

**THE RELATION BETWEEN EMOTIONAL NEEDS  
SATISFACTION AND WILLINGNESS FOR  
RECONCILIATION IN PREVIOUSLY ADVANTAGED  
AND PREVIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED GROUPS IN  
SOUTH AFRICA**

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**COMPULSORY DECLARATION:**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed, cited and referenced.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to apply Shnabel and Nadler's (2008) Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation (NBMR) to the South African context as it holds potential to specify conditions under which reconciliation initiatives in the workplace are likely to lead to success. This study was both a between-subjects and within-subjects quasi-experimental design. Online questionnaires were distributed to full-time workers and students, of which 811 participants responded. The questionnaire measured participants' group identification and need deprivation, after which they were shown messages of acceptance and empowerment and were measured on how willing they were to reconcile after reading these messages. In line with the NBMR, this study hypothesized that previously advantaged individuals would have a greater need for social acceptance than empowerment, while the reverse would be true for previously disadvantaged individuals. Results supported this hypothesis. Equally so, the assumption that previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals would be more willing to reconcile the more their specific need had been addressed was supported by the results. In addition, the influence of individuals' socialisation period and in-group identification was investigated. It was predicted that socialisation would have an impact on the psychological needs of previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals, but results did not support this prediction. It was further assumed that the relationship between willingness to reconcile and the extent to which the need had been addressed would be stronger for those who were socialised during apartheid than for those socialised thereafter. It was also expected that those socialised during apartheid would identify stronger with being previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged respectively. The results supported both assumptions for previously disadvantaged individuals but not for previously advantaged individuals. This study shows that the NBMR can be applied to the South African context as a means to understand inter-racial conflict in the South African workplace and can be used in the designing of diversity programmes.

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## Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
<b>1. Introduction and Literature Review</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Conflict Resolution vs. Reconciliation	2
1.2. Theories of Reconciliation	4
1.3. The Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation	9
1.4. Reconciliation in the South African Context	11
1.5. Hypotheses	14
<b>2. Method</b>	<b>17</b>
2.1. Design and Procedure	17
2.2. Sampling and Participants	20
2.3. Measures	23
2.4. Pilot Studies	24
2.5. Data Analysis	27
<b>3. Results</b>	<b>28</b>
3.1. Scale Reliabilities	28
3.2. Scale Validities	29
3.3. Descriptive Statistics of Scales	31
3.4. Manipulation Checks	32
3.4.1. Acceptance after the message of acceptance	32
3.4.2. Empowerment after the message of empowerment	33
3.5. Hypotheses	34
3.5.1. Hypothesis 1	34
3.5.2. Hypothesis 2	36
3.5.3. Hypothesis 3	37
3.5.4. Hypothesis 4	41
3.5.5. Hypothesis 5	44

<b>4.</b>	<b>Discussion</b>	47
<b>4.1.</b>	Contributions to the Field of Organisational Psychology	54
<b>4.2.</b>	Limitations and Future Research	55
<b>4.3.</b>	Conclusion	57
<b>5.</b>	<b>References</b>	58
<b>6.</b>	<b>Appendices</b>	63
	Appendix A: Permission Letter from the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Faculty	63
	Appendix B: Debriefings to Students and Full-time Workers	65
	Appendix C: Previously Advantaged and Previously Disadvantaged Surveys	69
	Appendix D: Item-Total Correlations of Scales	107
	Appendix E: Factor Loadings of Scales	112

## 1. Introduction and Literature Review

Post-apartheid, South Africans are required to collaborate with colleagues of different cultures. Due to the diversity of cultures in South Africa problems may arise in the organisational context, which may lead to conflict and a loss in productivity (Thomas & Bendixen, 2000). It is for this reason that dealing with conflict and the resolution of conflict based on racial and ethnic differences are pertinent to the South African workplace. Employees frequently make decisions at work that are based on their cultural background – it is their identity with group affiliations that influence these decisions at work (Thomas & Bendixen, 2000). For example, an employee may negatively respond to a request from his/her manager based on his/her perceptions of that manager. This perception could be driven entirely by ethnic stereotypes that relates to the way in which these stereotypes could play out in his/her group affiliations.

Organisations are social entities and represent a collection of individuals (Landy & Conte, 2004). Organisations therefore have characteristics such as culture which is determined by the culture of its individual employees. Culture can be defined as a system where individuals share meanings and common perceptions of events and objects (Ronen, 1997). In a society at large, individuals will have their individual cultures, but these cultures are brought together in the workplace. Culture at a societal level is therefore reflected in the workplace, which indicates that the workplace is a reflection of the society at large (Landy & Conte, 2004).

Dynamics playing themselves out in society are reflected in organisations. Understanding these dynamics in society might therefore assist in understanding dynamics in the workplace. Understanding these dynamics might lead to finding more efficient ways of preventing race-based conflict. It is for this reason that this thesis investigates conditions under which South Africans in general might be more willing to reconcile with each other. Implementing these conditions in the workplace can assist to reduce conflict and improve inter-racial relations in teams and work groups. This thesis tests the premises of the Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation (NBMR) in the South African context. The NBMR assumes that reconciliation is more likely to take place if the emotional needs of victimised and perpetrating group members are satisfied.

Until recently, research has neglected reconciliation as a goal of conflict resolution, in that it has really only been researched in the last two decades (Kelman, 2008). According to Kelman a rise in interest in reconciliation can be attributed to a change in the nature of warfare in the post-Cold War era. There has been an increase in the regularity, strength and deadliness of conflicts that are now often between ethnic groups within the same boundaries rather than between different countries. In its resolution, conflict now requires a transformation of relationships rather than a mere fair distribution of material resources between disputing parties (Kelman, 2008).

This thesis reviews the literature around conflict resolution, reconciliation and the NBMR, and applies this to the South African context (Chapter 1). The method used to gather data, to gather the sample and to analyse the data are explained in Chapter 2. The hypotheses developed from this literature are tested and reported on in the results section (Chapter 3). Finally, a discussion of the results and contributions of this research to the field of Organisational Psychology follows in Chapter 4.

The literature review begins with a definition of conflict resolution and reconciliation and the differences between these two approaches to conflict. Different theories of reconciliation are then reviewed in greater detail. The NBMR as a model specific to reconciliation is then explained and applied to the South African context. Based on the literature the study's hypotheses are derived.

### **1.1. Conflict Resolution vs. Reconciliation**

In the last four decades, the study of conflict and its resolution has led to a significant theoretical and practical awareness of social psychology and the nature of intergroup conflict. Many of the theories developed through the study of conflict resolution have been applied to the real world and have thus provided insight into worldwide conflict situations (Hill, 2006). The study of conflict resolution emerged as a discipline after World War II – possibly due to the atrocities resulting from this period (Kelman, 2008). There are two approaches to the study of conflict resolution – the social-political-economic approach and the social-psychological approach. The social-political-economic approach theorises that disputes between individuals and groups are based on conflicts of real material interest (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). The social-

psychological approach to conflict resolution draws on theory from both sociology and psychology. The field of conflict resolution is diverse in that it addresses interpersonal, intergroup, organisational and international conflict, hence requiring input from both the fields of sociology and psychology (Deutsch, 2004). The social-psychological approach stresses the importance of recognising social identity, perceived group limitations and the nature of intergroup relations, as being crucial for understanding conflict (Riek, Gaertner, Dovidio, Brewer, Mania & Lamoreaux, 2008). The social-psychological approach, therefore, not only views conflict as disputes of real material interest, but also as a deprivation of psychological needs and feelings. Conflict resolution therefore is not only an agreement on how to divide resources but is also a change in relationships between the adversaries and the addressing of psychological needs and feelings (Nadler, Malloy & Fisher, 2008).

In contrast to conflict resolution, reconciliation focuses on the emotions of people affected by the conflict, such as distrust and victimisation, which can alienate the disputing parties from each other (Nadler & Liviatan, 2004). Reconciliation is a consequence of successful conflict resolution and refers not to the process of achieving a mutually satisfactory and long-lasting agreement between the disputing parties (i.e. conflict resolution), but rather to the process through which the disputing parties learn to live together in the post-conflict environment (Kelman, 2008). Reconciliation therefore involves an ultimate change in psychological associations that results in “mutual acceptance by members of formerly hostile groups of each other” (Staub, Pearlman, Gubin & Hagengimana, 2005, p. 301). Staub et al. maintain that institutions and cultures promoting reconciliation must promote an altered psychological familiarisation towards the out-group. An out-group is a group which individuals see themselves as different from, as opposed to an in-group, which is the group which individuals see themselves similar to (Stets, 2006).

Therefore, while the conflict resolution approaches define a conflict as ending once the conflicting parties have mutually agreed to the division of resources between them, in reconciliation approaches a conflict ends only once the emotional issues between the conflicting parties have been resolved (Nadler & Liviatan, 2004). Nadler and Liviatan also point out that although reconciliation and conflict resolution are theoretically different concepts, conflict resolution and reconciliation processes are interdependent in that dealing with emotional barriers between conflicting parties is likely to aid their agreeing between the divisions of disputed

resources. Similarly, the effective division of disputed resources between conflicting parties is likely to prepare the parties for emotional reconciliation.

Most organisations have adopted some form of conflict management due to the fact that they are compelled to do so by legislation (e.g. Labour Relations Act, 1995). However, conflict management programmes can consist of rights-based conflict management, as well as interest-based conflict management. Unfortunately, most organisations have only adopted the rights-based style of conflict management by enforcing the relevant legislation (Conbere, 2000). This style of conflict management focuses only on conflict resolution, i.e. the aiding of disputing parties to reach an agreement on the division of resources. This means that the emotional reconciliation of disputing parties is not managed in most organisations. The interest-based style of conflict management addresses the various needs of the disputing parties. This is done through help from a coach, facilitator or mediator and is a way in which conflict resolution in organisations can be completely and effectively addressed, since its goal of reconciliation will also be achieved (Conbere, 2000).

## **1.2. Theories of Reconciliation**

Reconciliation as a concept is a recent addition to the study of intergroup relations and research in this field therefore is limited (Nadler, Malloy & Fisher, 2008). For this reason, it helps to draw on insights gained from studies of interpersonal reconciliation, which focuses on forgiveness as a necessary process in reaching reconciliation. Interpersonal reconciliation can be defined as a process of forgiveness; acceptance and renewal, while moving forward (Edenfield, 1999). It is for this reason that interpersonal reconciliation focuses on forgiveness.

McCullough, Rachal, Sandage, Worthington Jr., Brown and Hight (1998), for example, looked at the social-cognitive aspects of forgiveness. They identified four determinants of interpersonal forgiving which they categorised as social-cognitive, offense-related, rational and personality-level determinants.

At the social-cognitive level they found that forgiving is more likely if the offender shows emotional empathy toward the offended and if both parties take responsibility and blame for the event. The way in which the offended perceives the intentions of the offender, the severity of the offense and whether it could have been avoided, as well as the degree to which

the offended reflects on the event also impacts on the offended's willingness to forgive. This reflection could lead to the offended avoiding contact with and seeking revenge towards their offenders. Offense-related determinants of interpersonal forgiving refer to the severity of the offense as well as the willingness of the offender to apologise and seek forgiveness, while rational determinants of interpersonal forgiving relate to the idea that the offended party is more willing to forgive the offender when they are in relationships that are characterised by high satisfaction, closeness and commitment rather than when in relationships without these factors. Finally, personality-level determinants of forgiving refer to the fact that certain personality traits of the offended may facilitate forgiveness of their offenders, such as high agreeableness, the sophistication of one's reasoning about forgiveness, the tendency to reflect on the offense, attitudes toward revenge and anger response styles.

Further research showed that forgiveness is necessary for victims in order to relate positively to their perpetrators and that the relationship between victims and perpetrators, post-forgiveness, should not be bitter or vengeful and should consist of unconditional love and respect for human rights (Adonis, 1999). Adonis also found that, although victims were willing to forgive after gross human rights violations, they did not forget. Research on interpersonal reconciliation is therefore in general consensus in that reconciliation involves forgiveness and that forgiveness involves a mutually respectful and peaceful relationship between victims and perpetrators.

Group processes, however, can be significantly different to processes at the individual level (Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dividio & Carmi, 2009) – opportunities for „opting out' of the relationship under conflict, for example, are sometimes more limited in an intergroup conflict than in interpersonal conflict (Noor, Brown & Prentice, 2008). For example, if an individual is experiencing difficulty with a particular manager, he or she might move out of the department or resign from his or her job. When conflict is based on group dynamics, like race for example, resigning or leaving may be more difficult due to the complexity of the conflict, as there are more than just two individuals involved. Furthermore, the restricted nature of the relationship in an interpersonal conflict allows both the object and the subject of forgiveness to be more clearly defined and therefore increases the ability of these individuals to grant or withhold forgiveness. In intergroup settings, however, there may be a sense of a lack of control in the forgiveness process due to the fact that the numbers are greater than in interpersonal conflict. It is also

feasible that in an intergroup context, some group members who may be willing to forgive the out-group for their offenses may withhold this forgiveness out of loyalty to the in-group (Noor et al., 2008).

Theories of interpersonal reconciliation, therefore, can only explain certain aspects of reconciliation. In order to gain a better understanding of intergroup reconciliation, it is useful to draw on an emotional and psychological theory of reconciliation.

According to Nadler and Liviatan (2004), there are two processes that can hinder reconciliation at a group level – the first involves socio-emotional barriers, while the second involves the feeling of distrust. Socio-emotional barriers to reconciliation arise when the in-group recognises that the out-group has unjustifiably humiliated and acted against their in-group, which results in a feeling of victimhood, in turn motivating this in-group to address these past wrongdoings. The second process of reconciliation – that of the feeling of distrust – is the affective result of many years of conflict. Here, there is no link to past feelings of victimisation but rather a perception that the perpetrator entertains menacing intentions towards the in-group.

In order to achieve reconciliation between groups, both these barriers need to be removed. According to Nadler and Liviatan's (2004) approach, reconciliation is successful at the socio-emotional level if the perpetrator group apologises and accepts responsibility for its actions, and the victim group responds with forgiveness. In order to remove distrust the victim group needs to forget past wrong-doings of the perpetrator group and focus on frequent intergroup cooperation.

A main difference between the socio-emotional – and trust-building reconciliation processes is their goal (Nadler & Liviatan, 2004). Socio-emotional reconciliation aims to transform the feelings of conflicting groups from hatred and hostility to peace and harmony. Trust-building reconciliation, however, aims to produce only enough trust to enable coexistence between the conflicting parties in a conflict-free environment. It is therefore suggested that socio-emotional reconciliation is better suited to a situation in which two conflicting groups are aiming towards integration into a unified society or organisation. An example of this socio-emotional approach to intergroup reconciliation in South Africa is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which aimed at integrating members of different races into a unified society. The process of socio-emotional reconciliation restores the perpetrator group's feelings of self-worth and self-respect, which thereby enhances the perpetrating groups' willingness to

reconcile with their victims. This same process restores the victim group's feelings of power and in turn also enhances the victim group's willingness to reconcile (Nadler et al., 2008).

In line with this view of reconciliation, Kelman (2008) makes a distinction between socio-emotional and instrumental reconciliation. Instrumental reconciliation aims to change the relationships between conflicting parties into positive relationships that will allow both parties to co-exist within a conflict-free environment. Socio-emotional reconciliation, on the other hand, is based on the idea that frequent episodes of pain and humiliation pose a threat to the identity of the offended, which usually results in feelings of guilt or victimhood, and consequently serves as a barrier to resolving the conflict. Socio-emotional efforts of reconciliation, therefore, are based on the premise that the key to a reconciled future lies in the confrontation of a painful past, while instrumental efforts of reconciliation maintain that constant present contact between the conflicting groups will result in a reconciled future (Nadler et al., 2008). Here again, the socio-emotional reconciliation approach emphasizes the importance of feelings of the disputing groups.

