
3. DISHONEST	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HONEST
4. BORING	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	INTERESTING
5. WISE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FOOLISH
6. WORTHLESS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	VALUABLE
7. CRUEL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	KIND
8. GOOD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BAD
9. LAZY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	HARDWORKING
10. PLEASANT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	UNPLEASANT
11. UNFRIENDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	FRIENDLY
12. COWARDLY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	BRAVE
13. CLEAN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DIRTY
14. UNGRATEFUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	GRATEFUL
15. LOYAL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	DISLOYAL

2. Appendix 2 - Table of Major Subject by Degree

	HDE	B.Sc	B.Soc.Sci	B.A	B.Com	B.Bus.Sci	Law	Other
Education	8			1				
Psychology			20	12				
Industrial Psy			12	1		2		1
Politics			16				2	
Zoology		10						
Chemistry		15						
Economics			5		7	2		
Ind Sociology			6					
Geology		1						
Botany		1						
Micro Biology		1						
Acc/Finance					4			
computer					3			
Actuarial Sci						1		
Personnel			1			1		
Language	1		2	2				
Logopedics		5						
Social Work			5					
History	3		1	3				
Engineering		9						
Marketing						1		1
Drama								1
Law							4	
Maths		3						
Blank								2

3. Appendix 3 - 30 Item Likert Scale

Items marked with an * were dropped from the final analysis

Factor 1 - Orientation to Socio-Political Change : The items are

1. Item 1 "I feel confident and happy about my future in South Africa"
2. Item 2 "Political violence is likely to decrease over the next 2 years"
3. Item 3 "Affirmative Action is one of the most effective ways of redressing past discrimination"
4. * Item 6 "The change in government in South Africa will not effect my day to day living"
5. Item 9 "I feel positive about the new South African government"
6. * Item 10 "It is very seldom that I think about my future in South Africa"
7. Item 13 "The recent political developments are going to have a positive effect on the economy"
8. Item 14 "Unemployment will increase drastically in the next 5 years"
9. Item 21 "Previously disadvantaged South Africans are entitled to benefit from Affirmative Action policies"
10. Item 27 "The standard of living in South Africa is not likely to drop significantly in the next 5 years"

Factor 2 - Coping - Mastery of the Environment : The items are

1. Item 4 "There is no way I can solve some of the problems I have."
2. Item 7 "Sometimes I feel I am being pushed around in life"
3. Item 12 "I have very little control over the things that happen to me"
4. * Item 16 "I can do just about everything I really set my mind to"
5. Item 20 "There is little I can do to change any of important things in my life"
6. Item 24 "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me"
7. Item 29 "I generally feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life"

Factor 3 - Perceived effects of Affirmative Action on employment opportunities : The items are

1. Item 18 "In the new South Africa, given the same qualifications and abilities, an African person will probably be employed more often than a White person"
2. Item 19 "In the new South Africa, given the same qualifications and abilities, an African person will probably be employed more often than a Coloured person"
3. Item 22 "There are more job opportunities for White South Africans in the new South Africa than overseas"
4. * Item 23 "I will find a job easily because of the colour of my skin"
5. * Item 26 "In the long run, my degree will not increase my chances of getting a job"
6. Item 28 "Affirmative Action will not effect my chances of getting a job"

The following items loaded weakly on all three above factors and were excluded from the factor analysis :.

1. Item 5 "Affirmative Action, as an employment or promotion policy, will lead to a drop in the standard of South African business"
2. Item 8 "Affirmative Action policies will lead to a greater number of experienced employees"
3. Item 11 "Affirmative Action policies are likely to result in prejudice towards the Affirmative Action appointee"
4. Item 15 "I approve of Affirmative Action policies"
5. Item 17 "People should be hired on the basis of merit alone"
6. Item 25 "Black people would prefer to be appointed to jobs on merit alone without regard to Affirmative Action"
7. Item 30 "Affirmative Action for black South Africans is a form of reverse racism"

4. Appendix 4 - Factor Analysis

Factor Loadings

Extraction : Principal factors - comm.=multiple R-square; Rotation : Varimax normalised