Nadler and Shnabel (2008) distinguish two perspectives on conflict and its resolution – the „realist' and the „psychological needs' perspectives. The realist approach suggests that conflict is due to parties' conflict over scarce and real resources, such as natural resources, scarce budgets, or actual objects such as toys, in the case of children in conflict. Due to the fact that conflict is over resources, a resolution on how to divide these resources will bring an end to conflict. Such a resolution is said to take place between two rational persons who make their differences known and seek an agreement on how to divide the disputed resources. Nadler and Shnabel claim that the realist approach has been hugely influential in producing new ways and understandings on ending conflicts in applied settings.

According to Nadler and Shnabel (2008) the psychological needs approach, on the other hand, goes beyond a realistic view of conflict and its resolution to causes that are based on the threat to the parties' basic psychological needs. During conflict, parties impose humiliation and pain on each other, which results in threats to basic psychological needs, such as needs for affirmative esteem and valuable identity, the need for autonomy, or needs for security and fairness. These threats play a part in the maintenance of conflict and therefore act as barriers to reconciliation. This perspective on conflict suggests that reconciliation is based on the removal of these threats to basic psychological needs and their respective emotions and motivations. Nadler and Shnabel therefore define the process of intergroup reconciliation as “the process of

removing conflict-related emotional barriers that block the way to ending intergroup conflict” (p.39). To add to the psychological needs approach, Staub et al. (2005) explain the relevance of basic psychological needs in understanding the impact of victimisation on people – these needs include, among others, security, trust, esteem and feelings of control. Staub et al. argue that the frustration of these basic psychological needs is one of the reasons for groups turning against each other. They argue that the fulfillment of these needs is an important aspect of healing. As long as these psychological/emotional needs stay unsatisfied, they serve as a barrier to reconciliation.

Pratto and Glasford (2008) identify three basic social needs that are relevant to intergroup relations – the need for self-esteem, the need to belong, and the need for self-integrity. They maintain that threats to the need for self-esteem can directly lead to behaviours that are harmful to intergroup reconciliation, respect and equality, although they found no evidence that high self-esteem promotes intergroup reconciliation. The need to belong refers to the need for acceptance, which, if not satisfied, results in a person feeling less secure and more anxious. This anxiety, if associated with a person feeling they do not belong, characterises those high in authoritarianism. An authoritarian personality is defined by nine personality types (e.g. authoritarian submission, etc.) and is predisposed to being a strong leader and following traditional values (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950). Having an authoritarian personality has been found to be associated with prejudiced and discriminatory behaviours against many out-groups (Altemeyer, 2004).

However, in the right circumstances, the need to belong can lead to a person feeling personal guilt, and him/her being willing to forgive out-group perpetrators, accept others, and aspire to connect with others. Finally, the need for self-integrity can have negative effects on intergroup relations, as it leads members to become prejudiced in order to justify wrong-doings. However, there is some evidence that behaviours that permit people to assert their self-integrity can motivate people toward intergroup reconciliation (Pratto & Glasford, 2008).

### 1.3. The Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation

Following the above stream of thought of the important of psychological needs in the success of reconciliatory processes, Shnabel and Nadler's (2008) Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation is based on the premise that, following a situation in which one group has been victimised by another group, both the victim and the perpetrator are denied specific unique psychological resources. This deprivation of psychological needs results in different emotional needs in victims and perpetrators and, until these needs are satisfied for both parties, they serve as barriers to reconciliation.

The needs-based model of reconciliation consists of three levels of assumptions: 1) victims experience a threat to their identity as powerful social citizens and perpetrators experience a threat to their identity as moral social citizens; 2) perpetrators seek proof that others accept them and view them as moral, while victims seek power and the recognition of the injustice done to them. The dissatisfaction of these needs results in feelings of moral inferiority in perpetrators and powerlessness in victims; and 3) messages of power and social acceptance to the victims and perpetrators respectively will address the perpetrators' and victims' emotional needs and will therefore result in a greater willingness to reconcile with each other.

Tavuchis' (1991) apology-forgiveness cycle is an example of how the psychological needs of victims and perpetrators are addressed – perpetrators apologise by admitting responsibility for their past offenses, which gives victims the power to permit or deny forgiveness. This restores the need for power to the victims. Similarly, the fact that the victims understand the reasons for past victimisation by the perpetrators and the fact that they forgive the perpetrators implies to perpetrators that they are no longer perceived as immoral, thus satisfying their need for social acceptance.

According to Nadler and Liviatan (2004) the success of the apology-forgiveness cycle is dependent on two factors. The first factor refers to the idea that only the practical or symbolic completion of the cycle can result in socio-emotional reconciliation, while the second factor relates to the premise that the process of apology and forgiveness lies in the hands of the victim. That is, the victim may decide not to grant forgiveness but the act of apology is nevertheless empowering to the victim because it gives the victim the choice of forgiving the perpetrator. The successful completion of the apology-forgiveness cycle, therefore, results in both victims and

perpetrators moving beyond the emotional barriers of powerlessness and moral inferiority, which in turn facilitates a greater willingness to reconcile (Nadler & Shnabel, 2008). It can therefore be suggested that it is not sufficient to only address the victims' needs and not the perpetrators' needs.

The Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation has been tested in relation to two conflict situations. It has used Jewish and Arab/Palestinian participants focusing on the conflict in Israel (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) and Jewish and German participants focusing on the Holocaust (Shnabel et al., 2009). The first study was conducted under laboratory conditions, with control groups for both perpetrators and victims. Participants consisted of both male and female Arab and Jewish undergraduate university students who were randomly assigned to a victim experimental group (dependent on whether perpetrator was experimental or control group), a perpetrator experimental group (advised to be strict in evaluation of slogans), a victim control group (dependent on whether perpetrator was experimental or control group) or a perpetrator control group (advised to be lenient in evaluation of slogans). Victims were tasked to write a slogan for various products, while perpetrators were tasked to evaluate these slogans. In support of their hypotheses they found that a) following an episode of victimisation the victim group felt deprived in their need for power, while perpetrators felt deprived in their need for acceptance as moral citizens; b) these deprivations induced different emotional needs. For perpetrators this was a need for acceptance and for victims, the need for empowerment; c) after receiving a message of empowerment from the victim group or a message of acceptance from the perpetrator group, victims perceived themselves to have more power and perpetrators perceived themselves to be more moral; and d) restoring victims' sense of power and perpetrators' need for social acceptance enhanced both victims' and perpetrators' willingness to reconcile. Shnabel and Nadler found the same results when conducting the study with Arab and Jewish participants in a real-life conflict situation. In this case participants were required to imagine themselves as either the victim or the perpetrator in a conflict situation postulated by the researchers.

In different research conducted in Israel Shnabel et al. (2009) were again able to confirm the model's assumptions. Shnabel et al. hypothesised that members of groups being victimised would show a greater willingness to reconcile following a message of empowerment from the perpetrating group, while members of perpetrating groups would be more willing to reconcile following a message of acceptance as a moral citizen from the victim groups. Participants were

not personally victimised or perpetrating but their roles of victims and perpetrators respectively were determined by their in-group affiliation. The results found in two different samples (i.e. Israeli-Jewish and Israeli-Arab and German and Jewish) supported the hypotheses. The results from the studies using both the first sample (Israeli-Jewish and Israeli-Arab) and the second sample (German and Jewish) were consistent with the NBMR's predictions.

Research related to the NBMR, therefore, suggests that in addition to focusing on the instrumental aspects of conflict resolution, it is imperative that the specific emotional needs of the parties involved are addressed (Shnabel et al., 2009).

#### **1.4. Reconciliation in the South African Context**

Poorly managed conflict in organisations can dampen morale, create animosity in employees and reduce motivation and hence productivity (Fisher, 2006). Masters (2002) highlights that as much as thirty percent of a manager's time can be spent dealing with conflict in the workplace. Furthermore, not all aggrieved employees leave their organisations and hence negatively influence the organisational culture by expressing their dissatisfaction, while those employees who do leave cost the organisation money, as it has to find replacements (Conbere, 2000). It is therefore imperative that organisations manage conflict resolution and reconciliation in the workplace effectively. A major source of conflict in the South African workplace is inter-racial tension which is a legacy of South Africa's apartheid system (Thomas & Bendixen, 2000).

The South African system of apartheid stood out in the world as an endeavor to order a society systematically according to racial categories. The foundation of racial differentiation during apartheid was protected by national legislation, which provided for all South Africans to be categorised into one of three racial categories – White, Native/Black and „Coloured'. Later, a fourth category – Indian – was added, for people of Asian descent. Although apartheid has come to an end, there remains a close correlation between the racial classifications of apartheid and today's racial categorisations, i.e. Black, Coloured, Indian and White (Seekings, 2008).

Today, South Africa is characterised by a twofold legacy of apartheid – cultural diversity and economic inequality largely along racial lines (Gibson, 2004).

Seekings (2008) points out that race remains pertinent in South Africa predominantly for cultural reasons – most South Africans have obvious racial identities and readily view others in

terms of race. South Africans may not act hostile towards other racial groups but they prefer to live and socialise with racial groups similar to their own, and for their relatives to marry within their racial groups rather than inter-rationally.

In South Africa specifically, the main aim of racial reconciliation is that South Africans of all races accept other South Africans as equals and treat them with dignity and respect (Gibson, 2004). Human rights and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa have played an important role in the resolution of conflict in South Africa, where the incorporation of human rights was a way to address fears of recurring domination of racial groups in the future. However, reconciliation is less focused on human rights violations and more focused on accepting responsibility and blame for the suppression of Black majority by the White minority under apartheid (Gibson, 2004).

The apartheid system was designed by White South Africans and was aimed at the oppression of non-White South Africans, while advantaging White South Africans (Gibson, 2004). In South Africa, therefore, White South Africans would fall into the perpetrator group (as defined by the NBMR) and all other South Africans in the victim group (as defined by the NBMR). These groups could be classified as those who benefited from the apartheid system (Whites) and those that were oppressed by the apartheid system (all other South Africans). In South Africa, these two groups are often labeled as previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged respectively.

International and ethnic conflict usually involves some form of human rights violation. It is therefore common in conflict resolution for human rights advocates and conflict resolution practitioners to join forces when seeking to resolve conflict. In general, peace negotiations during conflict resolution address three types of human rights concerns: a) the right to the freedom of minority groups, b) the building of the protection of human rights (e.g. civil, political, economic and cultural), and c) dealing with past human rights violations. The advocacy of human rights therefore has an integral part to play in conflict resolution (Babbit & Lutz, 2009). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) states that no person will be unfairly discriminated against in terms of race and promotes the implementation of affirmative action throughout the country. This basic human right and the concept of affirmative action are protected through other legislation such as the Labour Relations Act (1995) and the Employment Equity Act (1998). The purpose of the Labour Relations Act is to give effect to and regulate the

fundamental human rights, as stated in the Constitution, and to promote the effective resolution of labour disputes. The purpose of the Employment Equity Act is to promote equity in the workplace by promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment and by implementing affirmative action measures. From a legislative point of view, the South African approach to managing conflict is conflict resolution rather than reconciliation.

Furthermore, the TRC as an attempt at reconciliation in South Africa has been criticized (Johnson, 2009; Ramphela, 1995; Wilson, 2001). The TRC was established to transform the moral and cultural climate of South Africa post-apartheid (Johnson, 2009). The TRC was in existence on the anticipation that getting as full an account of what happened in apartheid as possible, would lay the foundations for a reconciled nation (Minow, 1998). Unfortunately, research has suggested that this reconciliatory body was not successful as a) only eighteen months was given to deal with the highly sensitive and controversial issues of political killings and the abuse of human rights within South Africa; and b) the TRC did not contain properly qualified commissioners, or commissioners that were relevant to the task at hand (Johnson, 2009). Research has further suggested that the TRC was a process of merely “appeasing the past” instead of dealing with the history of apartheid effectively and meaningfully (Ramphela, 1995 in Boraine & Levy, 1995, p. 34). Furthermore, Wilson (2001) argued that the TRC was an inappropriate forum for addressing the psychological issues of victims that suffered gross human rights violations.

According to Hammond, Arnold and Clayton (2007), the main goal in South Africa today is to deal with the past in order to rebuild the country. However, mass participation, either in terms of direct participation in acts of violence or direct involvement with apartheid itself, has made the role of forgiveness and progression from the apartheid regime more challenging. In South Africa, the present is a constant reminder of the past, despite the disapproval of many.

Due to the conflict resolution approach of South Africa’s legislation and the possibility that the TRC did not actually play its part in the reconciliation of South Africans, alternative forms of reconciliation need to be developed. By applying the NBMR to the South African context, the causes of racial tensions could be explained which would in turn assist with the development of these alternative and potentially more successful forms of reconciliation in South African organisations.

If the Needs-Based Model of Reconciliation is applicable in the South African context it would mean that tensions between employees due to their racial affiliation can only be eliminated if transformation programmes address the differential needs of those who were advantaged by the apartheid system and those who were disadvantaged.

## **1.5. Hypotheses**

The purpose of this study is to test the NBMR in the South African context, with previously advantaged individuals as the perpetrator group and previously disadvantaged individuals as the victim group. Two hypotheses have been formulated to test the model's assumptions that both groups would have different psychological needs and that individuals are more willing to reconcile if these specific needs are addressed. In addition, the extent to which an individual identifies with being previously advantaged or disadvantaged and the individual's period of socialisation are considered as moderator variables. It is assumed that the more people identify with their in-group, the more they will experience the specific need related to that in-group. Research has found that people identify with group membership ascribed to them to different degrees (Castano, 2002; Tropp & Wright, 1999). It is for this reason that it is expected that the relationships postulated by the NBMR will be stronger the more individuals identify with their groups. It is also assumed that those who were socialised during apartheid will identify more with their in-group and have a higher need related to that in-group than those who were socialised after apartheid. The reason is that those who were socialised during apartheid were directly exposed to the apartheid system, as well as to being advantaged or disadvantaged by the apartheid system. Previously advantaged individuals who were directly exposed to apartheid may therefore feel guilty for the past as they were directly exposed to the way in which previously disadvantaged individuals were oppressed. Similarly, previously disadvantaged individuals who were exposed to apartheid may feel a greater need for empowerment since they experienced being disempowered by the apartheid system for so many years.

The specific hypotheses are thus as follows:

*Hypothesis 1:*

- a) *Previously advantaged individuals have a higher need for social acceptance than empowerment.*
- b) *Previously disadvantaged individuals have a higher need for empowerment than social acceptance.*

*Hypothesis 2:*

- a) *Previously advantaged individuals are more willing to reconcile the more their need for social acceptance has been addressed.*
- b) *Previously disadvantaged individuals are more willing to reconcile the more their need for empowerment has been addressed.*

*Hypothesis 3:*

- a) *Previously advantaged individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system identify more with being previously advantaged than previously advantaged individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system.*
- b) *Previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system identify more with being previously disadvantaged than previously disadvantaged individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system.*

*Hypothesis 4:*

- a) *Previously advantaged individuals have a greater need for social acceptance when they were socialised during apartheid than when they were socialised thereafter.*
- b) *Previously disadvantaged individuals have a greater need for empowerment when they were socialised during apartheid than when they were socialised thereafter.*

*Hypothesis 5:*

- a) *The more their need for social acceptance has been addressed, the more willing previously advantaged individuals are to reconcile. This relationship is stronger for individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system.*
- b) *The more their need for empowerment has been addressed, the more willing previously disadvantaged individuals are to reconcile. This relationship is stronger for individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system.*

## 2. Method

This chapter outlines the way in which the study was conducted. It describes the research design and procedure, the sample and the measures used, and the type of data analysis employed.

### 2.1. Design and procedure

The main focus of this study was to examine whether the satisfaction of the emotional needs of specific groups (independent variable) would cause these groups to be more willing to reconcile (dependent variable), but also whether groups would have different needs depending on whether they were victims or perpetrators. The design of this study is both a between-subjects and within-subjects quasi-experimental design (Hair, Babin, Money & Samouel, 2003).

The study is a cross-sectional survey study but measured participants' willingness to reconcile at two different points in the questionnaire – before participants' specific needs had been addressed, and after participants' needs had been addressed.

Ethics clearance was obtained from the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee. To view the permission letter, see Appendix A. Separate permission was granted by the Executive Director of the Department of Student Affairs, which allowed the researcher permission to use students of the University of Cape Town as participants. Furthermore, the General Manager of the Human Capital Division who was approached for the study granted permission to use the company's full-time workers as participants.

Announcements about the study were provided on psychology websites to undergraduate students and emails were sent out to full-time workers, which provided the links to the online questionnaires used in this study. Respondents were told that they would be taking part in a study investigating the responses of previously advantaged individuals and previously disadvantaged individuals to different media statements relating to the apartheid era. Respondents were then requested to click on a previously advantaged individual's questionnaire or a previously disadvantaged individual's questionnaire depending on whether they saw themselves as the one or the other.

Students were directed to questionnaires, in which they were required to include their student numbers so that course credits could be awarded to them, while full-time workers were directed to a questionnaire that allowed them to enter their email addresses if they wanted to participate in a lucky draw of two R400 dinner-for-two vouchers. Anonymity was ensured by the fact that student numbers and email addresses were stripped from the data immediately after course credit had been allocated and the lucky draw winners had been notified. Participation was voluntary. The questionnaire ran from 06 August 2010, 09h00, to 13 August 2010, midnight.

Those responding to the previously advantaged questionnaires were provided with an in-group identification scale, which measured the person's identification with being a member of the previously advantaged group. Similarly, those responding to the previously disadvantaged questionnaires were also given an in-group identification scale, but they were asked how far they identified with being a member of a previously disadvantaged group.

The deprivation of the need for acceptance and deprivation of the need for empowerment were tested in both previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged questionnaires. This served to test whether previously disadvantaged participants indeed have a greater need for empowerment than previously advantaged participants and vice versa.

Those responding to the previously advantaged questionnaire were then shown a message of acceptance, which was said to be from „The Sowetan’ newspaper – a historically Black newspaper. It read as follows:

*“When we discuss the harsh and painful events that took place during apartheid, we should also understand our brothers, those from the previously advantaged communities; it is important for us to accept that those who were favoured by the apartheid system are human and often have also suffered painful emotions due to the bloody past and present of our country.”*

Those responding to the previously disadvantaged questionnaire were also shown a message of acceptance, which was said to be from „Die Burger’ newspaper – a historically White newspaper. It read as follows:

*“When we discuss the harsh and painful events that took place during apartheid, we also should understand our brothers, those from the previously disadvantaged communities; it is important for us to accept that those who were not favoured by the apartheid system are human and often have also suffered emotions due to the bloody past and present of our country.”*

Subsequent to reading the messages of acceptance, participants indicated how far they had perceived the excerpt to convey a message of acceptance. This served as a manipulation check, i.e. whether the message had been understood as transmitting a statement of acceptance.

Participants were then asked to indicate to what degree the message addressed their need for acceptance, as well as their need for empowerment. Participants were then asked about how willing they were to reconcile.

Previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants were then shown a message of empowerment and were asked to indicate how far their needs for both empowerment and acceptance were addressed by the message and how willing they were to reconcile.

The message of empowerment shown to previously advantaged participants was said to be from „The Black Sash’ newspaper – a newspaper mainly distributed to previously disadvantaged communities during apartheid. It read as follows:

*“When we remember the events that took place during apartheid, we should acknowledge that the right of previously advantaged communities in South Africa is to be independent and to determine their own fate and future. We must remember that previously advantaged communities in South Africa have the right to live in respect and with their heads up, and to feel strong, influential and proud in their homeland.”*

Those responding to the previously disadvantaged questionnaire were also shown a message of empowerment which was said to be from „Die Volksblad’ newspaper – a newspaper mainly distributed to previously advantaged communities during apartheid. It read as follows:

*“When we remember the events that took place during apartheid, we should acknowledge that the right of previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa is to be independent and to determine their own fate and future. We must remember that previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa have the right to live in respect and with their heads up, and to feel strong, influential and proud in their homeland.”*

Subsequent to reading the messages of empowerment, participants indicated whether they perceived the message to convey a message of empowerment. This served as a manipulation check, to check that the message of empowerment had actually been understood as providing a message of empowerment.

Participants were then asked to indicate to what degree the message addressed their need for acceptance, as well as their need for empowerment and to what extent they were willing to reconcile with members of the out-group.

Finally, both previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants were requested to complete demographic data, including their gender, age, nationality and race. This information was requested for sample description purposes.

Once the questionnaire had closed, participants were debriefed about the real purpose of the study via email (to full-time workers) or an announcement on the psychology course websites (to students). To view this debriefing see Appendix B.

## **2.2. Sampling and participants**

The sample for this study consisted of students and full-time workers. This was to ensure that there was a fair distribution of age in the sample, which was important in this study as intergenerational effects were tested.

Student respondents (n = 573 [56%]; 470 female [82%], 103 male [18%]) were sourced from the Psychology Department at the University of Cape Town due to convenience of sourcing. Students registered for Psychology undergraduate courses are required to participate in psychological research in exchange for course credit. To gain respondents, announcements were placed on different web-based undergraduate course sites, which students use to obtain course

related information. The course sites automatically email students as well, so each student received an email.

Full-time working respondents ( $n = 453$  [44%]; 168 female [37%], 285 male [63%]) included employees from a large corporate, with offices throughout South Africa. A list of all employees was drawn from the Human Resources personnel management system, after which every second person was chosen to form the sample for distribution. These employees were then emailed a link to the study.

Of the 3298 respondents approached in total, 1026 completed the questionnaire, representing a response rate of 31.11%.

A total of 211 participants (20%) were deleted from the initial sample, leaving a final sample of 815 participants. The reasons for deleting responses were as follows: a) those who participated in the previously advantaged questionnaire had classified themselves as races other than White, or those who participated in the previously disadvantaged questionnaire classified themselves as White. For the purposes of this thesis only White participants were considered to be previously advantaged; b) all participants who classified themselves as permanent residents or „other’ and had been in South Africa for five years or less were deleted. This was seen to be a good cut-off point, since someone who has been in South Africa for less than five years will most likely not be able to understand the dynamic related to being either previously advantaged or previously disadvantaged in South Africa; c) some participants did not specify their age; and d) some participants did not classify their nationality.

Table 2.1 presents the demographic description of the sample.

Table 2.1.  
*Number and percentages of respondents per demographic variable.*

	N	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	492	60.37%
Male	323	39.63%
<b>Race</b>		
Black	169	20.74%
Chinese	5	0.61%
Coloured	167	20.49%
Indian	87	10.68%
White	386	47.36%
Other	1	0.12%
Prefer not to answer	0	0.00%
<b>Status</b>		
Previously Advantaged	386	47.36%
Previously Disadvantaged	429	52.64%
<b>Age<sup>a</sup></b>		
17-25 years old	440	53.99%
26-65 years old	375	46.01%
<b>Nationality</b>		
South African	782	95.95%
Permanent Resident	16	1.96%
Other	17	2.09%
<b>Status interaction with Age</b>		
17-25 years old		
Previously Advantaged	254	31.17%
Previously Disadvantaged	186	22.82%
26-65 years old		
Previously Advantaged	132	16.19%
Previously Disadvantaged	243	29.82%

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>Age (Mean = 30.37, standard deviation = 12.81, minimum 18, maximum 65)

It can be seen from the above table that females were over-represented due to the majority of students being female, which is typical of psychology courses. For the purposes of

this research, Black, Chinese, Coloured, Indian and Other were categorised as previously disadvantaged, while White participants were considered as previously advantaged individuals.

### 2.3. Measures

For all scales a four-point Likert format was employed. This was response format was chosen as using a four-point response format forced respondents to answer on one side of the scale, thereby preventing participants to give neutral responses. The questionnaire items can be found in Appendix B.

*In-group identification.* Mael and Tetricks' (1992) Identification with a Psychological Group (IDPG) Scale was used to measure participants' in-group identification. The internal consistency of this scale in Mael and Tetrick's study was high (Cronbach  $\alpha = .76$ ). There are ten items to this scale. Respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree) with certain statements (e.g. "When someone criticizes [in-group] people, it feels like a personal insult). Item number two was reverse-coded so that a high score always indicated high in-group identification. These items can be found in Appendix B.

*Deprivation of the need for acceptance.* Shnabel and Nadler's (2008) Deprivation of the Need for Acceptance Scale was used to measure the degree to which participants' need for acceptance was deprived. The scale had a high internal consistency in Shnabel and Nadler's data (Cronbach  $\alpha = .89$ ). The scale consists of five items. Respondents were asked in the scale instruction to indicate how frequently they would have liked certain events to have taken place during apartheid (e.g. "Had more power"). The response format to this scale was changed slightly from 1 (not particularly) – 7 (very much) to 1 (not at all) – 4 (very much). This was done as the pilot study (see Section 2.4) had revealed that the original response options were not fully understood by participants. Refer to Appendix B for these items.

*Deprivation of the need for empowerment.* Shnabel and Nadler's (2008) Deprivation of the Need for Empowerment Scale was used to measure the degree to which participants felt deprived in their need for empowerment. Shnabel and Nadler found a Cronbach  $\alpha$  of .95 for the scale in their data indicating good reliability. This scale has four items and just like in the Deprivation of the Need for Acceptance Scale, respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they would have liked certain events to have taken place during apartheid (e.g. "Had

more influence on the interactions with [in-group] people”). The response items to this scale were changed slightly from 1 (not particularly) – 7 (very much) to 1 (not at all) – 4 (very much). This was done as the pilot study (see Section 2.3.1) had revealed that the original response options were not fully understood by participants. These items can be found in Appendix B.

*Manipulation checks.* The scale used to measure the extent to which the messages were read as acceptance or empowerment was based on Shnabel et al. (2009). In Shnabel et al.’s research the Cronbach alphas for the scale ranged from .79 to .86 (Perceived empowerment in the message of empowerment:  $\alpha = .79$ ; Perceived empowerment in the message of acceptance:  $\alpha = .89$ ; Perceived acceptance in the message of empowerment:  $\alpha = .82$ ; Perceived acceptance in the message of acceptance:  $\alpha = .86$ ), indicating adequate reliability. This scale consists of eight items. Of these, four items measure the degree to which the messages of acceptance and empowerment were read as acceptance (e.g. “I accept previously advantaged people”) and the other four items measure the degree to which the messages of acceptance and empowerment were read as empowerment (e.g. “Previously disadvantaged people have the right to be strong”) Items have been slightly adapted from Shnabel et al. so that the scale reads in the first-person, i.e. “I feel...” instead of “The previously dis/advantaged feel...” Refer to Appendix B for these items.

*Willingness to reconcile.* The ten-item scale used to measure willingness to reconcile in both previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged groups was based on the scale used by Shnabel et al. (2009), in whose research the scale’s internal reliability was high (Willingness to reconcile after message of empowerment:  $\alpha = .94$ ; Willingness to reconcile after message of acceptance:  $\alpha = .95$ ). Refer to Appendix B for these items.

## **2.4. Pilot Studies**

Two pilot studies were conducted in order to test whether a) the questionnaire was presented in a logical order, b) the questions made sense and c) the messages of acceptance and empowerment were in fact understood as conveying empowerment and acceptance statements respectively.

The first pilot study included sixteen Organisational Psychology Honours' students at the University of Cape Town. Students were requested to participate in the questionnaire via their course website, where they were also able to access the questionnaire. Participation was voluntary. The pilot was run after ethics approval had been received; prior to the University of Cape Town's mid-year vacation period. The questionnaire was accessible from 02 June 2010 and closed on 05 June 2010. Respondents were asked to comment on the logic of the questionnaire and on whether they understood the questions. This pilot research found that the questionnaire was presented in a logical order and the questions were clear, but that some of the response options were not understood (as outlined in section 2.3).

The difference between the means of the message of acceptance perceived as acceptance ( $M = 3.33$ ,  $SD = .65$ ,  $n = 16$ ) and empowerment ( $M = 3.19$ ,  $SD = .73$ ,  $n = 16$ ) were compared in a paired samples t-test ( $t_{15} = -1.23$ ;  $p = .24$ ;  $d = .21$ ). Results indicated that the message of acceptance was not understood as acceptance as the difference between the means was not significant. Furthermore, following Cohen's (1988) effect size conventions, these results indicate that there is a small effect size for the difference between the means. Similarly, a paired samples t-test was used to compare the means of the message of empowerment being read as empowerment ( $M = 3.09$ ,  $SD = .71$ ,  $n = 16$ ) and acceptance ( $M = 2.41$ ,  $SD = .76$ ,  $n = 16$ ) ( $t_{15} = 3.05$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $d = .95$ ). Results indicated that the message of empowerment was indeed being understood as an empowerment message. Following Cohen's (1988) effect size conventions, these results further indicate that there was a large effect size for the difference between the means. Table 2.2 shows the messages of acceptance and empowerment used in this pilot study.

Table 2.2.  
*Messages of acceptance and empowerment used in Pilot Study 1*

Message of acceptance	Message of empowerment
<p>“When we discuss the harsh and painful events from during apartheid, we should understand our brothers, those from the previously dis/advantaged communities; it is important for us to remember that it is not easy for the previously dis/advantaged communities in South Africa to deal with their emotions following the end of apartheid and to live with the bloody past and present of our country, and like us they suffered, and are still suffering, an enormous pain.”</p>	<p>“When we discuss the harsh and painful events that took place during apartheid, we should acknowledge that the right of the previously advantaged communities in South Africa is to be independent and to determine their own fate and future; it is important for us to remember that the previously advantaged communities in South Africa have the right to live in respect and with their heads up, and to feel strong and proud in their homeland.”</p>

Due to the message of acceptance not being read as such, a second pilot study was conducted once messages had been changed to more explicitly convey messages of empowerment and acceptance. For example, the message of acceptance now included words such as „accept’, „human’, and „emotions’, whereas the message of empowerment included words such as „independent’, ‘respect’, and „influential’.

The second pilot study consisted of work colleagues of the researcher ( $n = 11$ ) and only tests whether the messages were understood as intended. Participants received the revised messages of empowerment and acceptance and the manipulation check scales described in section 2.3. A paired samples t-test was again conducted to compare the difference between the message of acceptance being read as acceptance ( $M = 3.27, SD = .43$ ) and as empowerment ( $M = 2.86, SD = .48$ ) ( $t_{10} = 2.70; p < .05; d = .94$ ). Results indicated that the message of acceptance was indeed being read as a message of acceptance. Furthermore, following Cohen’s (1988) effect size conventions, these results indicate that there was a large effect size for the difference between the means. Similarly, the difference between the means of the message of empowerment being read as empowerment ( $M = 3.59, SD = .42$ ) or acceptance ( $M = 1.75, SD = .35$ ) was compared in a paired samples t-test ( $t_{10} = -18.99; p < .001; d = 4.99$ ). The message of empowerment was understood to address empowerment significantly more than acceptance.

Following Cohen's (1988) effect size conventions, these results further indicate that there was a large effect size for the difference between the means.