Item	Content	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1	OR to S-P Change	**0.515763**	0.286275	-0.213034
2	OR to S-P Change	**0.543009**	0.010488	-0.094601
3	OR to S-P Change	**0.666467**	-0.097261	-0.244808
4	Coping	-0.37391	**0.477603**	-0.120638
7	Coping	-0.021718	**0.539489**	0.195341
9	OR to S-P Change	**0.615693**	-0.056709	0.000149
12	Coping	-0.008933	**0.657297**	0.142662
13	OR to S-P Change	**0.661294**	-0.069597	-0.100559
14	OR to S-P Change	**0.442596**	0.193445	-0.067054
18	perceived eff of AA	-0.081270	0.103932	**0.873039**
19	perceived eff of AA	-0.166462	-0.022502	**0.815303**
20	Coping	-0.018518	**0.625737**	0.006562
21	OR to S-P Change	**0.459658**	-0.055276	-0.076226
22	perceived eff of AA	-0.245441	0.201307	**0.498271**
24	Coping	0.071279	**0.363092**	0.062900
27	OR to S-P Change	**0.469755**	0.185353	-0.068124
28	perceived eff of AA	-0.305670	0.105841	**0.347063**
29	Coping	0.094320	**0.586444**	0.079704
	Explained Variance	2.653542	2.055941	2.018370
	Proportion of Total	0.147419	0.114219	0.112132

5. Appendix 5. Summary Statistics for Dependent T-tests on Job Opportunities

Each Sample's view of their own personal opportunities compared to that of their groups'

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
AFRICAN						
me	5.844444	2.194575				
my group	6.088889	1.892836	45	-0.967814	44	0.338427
COLOURED						
me	6.380952	1.883512				
my group	6.285714	1.647509	21	.317420	20	0.754215
WHITE						
me	5.333333	1.956187				
my group	5.549020	1.879508	51	-1.33434	50	0.188138

African Sample's perception of Job Opportunities for present

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
white	8.074324	1.629527				
coloured	6.243243	1.678313	74	7.47514	73	0.000000
white	8.074324	1.629527				
African	5.736486	2.017429	74	6.89766	73	0.000000
Coloured	6.219178	1.677023				
African	5.773973	2.005273	73	1.96874	72	0.052832

Coloured Sample's perception of job opportunities for the present

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
White	6.400000	2.533114				
Coloured	6.320000	1.573743	25	.14694	24	0.884404
White	6.423077	2.484723				
African	8.153846	1.973673	26	-2.30930	25	0.029473
Coloured	6.320000	1.573743				
African	8.160000	2.014117	25	-4.16038	24	0.000351

White Sample's perception of job opportunities for the present

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
White	5.571429	1.867007				
Coloured	6.785714	1.344542	56	-4.48840	55	0.000037
White	5.527273	1.854470				
African	8.490909	1.303453	55	-8.48970	54	0.000000
Coloured	6.781818	1.356615				
African	8.490909	1.303453	55	-8.00611	54	0.000000

6. Appendix 6. Summary Statistics for Anova

Changes in Job Opportunities from the PAST to PRESENT.

Perceived Changes in Job Opportunities for African Graduates

	Mean	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	5.923077	26	154.0000	2.512737	6.313846
White	4.672727	55	257.0000	2.177788	4.742761
African	2.906667	75	218.0000	2.112852	4.464144
All Grps	4.032051	156	629.0000	2.481986	6.160256

Perceived Changes in Job Opportunities for Coloured Graduates

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	1.320000	25	33.0000	1.994158	3.976667
White	1.303571	56	73.0000	1.798177	3.233442
African	.246575	73	18.0000	1.706042	2.910578
All Grps	.805195	154	124.0000	1.854434	3.438927

Perceived Changes in Job Opportunities for White Graduates

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	-2.92308	26	-76.000	2.591109	6.713846
White	-3.32143	56	-186.000	1.991867	3.967532
African	-1.08000	75	-81.000	1.458989	2.128649
All Grps	-2.18471	157	-343.000	2.150795	4.625919

7. Appendix 7. Summary Statistics for Anova

Changes in Job Opportunities from PRESENT to FUTURE.

Perceived Changes in Job Opportunities for African Graduates

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	.269231	26	7.0000	1.537731	2.364615
White	-.690909	55	-38.0000	1.585498	2.513805
African	1.246575	73	91.0000	1.614008	2.605023
All Grps	.389610	154	60.0000	1.808880	3.272048

Perceived Changes in Job Opportunities for Coloured Graduates

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	.400000	25	10.00000	1.258306	1.583333
White	-.142857	56	-8.00000	1.432462	2.051948
African	.281690	71	20.00000	1.550881	2.405231
All Grps	.144737	152	22.00000	1.471171	2.164343

Perceived Changes in Job Opportunities for White Graduates

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	-.038462	26	-1.0000	2.457328	6.038462
White	.250000	56	14.0000	1.928259	3.718182
African	-.563380	71	-40.0000	1.380811	1.906640
All Grps	-.176471	153	-27.0000	1.832160	3.356811