## **2.5. Data Analysis**

SPSS Version 18 was used to conduct all data analysis.

### 3. Results

This chapter begins with a description of the reliability and validity of the scales used and then describes the results relating to the hypotheses.

#### 3.1. Scale Reliabilities

Item analyses and reliability analyses were conducted for each scale via item-total correlations and Cronbach  $\alpha$ .

Following Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson and Tatham's (2006) guideline item-total correlations of above .30 were considered significant. Due to a corrected item-total correlation of only .07, item 2 ("I don't act like a typical previously dis/advantaged person") was deleted from the IDPG Scale, reducing the ten item scale to a nine item scale. Deleting the item increased the overall Cronbach  $\alpha$  for the IDPG Scale from .72 to .74. All other corrected item-total correlations for the group identification items were significant, with the exception of item 3 ("I'm very interested in what other people think about previously dis/advantaged people";  $r = .28$ ). Despite this, it was decided to keep item 3 in the scale, as the Cronbach  $\alpha$  would have decreased to .71 had the item been deleted.

Similarly, item 1 ("During apartheid I would have liked previously dis/advantaged people to have had more influence on the interactions with previously dis/advantaged people") was deleted from the Deprivation of the Need for Acceptance Scale, as its corrected item-total correlation was .13, reducing this scale to a four item scale. Deleting this item increased the overall Cronbach  $\alpha$  from .77 to .84.

For all other scales all item-total correlations were above .30 (see Table 3.1 for minimum and maximum item-total correlations. For a full list of item-total correlations refer to Appendix D).

According to Kline (1999), for a scale to be considered reliable for research purposes, the Cronbach  $\alpha$  should be above .70. Following Kline's convention, the Cronbach  $\alpha$ 's for all scales

were adequate (see Table 3.1) and similar to those found in previous research (Mael & Tetrick, 1992; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2009). Appendix D

Table 3.1.  
*Number of final items, Cronbach  $\alpha$ 's and minimum and maximum item-total correlations for all scales.*

Scale	No. of Items	Cronbach $\alpha$	Item-total correlation	
			Minimum	Maximum
IDPG <sup>a</sup>	9	.74	.28	.57
Deprivation of the Need for Empowerment	4	.86	.49	.79
Deprivation of the Need for Acceptance	4	.84	.50	.78
<b>Perceived Empowerment</b>				
After acceptance message	4	.75	.47	.66
After empowerment message	4	.84	.62	.73
<b>Perceived Acceptance</b>				
After acceptance message	4	.76	.43	.68
After empowerment message	4	.73	.50	.56
<b>Willingness to Reconcile</b>				
After acceptance message	10	.91	.45	.76
After empowerment message	10	.95	.68	.82

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Identification with a Psychological Group

### 3.2. Scale Validities

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity showed that a dimension reduction procedure was a suitable procedure for all scales. Table 3.2 shows KMO and Bartlett results for all scales.

Table 3.2.

*KMO and Bartlett results for all scales.*

Scale	KMO Results	Bartlett Results
IDPG <sup>a</sup>	.79	1206.34***
Deprivation of the Need for Empowerment	.78	1679.95***
Deprivation of the Need for Acceptance	.78	
<b>Perceived Empowerment</b>		
After acceptance message	.75	839.58***
After empowerment message	.76	1384.63***
<b>Perceived Acceptance</b>		
After acceptance message	.73	933.09***
After empowerment message	.72	693.85***
<b>Willingness to Reconcile</b>		
After acceptance message	.92	4254.28***
After empowerment message	.96	5904.85***

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Identification with a Psychological Group

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

For each scale, a principal component analysis was performed to determine the scales' validities. The Kaiser criterion (Kaiser, 1960) was used to determine the number of factors by considering factors with eigenvalues above 1 only. The eigenvalues, explained variances and minimum and maximum factor loadings for each scale are shown in Table 3.3. For a full list of factor loadings, refer to Appendix C.

Except for the group identification scale, one factor emerged for each scale thereby confirming the unidimensionality of each scale. For the IDPG Scale two uncorrelated components emerged. However, a look at the respective factor loadings showed that all scale items loaded significantly on one factor, as all loadings were above .30 (Hair et al., 2006), meaning that all items could be considered to measure one construct. Furthermore, the scree plot showed a steep drop in eigenvalues between the first and second factor. For this reason it was considered appropriate to assume the scale's unidimensionality. Participants' item responses were thus averaged into an overall scale score for each scale.

Table 3.3.  
*Eigenvalues, explained variances and factor loadings for each of the scales used in the research.*

Scale	Eigenvalue	Explained variance	Factor loadings	
			Minimum	Maximum
IDPG <sup>a</sup>	Factor 1: 2.95	Factor 1: 32.82%	Factor 1: .41	Factor 1: .73
	Factor 2: 1.21	Factor 2: 13.40%	Factor 2: -.33	Factor 2: .63
Deprivation of Need for Empowerment	2.80	70.07%	.66	.90
Deprivation of Need for Acceptance	2.74	68.42%	.67	.89
<b>Perceived Empowerment</b>				
After acceptance message	2.37	59.29%	.68	.84
After empowerment message	2.72	67.92%	.78	.86
<b>Perceived Acceptance</b>				
After acceptance message	2.39	59.73%	.64	.84
After empowerment message	2.25	56.28%	.72	.78
<b>Willingness to Reconcile</b>				
After acceptance message	5.54	55.38%	.53	.82
After empowerment message	6.70	66.99%	.74	.86

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Identification with a Psychological Group

### 3.3. Descriptive Statistics of Scales

Table 3.4 outlines the means, standard deviations and minimum and maximum scores for each scale. The means indicate that on average, participants identified only slightly with their in-groups, overall, participants had a slightly higher need for acceptance than empowerment, and participants were more willing to reconcile after the message of acceptance. Furthermore, the means indicate that on average the empowerment message seems to have been interpreted more as a message of empowerment than a message of acceptance and the message of acceptance had been interpreted as a message of acceptance more than a message of empowerment.

Table 3.4.  
*Means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum scores for each scale.*

Scale	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Minimum	Maximum
IDPG <sup>a</sup>	2.49	.42	1.83	2.75
Deprivation of Need for Empowerment	2.70	.96	2.47	3.04
Deprivation of Need for Acceptance Scale	2.84	.73	2.70	3.05
<b>Perceived Empowerment</b>				
After acceptance message	2.80	.91	2.69	2.86
After empowerment message	3.11	.72	3.07	3.15
<b>Perceived Acceptance</b>				
After acceptance message	3.07	.68	2.86	3.23
After empowerment message	2.90	.74	2.60	3.04
<b>Willingness to Reconcile</b>				
After acceptance message	2.71	.68	2.47	3.03
After empowerment message	2.58	.77	2.39	2.78

*Note.* <sup>a</sup> Identification with Psychological Group

### 3.4. Manipulation Checks

The manipulation checks assessed whether the message of acceptance was being read as a message conveying acceptance so that it could be assumed to actually address the need for acceptance. Equally so, it was tested whether the message of empowerment was being read as an empowerment message so that it could be assumed to speak to participants' need for empowerment.

#### 3.4.1. Acceptance after the message of acceptance.

The difference between the means of the message of acceptance being read as acceptance ( $M = 3.07$ ,  $SD = .68$ ;  $n = 815$ ) and the message of acceptance being read as empowerment ( $M = 2.79$ ,  $SD = .91$ ;  $n = 815$ ) was compared in a paired samples t-test ( $t_{814} = -9.15$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $d = .35$ ). The result indicates that the mean for the message of acceptance being understood as acceptance

was significantly higher than the mean for the message of acceptance understood as empowerment. Following Cohen's (1988) effect size conventions, these results further indicate that there is a small effect size for the difference between the means. This means that the manipulation of conveying a message of acceptance was successful. The messages were not as clearly understood as expected, as for this a large effect size would have been expected.

### **3.4.2. Empowerment after the message of empowerment.**

The difference between the means of the message of empowerment being read as empowerment ( $M = 3.12$ ,  $SD = .72$ ,  $n = 815$ ) and the message of empowerment being read as acceptance ( $M = 2.90$ ,  $SD = .74$ ,  $n = 815$ ) were compared in a paired samples t-test ( $t_{814} = 11.86$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $d = .30$ ). These results indicated that the mean for the interpretation of the message of empowerment as empowerment was significantly higher than the mean for the interpretation of the message of empowerment being read as acceptance. A small effect size between the means was also indicated by these results (Cohen, 1988). This means that the manipulation of conveying a message of empowerment was successful, as the difference between the two means was significant and had a small effect size.

### 3.5. Hypotheses

The following sections outline the results as per the hypotheses postulated.

#### 3.5.1. Hypothesis 1.

It was hypothesised that previously advantaged individuals would have a higher need for social acceptance and a lower need for empowerment (Hypothesis 1a), while previously disadvantaged individuals would have a higher need for empowerment and a lower need for acceptance (Hypothesis 1b).

From the means (see Table 3.5) it appears that previously advantaged participants did indeed have a greater need for acceptance and a lower need for empowerment, while previously disadvantaged participants had a greater need for empowerment and a lower need for social acceptance.

Table 3.5.  
*Means and standard deviations for the need for acceptance and the need for empowerment in previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants.*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Previously advantaged (n = 386)		
Need for acceptance	3.06	.62
Need for empowerment	1.99	.76
Previously disadvantaged (n = 429)		
Need for acceptance	2.69	.77
Need for empowerment	3.31	.62

Before testing hypotheses 1a and 1b a MANOVA with status (previously advantaged vs. previously disadvantaged) as the independent variable and need deprivation (need for acceptance vs. need for empowerment) as the dependent variable, was conducted in order to explore the data. MANOVA was chosen in order to determine whether there were differences in the data. Before conducting the MANOVA, it was examined whether the data fulfilled the required

conditions for MANOVA. These are a) that the variances for each dependent variable are homogenous and b) that the correlation between the dependent variables is the same for previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals. In order to test these assumptions the variance-covariance matrices of the groups of previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals were examined (Field, 2009).

In order to test the equality of the covariance matrices, Box's M test was used. The results revealed that the variances for each dependent variable were not homogenous ( $F_{3, 1.84} = 12.45; p < .001$ ) and the assumptions for MANOVA were thus violated. However, as MANOVA is quite robust to violations of the assumption of homogeneity when conducted on big samples, it was considered appropriate to nonetheless employ the procedure (Field, 2009).

The MANOVA revealed that there were significant differences between the previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged groups, using Roy's largest root multivariate test Status:  $\theta = 1.15, F_{2, 812} = 466.50; p < .001$ ). Roy's largest root was used because it is generally the most powerful statistic for MANOVA (Field, 2009).

Consequent ANOVAs revealed that the differences between the means of previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals for both the need for acceptance as well as the need for empowerment were significant (Need for acceptance:  $F_{1, 813} = 55.15; p < .001$ , Need for empowerment:  $F_{1, 813} = 738.97; p < .001$ ). These differences are both significant and have a large effect size (Trusty, Thompson & Petrocelli, 2004). This indicates that previously advantaged participants have a higher need for acceptance than previously disadvantaged individuals and previously disadvantaged participants have a higher need for empowerment than previously advantaged participants.

***Hypothesis 1a: Previously advantaged individuals have a higher need for social acceptance than empowerment.***

To test the hypothesis that previously advantaged individuals have a higher need for social acceptance than empowerment a paired-samples t-test was used. It assessed whether the mean differences between participants' need for acceptance and need for empowerment scores were significantly different from zero. Only previously advantaged participants were included in the analysis ( $t_{385} = -23.68; p < .001$ ). In large samples very small differences become significant,

thus the effect size of the difference was calculated according to Cohen's  $d$  (Cohen, 1988), using Thalheimer and Cook's (2002) effect-size calculator ( $d = 1.54$ ).

Results indicated that previously advantaged participants have a higher need for acceptance than the need for empowerment. See Table 3.5 for means and standard deviations. The effect size for this difference is large.

***Hypothesis 1b: Previously disadvantaged individuals have a higher need for empowerment than acceptance.***

To test this hypothesis the same procedure as in hypothesis 1a was followed, but including only previously disadvantaged participants in the analysis. The paired-samples  $t$ -test was significant ( $t_{428} = 15.06$ ;  $p < .001$ ). The effect size of the differences was again calculated due to the large sample size. It was determined according to Cohen's  $d$  (Cohen, 1988), using Thalheimer & Cook's (2002) effect-size calculator ( $d = .89$ ).

Results indicated that previously disadvantaged participants have a higher need for empowerment than the need for acceptance. See Table 3.4 for means and standard deviations. The effect size for this difference is large.

### **3.5.2. Hypothesis 2.**

***Hypothesis 2a: Previously advantaged individuals are more willing to reconcile the more their need for social acceptance has been addressed.***

***Hypothesis 2b: Previously disadvantaged individuals are more willing to reconcile the more their need for empowerment has been addressed.***

Participants' willingness to reconcile and the extent to which participants felt their need for acceptance had been addressed were correlated using Pearson product-moment correlation to determine the relationship between these two variables. Only previously advantaged participants were included in this analysis ( $r = .43$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $n = 386$ ). Similarly, the willingness to reconcile

and the extent to which participants' need for empowerment had been addressed were correlated for previously disadvantaged participants only ( $r = .62$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $n = 386$ ) to determine the relationship between these two variables.

As per Cohen's (1988) conventions for the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, the relationship between the willingness to reconcile and the addressing of the need for acceptance through a message of acceptance in previously advantaged participants was found to be positive and of medium effect, as the correlation is between .30 and .50. Using the same conventions, the relationship between the willingness to reconcile and the addressing of the need for empowerment through a message of empowerment in previously disadvantaged participants was found to also be positive with a large effect, as the correlation is above .50 (Cohen, 1988). Due to both correlations being significant, hypotheses 2a and b are supported. This means that the more previously advantaged individuals perceive their need for acceptance being addressed, the more willing they are to reconcile. Similarly, the more previously disadvantaged individuals perceive their need for empowerment being addressed, the more willing they are to reconcile.

### **3.5.3. Hypothesis 3.**

It was hypothesised that individuals who were socialised during apartheid would identify more with their in-group than those who were socialised after the apartheid system.

The differences between the means of group identification between those who were socialised during the apartheid system and those who were socialised after the end of apartheid in both previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants were compared in a 2 (status: previously advantaged vs. previously disadvantaged) x 2 (socialisation: not socialised in the apartheid system vs. socialised in the apartheid system) ANOVA, with group identification as the dependent variable.

Age was used to determine whether a person had been socialised during apartheid or after apartheid. Participants who would have been seven years old and older in the year 1991 were categorised as those who were socialised during apartheid (26-65 years), while participants who would have been six years and younger were categorised as those who were not socialised during apartheid (18-25 years). The year 1991 was a pertinent year in South Africa, as this was the year

that all race laws were abolished in South Africa and the president at the time, F.W. de Klerk, called for the drafting of a new constitution (Wines, 2006). Therefore, for the purposes of this study, participants who were six years or younger in 1991 were assumed not to have grown up during apartheid. Similarly, participants who were seven years or older in 1991 were assumed to have grown up during apartheid. The age of seven years was used as the cut-off, as school is considered as the most influential factor on a child's political socialisation (Glass, Bengston & Dunham, 1986), and children start attending school at the age of seven in South Africa.

The means and standard deviations for group identification in previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants according to whether they were socialised in the apartheid system or not are detailed in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6.  
*Means and standard deviations for group identification in previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants according to socialisation group (total n = 815).*

	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<b>Status</b>			
Previously advantaged	386	2.32	.34
Previously disadvantaged	429	2.51	.46
<b>Socialisation</b>			
After apartheid	440	2.35	.38
During apartheid	375	2.51	.45
<b>Status interacting with age</b>			
Previously advantaged			
After apartheid	254	2.31	.33
During apartheid	132	2.36	.36
Previously disadvantaged			
After apartheid	186	2.42	.44
During apartheid	243	2.59	.47

In ANOVA homogeneity of variances is assumed. In repeated measurement ANOVA this assumption is tested by testing for sphericity. In order to test this assumption the variance-covariance matrices of the different groups were examined using Levene's test (Field, 2009). It revealed that the matrices were not equal because the statistic was significant ( $F_{3, 811} = 13.99, p < .001$ ), which means that the assumption of homogeneity was violated. As ANOVA is quite

robust to violations of the assumption of homogeneity when conducted on big samples, it was considered appropriate to nonetheless employ the procedure (Field, 2009).

The ANOVA showed significant main effects for status ( $F_{1, 811} = 33.60; p < .001; \epsilon^2 = .04$ ), socialisation ( $F_{1, 811} = 14.76; p < .001; \epsilon^2 = .02$ ), and the interaction between status and age ( $F_{1, 811} = 3.96, p < .05; \epsilon^2 = .01$ ). These differences are significant but have small to negligible effect sizes (Trusty et al., 2004).

This means that individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system generally identify more with their in-groups than those who were not socialised during apartheid. This also means that previously disadvantaged individuals generally identify more with their in-groups than previously advantaged individuals. Furthermore, these results show that for individuals socialised in the apartheid system previously disadvantaged individuals identify more with their in-group than previously advantaged participants. For individuals whose socialisation took place after apartheid, previously disadvantaged participants also identify more with their in-group than previously advantaged participants, but these differences are less pronounced. A graphical representation of the interaction effect between status and socialisation is depicted in Figure. 3.1.

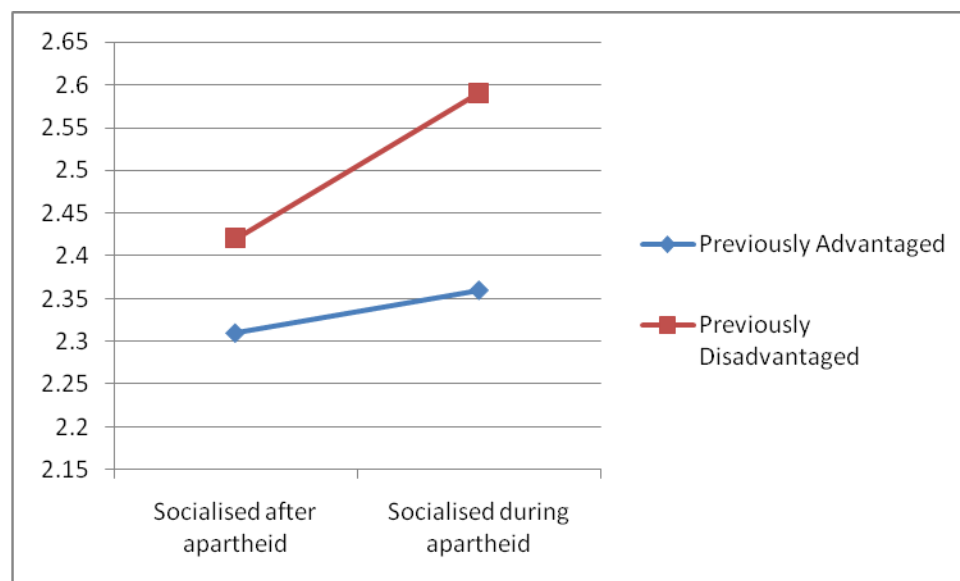


Figure 3.1. Interaction effect of status and socialisation on group identification

The ANOVA results had shown that in general, those that were socialised after apartheid identified less with their in-group than those that were socialised during apartheid. To test whether this difference was significant for previously advantaged individuals as well as for previously disadvantaged individuals, two independent samples t-tests were conducted.

***Hypothesis 3a: Previously advantaged individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system identify more with being previously advantaged than previously advantaged individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system.***

When only including previously advantaged individuals into the analysis, the independent samples t-test showed that the difference between the means of group identification was the same for those individuals socialised in the apartheid system ( $M = 2.36$ ,  $SD = .36$ ,  $n = 132$ ) and those who were not socialised in the apartheid system ( $M = 2.31$ ,  $SD = .33$ ,  $n = 254$ ) ( $t_{384} = -1.50$ ;  $p = .14$ ;  $d = .15$ ). These results were not significant and the size effect of the differences between the means was a small effect (Cohen, 1988). Hypothesis 3a is therefore not supported.

***Hypothesis 3b: Previously disadvantaged South Africans who were socialised in the apartheid system identify more with being previously disadvantaged than previously disadvantaged individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system.***

When only including previously disadvantaged individuals in the independent samples t-test it revealed that individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system ( $M = 2.59$ ,  $SD = .47$ ,  $n = 243$ ) identified stronger with being previously disadvantaged than individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system ( $M = 2.42$ ,  $SD = .44$ ,  $n = 186$ ) ( $t_{427} = -3.85$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $d = .37$ ). These results were significant and the size of the effect was medium (Cohen, 1988). The data therefore support hypothesis 3b.

Thus, while previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during the apartheid system and those socialised after the end of apartheid identified equally with being previously

advantaged, previously disadvantaged individuals identified more with being previously disadvantaged when they were socialised after the end of apartheid.

#### **3.5.4. Hypothesis 4.**

It was hypothesised that previously advantaged individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system would have a greater need for social acceptance than previously advantaged individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system (Hypothesis 4a). It was also hypothesised that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system would have a greater need for empowerment than previously disadvantaged individuals who were not socialised in the apartheid system (Hypothesis 4b).

Before testing hypotheses 4a and 4b a 2 (status: previously advantaged vs. previously disadvantaged) x 2 (socialisation: socialised in the apartheid system vs. not socialised in the apartheid system) MANOVA with “need for acceptance” and “need for empowerment” as dependent variables was conducted in order to explore the data further. Before conducting the MANOVA, it was examined whether the data fulfilled the required conditions for MANOVA.

Again, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was investigated by testing whether the covariance matrices were equal using Box’s M test. The results revealed that the variances for each dependent variable were not homogenous and the assumptions for MANOVA were thus violated ( $F_{9, 3196965.31} = 6.89; p < .001$ ). However, as MANOVA is quite robust to violations of the assumption of homogeneity when conducted on big samples, it was considered appropriate to nonetheless employ the procedure (Field, 2009).

Using Roy’s largest root multivariate test the MANOVA revealed that there were differences between previously advantaged participants and previously disadvantaged ( $\theta = .02; F_{2, 810} = 8.90; p < .001$ ). It was also revealed that those socialised in the apartheid system differed in their needs from those who were socialised after the end of apartheid ( $\theta = 1.05; F_{2, 810} = 424.83; p < .001$ ). The interaction between status and socialisation was also significant (Status & socialisation:  $\theta = .07; F_{2, 810} = 29.10; p < .001$ ).

Refer to Table 3.7 for means and standard deviations for the need for acceptance and the need for empowerment in both previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants according to their socialisation.

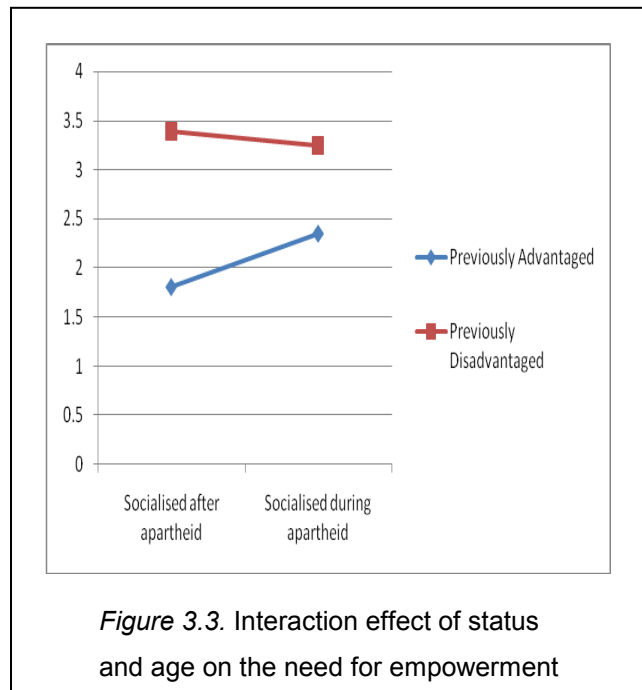
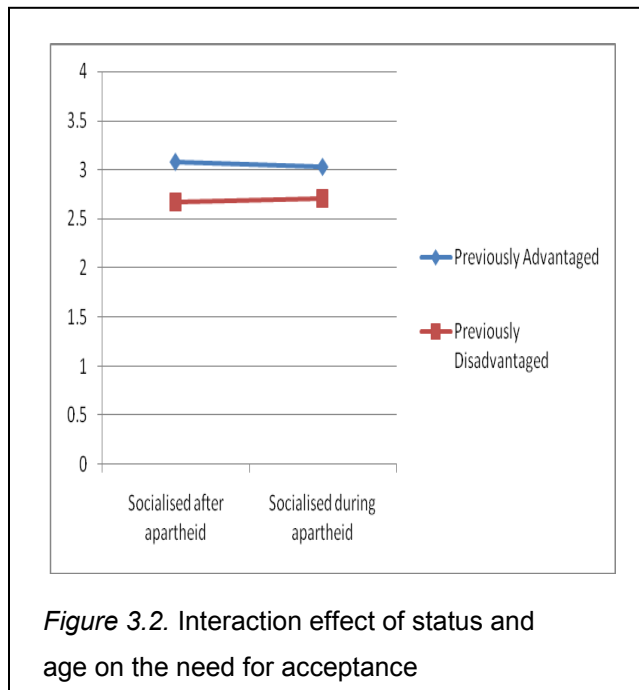
Table 3.7.

*Means and standard deviations for the need for acceptance and the need for empowerment in previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants according to socialisation (n = 815).*

	N	Previously Advantaged		Previously Disadvantaged	
		M	SD	M	SD
<i>Need for acceptance</i>					
Socialised after apartheid	254	3.08	.58	2.67	.76
Socialised during apartheid	132	3.03	.70	2.71	.78
<i>Need for empowerment</i>					
Socialised after apartheid	254	1.81	.66	3.39	.53
Socialised during apartheid	132	2.35	.81	3.25	.68

Consequent ANOVAs revealed significant main effects for status in both dependent variables (Need for acceptance:  $F_{1, 811} = 50.16$ ;  $p < .001$ ; Need for empowerment:  $F_{1, 811} = 660.93$ ;  $p < .001$ ), indicating that previously advantaged individuals had a higher need for acceptance ( $M = 3.06$ ,  $SD = .62$ ,  $n = 386$ ) and a lower need for empowerment ( $M = 1.99$ ,  $SD = .76$ ,  $n = 386$ ), while previously disadvantaged individuals had a lower need for acceptance ( $M = 2.69$ ,  $SD = .77$ ,  $n = 429$ ) and a higher need for empowerment ( $M = 3.31$ ,  $SD = .62$ ,  $n = 429$ ). The main effect for socialisation was only significant for the need for empowerment (Need for acceptance:  $F_{1, 811} = .01$ ;  $p = .94$ ; Need for empowerment:  $F_{1, 811} = 16.61$ ;  $p < .001$ ). This means that those socialised during and after apartheid had the same need for acceptance (Socialised after apartheid:  $M = 2.91$ ;  $SD = .69$ ,  $n = 440$ ; Socialised during apartheid:  $M = 2.82$ ,  $SD = .77$ ,  $n = 375$ ), but those socialised after apartheid had a lower need for empowerment than those socialised during apartheid (Socialised after apartheid:  $M = 2.48$ ,  $SD = .99$ ,  $n = 440$ ; Socialised during apartheid:  $M = 2.93$ ,  $SD = .85$ ,  $n = 375$ ). Equally so, the interaction between status and socialisation is only significant for the need for empowerment, but not for the need for acceptance (Need for acceptance:  $F_{1, 811} = .88$ ;  $p = .35$ ; Need for empowerment:  $F_{1, 811} = 50.65$ ;  $p < .001$ ). A graphical

representation of the interaction effect between status and socialisation is depicted in Figures 3.2 and 3.3.



To investigate whether previously advantaged participants who were socialised after and during apartheid differed in their need for social acceptance an independent samples t-test was conducted. The equivalent test was conducted for previously disadvantaged participants who were socialised during and after apartheid to test whether these two groups differed in their need for empowerment.

***Hypothesis 4a: Previously advantaged individuals have a greater need for social acceptance when they were socialised during apartheid than when they were socialised thereafter.***

The independent samples t-test with socialisation as group variable and need for acceptance as dependent variable conducted to test this hypothesis included only previously advantaged individuals. In line with the ANOVA interaction results for the need for acceptance there was no difference in the need for acceptance among previously advantaged individuals who

were either socialised in the apartheid system ( $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = .70$ ,  $n = 132$ ) or thereafter ( $M = 3.08$ ,  $SD = .48$ ,  $n = 254$ ) ( $t_{384} = .77$ ;  $p = .44$ ; n.s.;  $d = .08$ ). Furthermore, the effect size was negligible (Cohen, 1988). Hypothesis 4a is therefore not supported.

***Hypothesis 4b: Previously disadvantaged individuals have a greater need for empowerment when they were socialised during apartheid than when they were socialised thereafter.***

The independent samples t-test with socialisation as group variable and need for empowerment as dependent variable conducted to test hypothesis 4b included only previously disadvantaged individuals. As per the ANOVA interaction results for the need for empowerment there were significant differences in the need for empowerment among previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised either in the apartheid system ( $M = 3.25$ ,  $SD = .68$ ,  $n = 243$ ) or after the apartheid system ( $M = 3.39$ ,  $SD = .53$ ,  $n = 186$ ) ( $t_{427} = 2.44$ ;  $p < .05$ ;  $d = .23$ ). The size of the difference was of small effect (Cohen, 1988). Hypothesis 4b is therefore not supported.

Hypothesis 4 is therefore concluded that previously advantaged individuals have the same need for acceptance whether they were socialised during or after apartheid. Previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised after apartheid, on the other hand, have a greater need for empowerment than those who were socialised during apartheid.

### **3.5.5. Hypothesis 5.**

***Hypothesis 5a: The more their need for acceptance has been addressed, the more willing previously advantaged individuals are to reconcile. This relationship is stronger for individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system.***

Pearson product-moment correlations between individuals' willingness to reconcile and the extent to which their need for acceptance had been addressed were calculated for previously advantaged participants. Two correlation coefficients were determined. One for previously advantaged individuals who were socialised after the apartheid system (i.e. 17-25 years old) ( $r =$

.44;  $p < .001$ ,  $n = 254$ ) and one for those who were socialised in the apartheid system (i.e. 26-65 years old) ( $r = .43$ ;  $p < .0010$ ;  $n = 132$ ). Both correlations were of medium effect (Cohen, 1988). This means that for both groups individuals are more willing to reconcile, the more their need for acceptance has been addressed.

In order to calculate whether the two correlations were significantly different, Fisher's r-to-z correlation was used (Lowry, 2010). In Fisher's r-to-z correlation, each correlation coefficient is transformed into a z-score. The difference between these two z-scores is calculated and it is then calculated whether this difference is significantly different from zero. Lowry's (2010) calculation calculates this difference automatically, which resulted in a z of .11 ( $p = .01$ ). These results therefore do not support hypothesis 5a. The relationship between previously advantaged individuals' willingness to reconcile and the extent to which their need for acceptance has been addressed is the same for those who were socialised in the apartheid system and those who were socialised thereafter.