8. Appendix 8. Summary Statistics for T-test Graduate Life Chances

The African Sample's perception of Graduates' Life Chances at present

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
African	5.959459	1.90485				
White	8.770270	1.57504	74	-10.9285	73	0.000000
African	5.959459	1.90485				
Coloured	7.918919	10.98038	74	-1.6049	73	0.112842
White	8.770270	1.57504				
Coloured	7.918919	10.98038	74	.6756	73	0.501410

The Coloured Sample's perception of Graduates' Life Chances at present

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
African	8.208333	1.641292				
White	7.458333	2.431303	24	1.30437	23	0.205011
African	8.208333	1.641292				
Coloured	6.666667	1.736229	24	3.86208	23	0.000792
White	7.458333	2.431303				
Coloured	6.666667	1.736229	24	2.29022	23	0.031510

The White Sample's perception of Graduates' Life Chances at present

	Mean	Std.Dev.	N	t	df	p
African	7.905660	1.376508				
White	7.056604	1.769562	53	2.54480	52	0.013941
African	7.942308	1.363580				
Coloured	6.769231	1.230581	52	6.05798	51	0.000000
White	7.076923	1.780572				
Coloured	6.769231	1.230581	52	1.31554	51	0.194212

9. Appendix 9. Summary Statistics for Relative Deprivation.

White Students' sense of Relative Deprivation

	Mean	df	t	p
Job Opps				
African	-2.96	54	-8.49	0.0001
Coloured	-1.2	55	-4.48	0.00004
Life Chance				
African	-0.85	51	1.32	0.2
Coloured	0.31	52	-2.54	0.014

African Students' sense of Relative Deprivation

	Mean	df	t	p
Job Opps				
White	-2.3	73	-6.9	0.0001
Coloured	-0.45	72	-1.9	0.053
Life Chance				
White	-2.8	73	-10.9	0.0001
Coloured	-0.73	73	-1.6	0.11

Coloured Students' sense of Relative Deprivation

	Mean	df	t	p
Job Opps				
White	-0.08	24	0.146	0.88
African	-1.8	24	-4.16	0.004
Life Chance				
White	-0.79	23	-2.29	0.03
African	-1.5	23	-3.9	0.0007

10. Appendix 10. Summary Statistics for Anova

Orientations to Socio-Political Change

Analysis of Variance

SS Effect	df Effect	MS Effect	SS Error	df Error	MS Error	F	p
1392.085	2	696.0426	7878.222	153	51.49165	13.51758	.000004

Summary Table of Means

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	29.00000	25	725.000	7.158911	51.25000
White	30.12963	54	1627.000	7.536193	56.79420
African	23.84416	77	1836.000	6.918824	47.87013
All Grps	26.84615	156	4188.000	7.733591	59.80844

LSD Test

	Coloured	White	African
	M=29.000	M=30.130	M=23.844
Coloured		0.516177	0.002153
White	0.516177		0.000002
African	0.002153	0.000002	

11. Appendix 11. Summary Statistics for Anova

Perceived Effects of Affirmative Action Employment Policies

Analysis of Variance

SS Effect	df Effect	MS Effect	SS Error	df Error	MS Error	F	p
2258.730	2	1129.365	2105.705	153	13.76278	82.05938	0.000000

Summary Table of Means

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	10.96000	25	274.000	3.384770	11.45667
White	9.49091	55	522.000	2.968181	8.81010
African	17.50000	76	1330.000	4.250490	18.06667
All Grps	13.62821	156	2126.000	5.306378	28.15765

LSD Test

	Coloured	White	African
	M=10.960	M=9.4909	M=17.500
Coloured		0.102700	0.000000
White	0.102700		0.000000
African	0.000000	0.000000	

12. Appendix 12. Summary Statistics for Anova

Approval of Affirmative Action Employment Policies

Analysis of Variance

SS Effect	df Effect	MS Effect	SS Error	df Error	MS Error	F	p
136.2204	2	68.11018	291.7550	159	1.834937	37.11854	.000000

Summary Table of Means

	Means	N	Sum	Std.Dev.	Variance
Coloured	3.730769	26	97.0000	1.613882	2.604615
White	3.947368	57	225.0000	1.468977	2.157895
African	2.050633	79	162.0000	1.164636	1.356378
All Grps	2.987654	162	484.0000	1.630408	2.658232

LSD Test

	Coloured	White	African
	M=3.7308	M=3.9474	M=2.0506
Coloured		0.500235	0.000000
White	0.500235		0.000000
African	0.000000	0.000000	