***Hypothesis 5b: The more their need for empowerment has been addressed, the more willing previously disadvantaged individuals are to reconcile. This relationship is stronger for individuals who were socialised in the apartheid system.***

For previously disadvantaged participants Pearson product-moment correlations between the willingness to reconcile and the addressing of the need for empowerment were calculated separately for those who were not socialised in the apartheid system (i.e. 17-25 years old) ( $r = .51$ ;  $p < .001$ ,  $n = 186$ ) and for those who were socialised in the apartheid system (i.e. 26-65 years old) ( $r = .67$ ;  $p < .001$ ,  $n = 243$ ).

Using Cohen's (1988) conventions for the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, the relationship between the need for empowerment and the willingness to reconcile in previously disadvantaged participants is of large effect for both socialisation groups.

In order to calculate whether the difference between the two correlation coefficients was significant, Fisher's r-to-z correlation was used (Lowry, 2010), resulting in  $z = -2.53$  ( $p < .05$ ). These results therefore support hypothesis 5b, as previously disadvantaged participants who were socialised in the apartheid system were more willing to reconcile than those who were not

socialised in the apartheid system, the more they felt that their need for empowerment had been addressed.

## 4. Discussion

The consequences of the segregations enforced by apartheid are still felt today by the South African society at large (Gibson, 2004). When combining these experiences of segregation with the fact that employees of diverse cultures are now required to work together post-apartheid, it can be expected that conflict in the workplace regarding race/ethnicity may arise (Thomas & Bendixen, 2000).

More than eighty-five percent of American employees leaving organisations cite internal conflict as a reason for their departure (Murtha, 2005). The nature of the workforce is changing, where the baby boomer generation is nearing retirement and the next generations have fewer people available to work (Sprague, 2008). Global competition is also affecting today's workforce. It is for this reason why retaining employees has become an increasingly important concern for organisations today (Conbere, 2001). If eighty-five percent of American employees are leaving due to conflict at work, South African organisations need to learn from this statistic and develop conflict management programmes relevant to their contexts that will assist in eradicating this conflict.

South Africa has progressive labour legislation – the Constitution of South Africa (1996) states that no person will be unfairly discriminated against relating to race or ethnicity; the Labour Relations Act (1995) effects and regulates this right and promotes the effective resolution of labour disputes; and the Employment Equity Act (1998) promotes equity and equal opportunity in the workplace. However, this labour legislation only focuses on conflict resolution and does not consider reconciliation in the workplace at all.

In order to know how to address conflict outside of legislation and to take a more reconciliatory approach to conflict, it is important to understand why there are tensions between groups or individuals. The NBMR offers one possible explanation for this.

The purpose of this study was to apply the NBMR to the South African context, and specifically to the workplace in the South African context. The NBMR is based on the premise that in a conflict situation both the victim and perpetrator are denied specific psychological needs. The idea of the NBMR is that unless these needs are addressed reconciliation between victim and perpetrator groups is impossible (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). In the South African context and for the purposes of this study, individuals belonging to a racial group which had

been disadvantaged by the apartheid dispensation, were classified as victims, while previously advantaged individuals were classified as perpetrators.

In this chapter the results of the study at hand are discussed and reasons and explanations for the results explored. This chapter also includes a discussion of the limitations of the study and the contributions of this study to the field of organisational psychology.

The NBMR theorises that victims have a need for empowerment, while perpetrators have a need for acceptance and studies conducted by Shnabel and Nadler (2008) supported this assumption. For this reason, this study expected to find that individuals who were advantaged by the apartheid system would have a higher need for acceptance than empowerment, while individuals who were disadvantaged by the apartheid system would have a higher need for empowerment than acceptance. The results of this study indicated that, as expected, previously advantaged individuals had a higher need for acceptance than for empowerment. This means that previously advantaged individuals have a need to be socially accepted by previously disadvantaged individuals. The reverse was true for previously disadvantaged individuals, who had a higher need for empowerment than for acceptance. This means that previously disadvantaged individuals have a need to be seen as a powerful social citizen by previously disadvantaged individuals. This indicates that the NBMR relating to psychological needs for victims and perpetrators can be applied to the South African context.

In the context of racial conflict in the workplace, it is helpful to understand the different psychological needs of the conflicting parties, as this would assist in the resolution of the conflict. For example, if a mediator is aware that a previously advantaged individual has a need for acceptance while a previously disadvantaged individual has a need for empowerment, this could be worked into the mediation process so that both these needs are satisfied by each opposing party (i.e. previously advantaged individuals empower previously disadvantaged individuals, who in turn accept previously advantaged individuals). Furthermore, the fact that previously advantaged individuals have a need for acceptance and that previously disadvantaged individuals have a need for empowerment could be used in the designing of diversity programmes by ensuring that these programmes actually address these needs.

Political socialisation is said to begin at the age of seven, when Piaget's 'concrete operations' stage begins (Hunt, 1974). For this reason, it was expected that the period in which individuals were socialised (before or after apartheid) would impact on the extent to which they

felt a need for acceptance or empowerment. The reason for this is that individuals who were socialised during apartheid would have had first-hand experience of the apartheid system. Hence previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid may have felt more directly responsible for apartheid, as they always benefited from the system. On the other hand, previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised after apartheid might already feel empowered that those who were socialised during apartheid, as they have experienced more empowerment opportunities since the end of apartheid through scholarships, access to better education, employment opportunities, etc. This would have therefore enhanced the need for acceptance and/or empowerment in previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals respectively who were socialised during apartheid. Although it was expected that previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid would have a greater need for acceptance than those who were socialised after apartheid and that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid would have a greater need for empowerment than those who were socialised after apartheid, results did not support this. In fact, for previously disadvantaged individuals, those who were socialised after apartheid had a greater need for empowerment than those who were socialised during apartheid.

The fact that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised after apartheid have a higher need for empowerment than those who were socialised during apartheid could be due to the fact that the majority of the previously disadvantaged sample who were socialised after apartheid were students. Although these individuals may see the government empowerment initiatives being played out in the workplace, they have not yet benefited from these initiatives as they are still full-time students and thus unemployed. These results could therefore look quite different in a sample of full-time employers in that the original expectation that previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid may have a higher need for empowerment than those who were socialised after apartheid.

It was also expected that previously advantaged individuals who were socialised in apartheid would identify more with being previously advantaged than those who were not socialised in apartheid. The same was expected for previously disadvantaged individuals relating to their identification with being previously disadvantaged. Results did not support this expectation in previously advantaged individuals but there was support for previously disadvantaged individuals. For previously advantaged individuals, those who were socialised

during apartheid did not identify more with being previously advantaged than those who were socialised after apartheid. This result was not expected. A possible reason for this result is that previously advantaged individuals see themselves as responsible for the apartheid system and consequent rifts between members of different races in South Africa. For this reason, being previously advantaged might be regarded as negative, as opposed to the victim group, who were not „in the wrong’. This could have influenced the way in which previously advantaged individuals responded to questions relating to group identification, since they would not want to be associated with a group having negative associations.

Another reason for this finding could be that many previously disadvantaged individuals are still currently disadvantaged due to the geographical make-up of South Africa. One of the main objectives of apartheid was to prevent the dilution of „white blood’, which resulted in the segregation of residences according to race (Seekings, 2008). These residential segregations were so entrenched by the apartheid system that they remain today – most areas where previously advantaged people lived during apartheid are still occupied by previously advantaged individuals today. These are known as „White areas’. Similarly, most areas where previously disadvantaged people lived during apartheid are also still occupied by previously disadvantaged individuals and are known as the „Black areas’ or the „Coloured areas’. Due to previously advantaged individuals still living in previously advantaged areas and previously disadvantaged individuals still living in previously disadvantaged areas, individuals still experience the segregation that was enforced during apartheid. Since previously advantaged individuals live in advantaged areas, they have never really known what it is to be previously advantaged, since there is nothing to compare being previously advantaged to – it is for this reason that previously advantaged individuals may not identify as much with being previously advantaged as there has been no change in the advantages that they experienced during apartheid. Similarly, previously disadvantaged individuals still experience disadvantaged areas, as most previously disadvantaged areas still lack proper housing, sanitation, etc. (Herselman, 2003). Affirmative action and black economic empowerment are government initiatives that aim to counter the effects of a history of discrimination by implementing policies to benefit the previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa (Finnemore, 2002). Due to the implementation of affirmative action and black economic empowerment, previously disadvantaged individuals have now had the opportunity to experience advantages such as a quality education and a corporate work life, which means that they now

have an advantaged lifestyle to compare to their previously or currently disadvantaged home lifestyle – it is for this reason that previously disadvantaged individuals may identify more with being previously disadvantaged because they are still disadvantaged today with regards to where they live and now have an advantaged education or working system that they can compare themselves to. Therefore, in general, previously disadvantaged South Africans are more likely to be aware of the socio-economic disparities that exist in South Africa (more so than previously advantaged individuals), as they are exposed to poverty as well as a privileged lifestyle. It is easy for previously advantaged individuals to overlook that there is poverty because of the geographical segregation, with poverty evidenced in poor quality of housing and sanitation being restricted to areas in which previously disadvantaged individuals lived and to a great extent still live.

The implication of these findings in the workplace is that individuals of different ages and different races will identify differently with their in-groups. This could impact on the severity of the conflict as well as the time for which it takes for the conflicting parties to resolve their differences. Should these differences be identified at the early stages of conflict, conflict resolution could take place quicker and more efficiently, hence restoring harmony in the workplace. Quick and effective conflict resolution can improve the effectiveness of the organisation as employees will be happy and satisfied, thereby improving customer service and productivity (Goldsmith, 2000).

The NBMR further theorises that individuals are more willing to reconcile once their psychological need has been addressed through a message of acceptance in perpetrators and through a message of empowerment in victims (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). For this reason it was expected that previously advantaged individuals would be more willing to reconcile the more they felt their need for acceptance had been addressed. Previously disadvantaged individuals, on the other hand, were expected to be more willing to reconcile following the more they perceived their need for empowerment to be addressed. The results supported this expectation. This means that in line with the NBMR it is correct that individuals are indeed more willing to reconcile, the more their psychological needs are addressed. With the results being the same in South Africa as in other contexts, this provides a first tentative indication that the NBMR also applies in the South African context.

Interestingly, the relationship between the extents to which the psychological need was addressed and individuals' willingness to reconcile is stronger for previously disadvantaged than for previously advantaged individuals. This suggests that a message of empowerment has a greater effect on the willingness to reconcile in previously disadvantaged individuals than a message of acceptance has on the willingness to reconcile in previously advantaged individuals.

It is possible that this result can be attributed to the particular message of acceptance that was presented to participants. It is possible that this message may not have been read entirely as a message of acceptance – this was noticed when collecting data for the second pilot study, where much verbal feedback was received that the message of acceptance did not make sense to the pilot participants. Should this message not have been read correctly as acceptance, this would have influenced participants' willingness to reconcile, since their need for social acceptance was not fully addressed.

It was also expected that the period of socialisation would impact on previously advantaged individuals' willingness to reconcile following a message of acceptance and previously disadvantaged individuals' willingness to reconcile following a message of empowerment. Results indicate that previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during or after apartheid do not differ in how willing they are to reconcile following a message of acceptance. Again, the message of acceptance perhaps not being read entirely as a message of acceptance could have influenced these results, as the message of acceptance may have not actually addressed individuals' need for acceptance. This would have in turn affected previously advantaged individuals' willingness to reconcile as their need for acceptance may not have actually been addressed.

Results also indicate that there is a difference in the willingness to reconcile after the need for empowerment was addressed in previously disadvantaged individuals who were and were not socialised during apartheid. This difference showed that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid were more willing to reconcile than previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised after apartheid, after their need for empowerment was addressed. This means that making previously disadvantaged individuals feel empowered makes them more willing to reconcile. This is particularly the case for previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid. This could be due to the fact that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid were exposed more to feeling

powerless by the apartheid system, whereas those who were not socialised during apartheid have been empowered by the new government. For example, an individual identifying himself as previously disadvantaged responded to the questionnaire for this study with:

*“In the apartheid era, I could not receive a bursary, apprenticeship or employment...”*

This is not the case now that apartheid has come to an end, thereby providing opportunities and hence empowerment to previously disadvantaged individuals. This means that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid may already be experiencing some level of empowerment through new employment opportunities and black economic empowerment, which they did not experience during apartheid. This level of empowerment already experienced could be enhanced via stronger messages of empowerment, which in turn could increase individuals' willingness to reconcile.

When applying the NBMR to the workplace, it is important to note that the NBMR serves as an explanatory model which can give rise to ideas of how to avoid or deal with racial tensions in the workplace, i.e. if the causes of racial tensions are understood it is possible to design interventions that would address these causes. These alternative interventions could be used as an alternative to the conflict resolution approaches currently adopted by South African organisations, such as the implementation of South Africa's labour legislation. Many previously disadvantaged individuals are already experiencing empowerment in the workplace through their salaries, the autonomy that they experience in their jobs, and through powerful positions which they hold in organisations (although results indicated that previously disadvantaged individuals still have a need for empowerment). When dealing with racial conflict in the workplace then, organisations should acknowledge these levels of empowerment that are already being experienced by previously disadvantaged individuals – especially by those that were socialised during apartheid – and apply the NBMR as something to enhance the empowerment that is already being experienced through other forms of addressing racial conflict, such as South African labour legislation. These other forms are particularly important to previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid, as they did not experience these opportunities during apartheid. Thus, experiencing these opportunities now and having their need for empowerment addressed through a message of empowerment from previously advantaged

individuals may result in previously disadvantaged individuals being more willing to reconcile with previously advantaged individuals in the workplace.

The sample for this study may be another explanation for the finding that previously disadvantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid were more willing to reconcile after their need for empowerment had been addressed than those who were socialised after apartheid. The sample consisted of students at a renowned university who consequently had good job prospects and of full-time workers. They might have thus indeed benefited from government's empowerment initiatives or might have seen how other previously disadvantaged individuals had benefited from government's empowerment initiatives.

#### **4.1. Contributions to the field of Organisational Psychology**

Determining the needs to be addressed in order to make reconciliation attempts successful will assist in diminishing intergroup conflict that is due to racial tensions in the workplace. Intergroup conflict can have grave negative effects in organisations, such as poor performance, a loss of new business and hence a loss of profits (Hennessy & West, 1999). Now that it has been found that the NBMR can be applied to the South African context, this model could assist organisations in dealing with this intergroup conflict within their teams, hence contributing positively to employees' performance. Interventions need to be designed in such a way that they make previously advantaged individuals feel accepted, while at the same time making previously disadvantaged individuals feel empowered. They should also stress the importance of appropriate interpersonal communication (i.e. conveying messages of empowerment toward previously disadvantaged individuals and messages of acceptance toward previously advantaged individuals).

Results from this study have implications for the design of diversity programmes – the NBMR can be applied to the South Africa context, therefore diversity programmes could lead to improved interracial relations if they are able to address the different emotional needs of previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged groups.

## 4.2. Limitations and Future Research

A limitation to this study is that a student sample was used in conjunction with a working sample. The student sample was not actually in the workplace yet, which could have implications for the application of the NBMR to the South African workplace context. Therefore, although the researcher was interested in socialisation effects, it was not possible to know whether it was really socialisation that caused the differences found. It is thus not possible to say with certainty that the different effects found for previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged participants are due to socialisation or to other confounding reasons. Future research could therefore benefit from a sample of full-time workers only so as to more easily apply its findings to the workplace.

Past research has indicated that perpetrators experience a threat to their identity as moral social citizens while victims experience a threat to their identity as powerful citizens, which results in a need for acceptance in perpetrators and a need for empowerment in victims (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). It is for this reason that it was assumed that previously advantaged individuals feel threatened in their identity as moral social citizens and that this would be expressed in their need for acceptance. Equally so, it was taken as given that previously disadvantaged individuals feel threatened in their identity as powerful citizens and that this would be evident in their need for empowerment. Further research could therefore measure whether these assumed identity threats were indeed present.

A further limitation to this study was the fact that willingness to reconcile was measured by a self-rating scale. The success of the reconciliation process success is dependent on the conflicting parties' attitudes. It is therefore believed that this self-rating measure was adequate since an individual's willingness to reconcile could be gauged by the individual him/herself. However, Shnabel and Nadler (2008) point out that it is important to determine to what extent self-rated willingness to reconcile actually predicts reconciliatory behaviour. Research has shown that links between attitudes and actual behaviour are generally weak (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2009). Future research should look at this relationship.

At the beginning of the survey, respondents were informed that they would be taking part in a study investigating the responses of previously advantaged individuals and previously disadvantaged individuals to different media statements relating to the apartheid era. However,

the so-called „experimenter effect’ could have been at play due to the fact that respondents were asked questions relating to acceptance and empowerment after each media statement. Respondents therefore could have realised that the study was measuring levels of acceptance and empowerment, which could have led them to responding in ways in which they felt the „experimenter’ wanted them to respond. Future research could therefore benefit by perhaps changing the terms „acceptance’ and „empowerment’ to terms that are similar in meaning, but not so obvious to the respondents.

A final limitation to this study was the message of acceptance. The final message of acceptance was understood as conveying a message of acceptance more strongly than as expressing a message of empowerment. However, it was not as clearly understood as an acceptance message than the empowerment message was perceived to convey a message of empowerment. It is thus possible that the message of acceptance was not entirely addressing the need for acceptance. As outlined above this could explain why many of the results related to the satisfaction of the need for acceptance were non-significant, while this was not the case for the message of empowerment. The message therefore may have not entirely addressed the need for acceptance, which would have in turn influenced previously advantaged individuals’ willingness to reconcile, evidenced in the fact that the relationship between satisfaction of the need for acceptance and willingness to reconcile was weaker than the relationship between satisfaction of the need for empowerment and willingness to reconcile. It would thus be useful to replicate the study with an amended message, which more successfully conveys a message of acceptance. Future research may also benefit from using a message of acceptance and empowerment related to the workplace context, rather than using generic messages of acceptance and empowerment as used in this study. It was, however, appropriate to use these generic messages of acceptance and empowerment in this study, as this study was the first to use the NBMR in South Africa and sought to establish the general applicability of the model in the South African context.

### 4.3. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to apply the NBMR to the South African context and then to the South African workplace context. Overall, the results have shown that the NBMR can be applied to the South African context, that is, that a) victims have a greater need for empowerment than acceptance, b) perpetrators have a greater need for acceptance than empowerment, c) victims are more willing to reconcile with perpetrators the more their need for empowerment has been addressed and d) perpetrators are more willing to reconcile with their victims the more their need for acceptance has been addressed. This means that previously advantaged individuals do have a greater need for acceptance than empowerment and that previously disadvantaged individuals have a greater need for empowerment than acceptance. Furthermore, previously advantaged individuals are more willing to reconcile once their need for acceptance has been addressed, while previously disadvantaged individuals are more willing to reconcile once their need for empowerment has been addressed. However, this study investigated the impact of period of socialisation and group identity to the NBMR as well. Whether previously advantaged individuals were socialised during apartheid or after apartheid had no impact on their need for acceptance. It did not influence the relationship between their willingness to reconcile and the extent to which their need for acceptance had been addressed either. Furthermore, there was no difference in in-group identification between previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during or after apartheid. For previously disadvantaged individuals, those socialised during apartheid had a lower need for empowerment and the relationship between willingness to reconcile and the extent to which their need for empowerment had been addressed was stronger than for previously disadvantaged individuals socialised after apartheid. Previously advantaged individuals who were socialised during apartheid identified more with their in-group than those who were socialised after apartheid.

These results have implications for the designing of diversity programmes in the South African workplace, as they provide a level of understanding of the causes for inter-racial conflict.

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## **6. Appendices**

### **Appendix A: Permission Letter from the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Faculty**



## **Appendix B: Debriefings to Students and Full-time Workers**

Dear Psychology Students

Thank you to those of you who recently completed my survey – your responses were greatly appreciated! Please note that SRPP points have been awarded to all those who participated.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you about the real purpose of my research. The survey stated that my research was investigating how previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals interpreted various media statements. However, my real research interest was different. I wanted to establish under what circumstances previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals are most willing to reconcile with each other.

I am basing my research on the needs-based model of reconciliation (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). According to this model, previously advantaged individuals have the need to be accepted, and previously disadvantaged individuals have the need to be empowered. The model assumes that we are more willing to reconcile when our specific need has been addressed. To test this assumption, you were provided with messages of empowerment and messages of acceptance in the form of media snippets. These snippets did not appear like this in newspapers, but were designed by me for the purposes of the study. I then measured your willingness to reconcile after each snippet.

The reason you were told that my research was about the differences in the interpretation of media statements was so that you were not set up to answer the questions in a specific way. By being told that my research was about something other than your willingness to reconcile, you were distracted from the true purpose of the research, and therefore could not answer the questions in a sociably desirable way.

I hope that my research will be able to contribute to diminishing intergroup conflict in the workplace that is due to racial tensions. Furthermore, I hope that the study will indicate how to design more successful diversity programmes.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions that have not been answered in this announcement. Please also let me know if you have any additional concerns. My email address is [FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za](mailto:FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za)

Again, thank you to those who supported me in completing the survey!

Best regards,

Lisa Forte

Organisational Psychology Masters Students

Dear Colleagues

This is a follow-up on my Organisational Psychology Masters research dissertation, for which I requested your participation in my survey.

Firstly, thank you to those of you who completed my survey – your responses were greatly appreciated!

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you about the real purpose of my research. The survey stated that my research was investigating how previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals interpreted various media statements. However, my real research interest was different. I wanted to establish under what circumstances previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals are most willing to reconcile with each other.

I am basing my research on the needs-based model of reconciliation (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). According to this model, previously advantaged individuals have the need to be accepted, and previously disadvantaged individuals have the need to be empowered. The model assumes that we are more willing to reconcile when our specific need has been addressed. To test this assumption, you were provided with messages of empowerment and messages of acceptance in the form of media snippets. These snippets did not appear like this in newspapers, but were designed by me for the purposes of the study. I then measured your willingness to reconcile after each snippet.

The reason you were told that my research was about the differences in the interpretation of media statements was so that you were not set up to answer the questions in a specific way. By being told that my research was about something other than your willingness to reconcile, you were distracted from the true purpose of the research, and therefore could not answer the questions in a sociably desirable way.

It was found that both previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged individuals were indeed more willing to reconcile after receiving a message of acceptance and empowerment

respectively. I hope that my research results will be able to contribute to diminishing intergroup conflict in the workplace that is due to racial tensions. Furthermore, I hope that the study will indicate how to design more successful diversity programmes.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions regarding this email or if you would like to know more detail about the results. Please also let me know if you have any additional concerns. My email address is [Lisa.Forte@engenoil.com](mailto:Lisa.Forte@engenoil.com) or [FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za](mailto:FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za)

As mentioned in my initial correspondence, a lucky draw took place – there are two dinner vouchers worth R 400 each, one at Baia and the other at Bukhara. The two lucky winners are Winner A and Winner B. Congratulations! You may collect your vouchers from me directly.

Again, thank you to those who supported me in completing the survey!

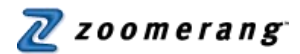
Best regards,

Lisa Forte

Organisational Psychology Masters Student

University of Cape Town

## Appendix C: Previously Advantaged & Previously Disadvantaged Surveys



### Previously Advantaged Survey - Student Sample

Created: July 23 2010, 2:10 AM

Last Modified: August 14 2010, 5:48 AM

Design Theme: Blue Gradient

Language: English

Button Options: Labels

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#### Previously Advantaged Survey - Student Sample

Page 1 - Heading

You have classified yourself as previously advantaged. Previously advantaged people were those who benefited socially, economically and politically from the apartheid system and include White people.

Page 1 - Heading

Dear Participant,

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project, which I am conducting as part of my Masters in Organisational Psychology. This research has been approved by the Commerce Ethics Committee at the University of Cape Town.

The aim of this study is to investigate the responses of previously advantaged individuals and previously disadvantaged individuals to different media statements relating to the apartheid era. If you did not grow up during apartheid, please answer these questions based on your understanding of the history of apartheid.

I would therefore like you to complete this questionnaire, comprising five sections. It should take you no longer than 15 minutes to complete all sections.

For statistical purposes, the last section of the questionnaire asks about your race, gender and nationality; however, it will not be possible to identify who you are from this data. Your participation is therefore anonymous. All data will be kept confidential. Your participation is also completely voluntary and there is no penalty if you do not participate. You can also withdraw from the study at any time.

If you are a Psychology student at the University of Cape Town and are completing this questionnaire for SRPP points, I request that you provide me with your student number at the end of the questionnaire so that I can award your points to you. Please note that student numbers will remain confidential and will be stripped from the data as soon as SRPP points are awarded to you.

If you have any questions or concerns about completing the questionnaire, about being in this study, or if you would like to be informed about the results, you may contact me, Lisa Forte, at [FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za](mailto:FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za).

Thank you very much for your time and support.

Page 2 - Heading

### Section 1

Please show how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Page 2 - Question 1 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

When someone criticizes previously advantaged people, it feels like a personal insult

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 2 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I don't act like a typical previously advantaged person

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 3 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I'm very interested in what others think about previously advantaged people

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 4 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

The limitations associated with previously advantaged people apply to me as well

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 5 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

When I talk about previously advantaged people, I usually say "we" rather than "they"

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 6 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I have a number of qualities typical of members of previously advantaged people

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 7 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

The successes of previously advantaged people are my successes

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 8 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

If a story in the media criticized previously advantaged people, I would feel embarrassed

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 9 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

When someone praises previously advantaged people, it feels like a personal compliment

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 10 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I act like a previously advantaged person to a great extent

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 3 - Heading

Section 2:

Please respond to the following questions, even if you did not grow up during apartheid.

Page 3 - Heading

Please show how frequently you would have liked the following to have taken place during apartheid.  
During apartheid I would have liked previously advantaged people to have:

Page 3 - Question 11 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had more influence on the interactions with previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 12 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had more power

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 13 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

An increased level of control over the interactions with previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 14 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had more say

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 15 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had the opportunity to explain our consideration towards previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 16 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Understood the reasons for previously disadvantaged people's behaviour

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 17 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Known that previously disadvantaged people tried to act fairly

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 18 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Known that previously disadvantaged people did not act out of thoughtlessness

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 19 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Known that previously disadvantaged people are not harsh people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Heading

### Section 3:

This excerpt was taken from The Sowetan newspaper soon after apartheid came to an end. The Sowetan is a newspaper which was distributed to and predominantly read by previously disadvantaged people:

"When we discuss the harsh and painful events that took place during apartheid, we should also understand our brothers, those from the previously advantaged communities; it is important for us to accept that those who were favoured by the apartheid system are human and often have also suffered painful emotions due to the bloody past and present of our country."

Page 4 - Heading

Please indicate the degree to which the writer, who is previously disadvantaged, had intended to convey the following messages to previously advantaged people:

Page 4 - Question 20 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously advantaged people have the right to be strong

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 21 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously advantaged people deserve to be self-dependent

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 22 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously advantaged people should be proud of their heritage

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 23 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"Previously advantaged people are humans, just like me"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent

- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 24 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I acknowledge previously advantaged people's need to be influential"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 25 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I accept previously advantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 26 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I understand the emotions of previously advantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 27 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I feel empathy towards previously advantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent

Very Much

Page 4 - Heading

Considering the writer's article was published in The Sowetan, which is distributed to and predominantly read by previously disadvantaged people, please indicate the extent to which the message elicits from you, as a previously advantaged participant, the following responses:

Page 4 - Question 28 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 29 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to express good will toward previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 30 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Creates a better image of previously disadvantaged people in your eyes

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 31 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you feel optimistic regarding the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 32 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Attests to previously disadvantaged people's good intentions

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 33 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 34 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you perceive previously disadvantaged people as human beings, just like previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 35 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to learn more about previously disadvantaged people's culture

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 36 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 37 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Heading

Section 4:

This excerpt was taken from The Black Sash newspaper soon after apartheid came to an end. The Black Sash is a Black newspaper which was distributed to previously disadvantaged people:

"When we remember the events that took place during apartheid, we should acknowledge that the right of previously advantaged communities in South Africa is to be independent and to determine their own fate and future. We must remember that previously advantaged communities in South Africa have the right to live in respect and with their heads up, and to feel strong, influential and proud in their homeland."

Page 5 - Heading

Please indicate the degree to which the writer, who is previously disadvantaged, had intended to convey the following messages to previously advantaged people:

Page 5 - Question 38 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I accept previously advantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 39 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"Previously advantaged people are humans, just like me"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 40 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously advantaged people have the right to be strong

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 41 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I acknowledge previously advantaged people's need to be influential"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent

- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 42 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I feel empathy towards previously advantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 43 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously advantaged people should be proud of their heritage

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 44 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I understand the emotions of previously advantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 45 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously advantaged people deserve to be self-dependent

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent

Very Much

Page 5 - Heading

Considering the writer's article was published in The Black Sash, which is distributed to and predominantly read by previously disadvantaged people, please indicate the extent to which the message elicits from you, a previously advantaged participant, the following responses:

Page 5 - Question 46 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 47 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Creates a better image of previously disadvantaged people in your eyes

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 48 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 49 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to express good will toward previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 50 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you feel optimistic regarding the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 51 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Attests to previously disadvantaged people's good intentions

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 52 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 53 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you perceive previously disadvantaged people as human beings, just like previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 54 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to learn more about previously disadvantaged people's culture

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 55 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 6 - Heading

Section 5:

Demographics

Please indicate the following for statistical purposes:

Page 6 - Question 56 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Gender:

- Female
- Male

Page 6 - Question 57 - Open Ended - One Line

[Mandatory]

Age (in years):

---

Page 6 - Question 58 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Nationality:

- South African
- Permanent Resident
- Other

Page 6 - Question 59 - Open Ended - One Line

If you ticked 'Permanent resident' or 'Other', please indicate how many years you have been living in South Africa:

---

Page 6 - Question 60 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Race:

- Black
- Chinese
- Coloured
- Indian
- White
- Other
- I prefer not to answer this question

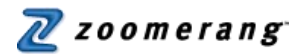
Page 6 - Question 61 - Open Ended - One Line

If you are a UCT Psychology student and would like SRPP points for completing this survey, please provide your student number (e.g. PSYUCT001). Please remember that student numbers will be stripped from the data immediately so as to ensure anonymity.

---

Thank You Page

Thank you for completing this questionnaire! Your results are anonymous and the information that you have provided will be kept confidential.



## Previously Disadvantaged Survey – Workers Sample

Created: August 03 2010, 6:42 AM

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### Previously Disadvantaged Survey – Workers Sample

Page 1 - Heading

You have classified yourself as previously disadvantaged. Previously disadvantaged people were those who benefited neither socially, economically nor politically from the apartheid system and include Black, Chinese, Coloured and Indian people, as well as other people of any other colour other than White.

Page 1 - Heading

Dear Participant,

I would like to invite you to participate in my research project, which I am conducting as part of my Masters in Organisational Psychology. This research has been approved by the Commerce Ethics Committee at the University of Cape Town.

The aim of this study is to investigate the responses of previously advantaged individuals and previously disadvantaged individuals to different media statements relating to the apartheid era. If you did not grow up during apartheid, please answer these questions based on your understanding of the history of apartheid.

I would therefore like you to complete this questionnaire, comprising five sections. It should take you no longer than 15 minutes to complete all sections.

For statistical purposes, the last section of the questionnaire asks about your race, gender and nationality; however, it will not be possible to identify who you are from this data. Your participation is therefore anonymous. All data will be kept confidential. Your participation is also completely voluntary and there is no penalty if you do not participate. You can also withdraw from the study at any time.

If you would like to participate in the lucky draw, you will be requested to insert your email address at the end of the questionnaire. Please note that email addresses will remain confidential and will be stripped from the data.

If you have any questions or concerns about completing the questionnaire, about being in this study, or if you would like to be informed about the results, you may contact me, Lisa Forte, at [FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za](mailto:FRTLIS001@uct.ac.za).

Thank you very much for your time and support.

Page 2 - Heading

### Section 1

Please show how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Page 2 - Question 1 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

When someone criticizes previously disadvantaged people, it feels like a personal insult

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 2 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I don't act like a typical previously disadvantaged person

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 3 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I'm very interested in what others think about previously disadvantaged people

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 4 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

The limitations associated with previously disadvantaged people apply to me as well

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 5 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

When I talk about previously disadvantaged people, I usually say "we" rather than "they"

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 6 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I have a number of qualities typical of members of previously disadvantaged people

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 7 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

The successes of previously disadvantaged are my successes

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 8 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

If a story in the media criticized previously disadvantaged people, I would feel embarrassed

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 9 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

When someone praises previously disadvantaged people, it feels like a personal compliment

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 2 - Question 10 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

I act like a previously disadvantaged person to a great extent

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

Page 3 - Heading

Section 2:

Please respond to the following questions, even if you did not grow up during apartheid.

Page 3 - Heading

Please show how frequently you would have liked the following to have taken place during apartheid.  
During apartheid I would have liked previously disadvantaged people to have:

Page 3 - Question 11 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had more influence on the interactions with previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 12 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had more power

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 13 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had an increased level of control over the interactions with previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 14 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had more say

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 15 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Had the opportunity to explain our consideration towards previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 16 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Understood the reasons for previously advantaged people's behaviour

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 17 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Known that previously advantaged people tried to act fairly

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 18 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Known that previously advantaged people did not act out of thoughtlessness

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 3 - Question 19 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Known that previously advantaged people are not harsh people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Heading

### Section 3:

This excerpt was taken from Die Burger newspaper soon after apartheid came to an end. Die Burger is a newspaper which was distributed to and read predominantly by previously advantaged people:

"When we discuss the harsh and painful events that took place during apartheid, we also should understand our brothers, those from the previously disadvantaged communities; it is important for us to accept that those who were not favoured by the apartheid system are human and often have also suffered painful emotions due to the bloody past and present of our country."

Page 4 - Heading

Please indicate the degree to which the writer, who is previously advantaged, had intended to convey the following messages to previously disadvantaged people:

Page 4 - Question 20 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously disadvantaged people have the right to be strong

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 21 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously disadvantaged people deserve to be self-dependent

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 22 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously disadvantaged people should be proud of their heritage

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 23 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"Previously disadvantaged people are humans, just like me"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent

- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 24 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I acknowledge previously disadvantaged people's need to be influential"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 25 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I accept previously disadvantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 26 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I understand the emotions of previously disadvantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 27 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I feel empathy towards previously disadvantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent

Very Much

Page 4 - Heading

Considering the writer's article was published in Die Burger, which is distributed to and predominantly read by previously advantaged people, please indicate the extent to which the message elicits from you, as a previously disadvantaged participant, the following responses:

Page 4 - Question 28 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 29 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to express good will toward previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 30 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Creates a better image of previously advantaged people in your eyes

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 31 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you feel optimistic regarding the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 32 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Attests to previously advantaged people's good intentions

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 33 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 34 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you perceive previously advantaged people as human beings, just like previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 35 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to learn more about previously advantaged people's culture

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 36 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 4 - Question 37 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Heading

#### Section 4:

This excerpt was taken from Die Volksblad newspaper soon after apartheid came to an end. Die Volksblad is a newspaper which was distributed to and predominantly read by previously advantaged people:

"When we remember the events that took place during apartheid, we should acknowledge that the right of previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa is to be independent and to determine their own fate and future. We must remember that previously disadvantaged communities in South Africa have the right to live in respect and with their heads up, and to feel strong, influential and proud in their homeland."

Page 5 - Heading

Please indicate the degree to which the writer, who is previously advantaged, had intended to convey the following messages to previously disadvantaged people:

Page 5 - Question 38 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I accept previously disadvantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 39 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"Previously disadvantaged people are humans, just like me"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 40 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously disadvantaged people have the right to be strong

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 41 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I acknowledge previously disadvantaged people's need to be influential"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent

- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 42 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I feel empathy towards previously disadvantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 43 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously disadvantaged people should be proud of their heritage

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 44 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

"I understand the emotions of previously disadvantaged people"

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 45 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Previously disadvantaged people deserve to be self-dependent

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent

Very Much

Page 5 - Heading

Considering the writer's article was published in Die Volksblad, which is distributed to and predominantly read by previously advantaged people, please indicate the extent to which the message elicits from you, a previously disadvantaged participant, the following responses:

Page 5 - Question 46 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Creates a better image of previously advantaged people in your eyes

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 47 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you feel optimistic regarding the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 48 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Attests to previously advantaged people's good intentions

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 49 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to express good will toward previously advantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 50 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 51 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Makes you perceive previously advantaged people as human beings, just like previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 52 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 53 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to learn more about previously advantaged people's culture

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 54 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 5 - Question 55 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people

- Not At All
- To A Small Extent
- To A Large Extent
- Very Much

Page 6 - Heading

Section 5:

Demographics

Please indicate the following for statistical purposes:

Page 6 - Question 56 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Gender:

Female

Male

Page 6 - Question 57 - Open Ended - One Line

[Mandatory]

Age (in years):

Page 6 - Question 58 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Nationality:

South African

Permanent Resident

Other

Page 6 - Question 59 - Open Ended - One Line

If you ticked 'Permanent resident' or 'Other', please indicate how many years you have been living in South Africa:

Page 6 - Question 60 - Choice - Multiple Answers (Bullets)

[Mandatory]

Race:

Black

Chinese

Coloured

Indian

White

Other

I prefer not to answer this question

Page 6 - Question 61 - Open Ended - One Line

If you would like to participate in the lucky draw to stand a chance of one of two R 400 dinner-for-two vouchers, please provide your email address. Please remember that email addresses will be stripped from the data immediately so as to ensure anonymity.

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Thank You Page

Thank you for completing this questionnaire! Your results are anonymous and the information that you have provided will be kept confidential.

## Appendix D: Item-Total Correlations of Scales

Table B1  
Item-total correlations for scales

Item no.	Item Description	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
<b>GROUP IDENTIFICATION SCALE</b>		
1.	When someone criticizes previously dis/advantaged people, it feels like a personal insult	.42
2.	I don't act like a typical previously dis/advantaged person	.07
3.	I'm very interested in what other people think about previously dis/advantaged people	.30
4.	The limitations associated with previously dis/advantaged people apply to me as well	.36
5.	When I talk about previously dis/advantaged people, I usually say "we" rather than "they"	.54
6.	I have a number of qualities typical of members of previously dis/advantaged people	.40
7.	The successes of previously dis/advantaged people are my successes	.43
8.	If a story in the media criticized previously dis/advantaged people, I would feel embarrassed	.42
9.	When someone praises previously dis/advantaged people, it feels like a personal compliment	.57
10.	I act like a previously dis/advantaged person to a great extent	.28
<b>DEPRIVATION OF NEED FOR EMPOWERMENT SCALE</b>		
(During apartheid, I would have liked the previously dis/advantaged people to have:)		

1.	Had more influence on the interactions with previously dis/advantaged people	.49
2.	Had more power	.77
3.	Had an increased level of control over the interactions with previously dis/advantaged people	.78
4.	Had more say	.79

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#### DEPRIVATION OF NEED FOR ACCEPTANCE SCALE

(During apartheid, I would have liked the previously dis/advantaged people to have:)

1.	Had the opportunity to explain our consideration towards previously dis/advantaged people	.13
2.	Understood the reasons for previously dis/advantaged people's behaviour	.54
3.	Known that previously dis/advantaged people tried to act fairly	.72
4.	Known that previously dis/advantaged people did not act out of thoughtlessness	.71
5.	Known that previously dis/advantaged people are not harsh people	.65

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#### PERCEPTION OF EMPOWERMENT

After acceptance message

1.	Previously dis/advantaged people have the right to be strong	.66
2.	Previously dis/advantaged people deserve to be self-dependent	.47
3.	Previously dis/advantaged people should be proud of their heritage	.61

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 4. | “I acknowledge previously dis/advantaged people’s need to be influential | .51 |
|----|--|-----|

After empowerment message

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | Previously dis/advantaged people have the right to be strong             | .73 |
| 2. | Previously dis/advantaged people deserve to be self-dependent            | .69 |
| 3. | Previously dis/advantaged people should be proud of their heritage       | .62 |
| 4. | “I acknowledge previously dis/advantaged people’s need to be influential | .68 |
- 

PERCEPTION OF ACCEPTANCE

After acceptance message

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 1. | “Previously dis/advantaged people are humans, just like me”     | .43 |
| 2. | “I accept previously dis/advantaged people”                     | .68 |
| 3. | “I understand the emotions of previously dis/advantaged people” | .63 |
| 4. | “I feel empathy towards previously dis/advantaged people”       | .54 |

After empowerment message

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 1. | “Previously dis/advantaged people are humans, just like me”     | .51 |
| 2. | “I accept previously dis/advantaged people”                     | .55 |
| 3. | “I understand the emotions of previously dis/advantaged people” | .50 |
| 4. | “I feel empathy towards previously dis/advantaged people”       | .56 |
-

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## WILLINGNESS TO RECONCILE

### After acceptance message

1. Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people .72
2. Increases your willingness to express good will towards previously dis/advantaged people .45
3. Creates a better image of previously dis/advantaged people in your eyes .69
4. Makes you feel optimistic about the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people .73
5. Attests to previously dis/advantaged people's good intentions .68
6. Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people .63
7. Makes you perceive previously dis/advantaged people as human beings, just like previously dis/advantaged people .65
8. Increases your willingness to learn more about previously dis/advantaged people's culture .68
9. Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people .72
10. Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people .76

### After empowerment message

1. Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people .76

2.	Increases your willingness to express good will towards previously dis/advantaged people	.80
3.	Creates a better image of previously dis/advantaged people in your eyes	.76
4.	Makes you feel optimistic about the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.82
5.	Attests to previously dis/advantaged people's good intentions	.80
6.	Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.77
7.	Makes you perceive previously dis/advantaged people as human beings, just like previously dis/advantaged people	.77
8.	Increases your willingness to learn more about previously dis/advantaged people's culture	.68
9.	Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.78
10.	Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.76

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## Appendix E: Factor Loadings of Scales

Table C1  
Factor loadings for scales

Item	Item Description	Factor loadings
<b>GROUP IDENTIFICATION SCALE</b>		
1.	When someone criticizes previously dis/advantaged people, it feels like a personal insult	Factor 1: .58 Factor 2: -.14
3.	I'm very interested in what other people think about previously dis/advantaged people	Factor 1: .44 Factor 2: -.33
4.	The limitations associated with previously dis/advantaged people apply to me as well	Factor 1: .51 Factor 2: .28
5.	When I talk about previously dis/advantaged people, I usually say "we" rather than "they"	Factor 1: .68 Factor 2: .08
6.	I have a number of qualities typical of members of previously dis/advantaged people	Factor 1: .54 Factor 2: .59
7.	The successes of previously dis/advantaged people are my successes	Factor 1: .60 Factor 2: -.32
8.	If a story in the media criticized previously dis/advantaged people, I would feel embarrassed	Factor 1: .58 Factor 2: -.18
9.	When someone praises previously dis/advantaged people, it feels like a personal compliment	Factor 1: .73 Factor 2: -.33
10.	I act like a previously dis/advantaged person to a great extent	Factor 1: .41 Factor 2: .63

### DEPRIVATION OF NEED FOR EMPOWERMENT SCALE

(During apartheid, I would have liked the previously dis/advantaged people to have:)

1.	Had more influence on the interactions with previously dis/advantaged people	.66
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2.	Had more power	.89
3.	Had an increased level of control over the interactions with previously dis/advantaged people	.89
4.	Had more say	.90

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#### DEPRIVATION OF NEED FOR ACCEPTANCE SCALE

(During apartheid, I would have liked the previously dis/advantaged people to have:)

2.	Had the opportunity to explain our consideration towards previously dis/advantaged people	.67
3.	Understood the reasons for previously dis/advantaged people's behaviour	.89
4.	Known that previously dis/advantaged people tried to act fairly	.88
5.	Known that previously dis/advantaged people did not act out of thoughtlessness	.85

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#### PERCEPTION OF EMPOWERMENT

After acceptance message

1.	Previously dis/advantaged people have the right to be strong	.84
2.	Previously dis/advantaged people deserve to be self-dependent	.68
3.	Previously dis/advantaged people should be proud of their heritage	.82
4.	"I acknowledge previously dis/advantaged people's need to be influential	.74

After empowerment message

1.	Previously dis/advantaged people have the right to be strong	.86
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2.	Previously dis/advantaged people deserve to be self-dependent	.83
3.	Previously dis/advantaged people should be proud of their heritage	.78
4.	"I acknowledge previously dis/advantaged people's need to be influential	.82

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#### PERCEPTION OF ACCEPTANCE

##### After acceptance message

1.	"Previously dis/advantaged people are humans, just like me"	.64
2.	"I accept previously dis/advantaged people"	.84
3.	"I understand the emotions of previously dis/advantaged people"	.83
4.	"I feel empathy towards previously dis/advantaged people"	.77

##### After empowerment message

1.	"Previously dis/advantaged people are humans, just like me"	.73
2.	"I accept previously dis/advantaged people"	.78
3.	"I understand the emotions of previously dis/advantaged people"	.72
4.	"I feel empathy towards previously dis/advantaged people"	.78

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#### WILLINGNESS TO RECONCILE

##### After acceptance message

1.	Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.78
2.	Increases your willingness to express good will towards	.53

	previously dis/advantaged people	
3.	Creates a better image of previously dis/advantaged people in your eyes	.75
4.	Makes you feel optimistic about the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.79
5.	Attests to previously dis/advantaged people's good intentions	.75
6.	Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.71
7.	Makes you perceive previously dis/advantaged people as human beings, just like previously dis/advantaged people	.73
8.	Increases your willingness to learn more about previously dis/advantaged people's culture	.75
9.	Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.79
10.	Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.82

After empowerment message

1.	Increases your willingness to act for promoting reconciliation between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.81
2.	Increases your willingness to express good will towards previously dis/advantaged people	.84
3.	Creates a better image of previously dis/advantaged people in your eyes	.81
4.	Makes you feel optimistic about the future relations between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.86
5.	Attests to previously dis/advantaged people's good intentions	.84
6.	Increases the proximity between previously advantaged and	.82

	previously disadvantaged people	
7.	Makes you perceive previously dis/advantaged people as human beings, just like previously dis/advantaged people	.82
8.	Increases your willingness to learn more about previously dis/advantaged people's culture	.74
9.	Decreases the tension between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.83
10.	Improves the atmosphere between previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged people	.81

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