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*Dominant and non-dominant group's perceptions of the Government-led  
economic transformation process in South Africa.*

**Report by**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The enormous social, economic, and political government-led societal transformation South Africans have experienced over the past 15 years have brought about numerous societal and identity changes. The aim of the present study was to explore how dominant (White participants) and non-dominant (Black participants) groups experiencing the government-led societal transformation process deal with perceptions of intergroup differences based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and related field research. Social Identity Theory predicts that in the presence of intergroup differences group members irrespective of their status position will apply identity management strategies to either improve or maintain their status position. The relationships between perceptions of intergroup relations and identity management strategies as proposed by Social Identity Theory were tested studying 170 second year Rhodes University psychology students. Sixty participants indicated themselves as Black South Africans (representing non-dominant group) and 110 participants identified themselves as White South Africans (dominant group). The results revealed that dominant and non-dominant groups differ systematically regarding the functional interaction between beliefs about the intergroup situation and identity management strategies. The results of the study indicate too, that ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies irrespective of the group's status position.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The present cross-sectional survey aims to explore from SIT perspective the choice of identity management strategies in two social groups (Blacks and Whites). These two groups hold different economic status positions but experience a government-led transformation process to overcome still existing economic intergroup differences. The government-led transformation is still in process in South Africa and its future goal is to reach a state of equality (i.e. overcoming social and economic differences) amongst different racial groups. Furthermore the study will explore the predictions made by SIT concerning intergroup relations between the dominant and non-dominant groups. This investigation will hopefully contribute to our understanding of how different social groups interact with each other when confronted with social change in a real life situation.

Since the last century dating back to World War II, social psychologists have tried to explain intergroup relations and intergroup conflicts. As a result there have been many different theories developed by social psychologists to explain intergroup relations and intergroup conflict such as the authoritarian personality theory (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1966), relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966), social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and self categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oaks, Reicher, & Witherall, 1987).

### **1.1 Social Identity Theory**

Social Identity Theory was originally proposed by the late Henri Tajfel and his colleagues during the 1970's. During that period the theory was originally known as the integrative theory of intergroup discrimination. It was not until 1986 where John Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) revised the work of Tajfel and introduced the term Social Identity Theory (see Dumont & Louw, 2009). Tajfel's contributions to social psychology were mainly in two domains: social perceptions and intergroup relations. According to Dumont and Louw, (2009, p. 52) " the application of Tajfel's work in social psychology studies can range from being used to direct experimental studies focusing on particular intergroup processes under controlled conditions, to being used as a theoretical framework to study intergroup relations within a specific social, societal or cultural

context". As such, Social Identity Theory has been considered the most important social psychology theory in explaining intergroup conflict.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) suggests that individuals use social categories not only to simplify or structure their environment, but also to identify with these social categories in order to define themselves. By identifying with a specific social category a person defines him/herself as a group member (Niens & Cairns, 2002). SIT is based on the central assumption that individuals strive for a positive self concept, which they can partly reach through positive social identity. Social Identity is the individual's self-concept derived from their perceived membership of a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). According to SIT, the self-concept of an individual consists of two parts: personal and social identity. Personal identity is highly differentiated and refers to the unique personal characteristics of the individual such as personality, physical and intellectual characteristics. Social identity, on the other hand, is that part of the individual's self-concept formed by his or her awareness of membership in social groups as well as the value and emotional significance attached to such group memberships (Bornman, 2007, p. 153). Social identity can be shared amongst different social groups such that one individual is young and one is old, both can share the social identity of White and University students or one can be Black and the other White but both share the social identity of females and professionals.

The basic idea of SIT is therefore that any social category (e.g. ethnic group, nationality, organisation or work group) within which one falls and to which one feels that one belongs, that is with which one identifies, provides a basis of self-definition in terms of the discerning characteristics of that category (Bornman, 2007, p. 153). Thus, membership of social groups is internalised as part of the self-concept and as a result it forms an integral part of the individual's identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel (1981) argues that social categorization divides the social world into various categories which enables an individual to process information and stimuli from the environment and brings order to his or her social world. However the social category to which one belongs or identifies with automatically creates an ingroup and outgroup dichotomy. Consequently when a particular group membership characteristic becomes salient, individuals tend to respond on the basis of their group membership or social identity rather than their

personal identity. As a result category salience shapes identity (Bornman, 2007, Goar, 2004).

According to Howard (2000, p. 369) “people are motivated to evaluate themselves positively, they tend to evaluate positively those groups to which they belong and to discriminate against groups they perceive to pose a threat to their social identity”. Positive social identity is a positive outcome of a social comparison process. Social comparison processes occur when people compare their groups along a relevant comparison dimension (for instance socially or economically) with a relevant outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, individuals can also experience negative social identity which results from a negative comparison outcome given that the dimension on which the comparison was carried out is relevant to the in-group’s social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to Tajfel’s and Turner’s (1979) Social Identity Theory, individuals respond to negative social identity by using identity management strategies in order to restore their positive social identity.

Tajfel (1978) in his original work proposes three variables which influence identification with the in-group and thus promote the use of specific identity management strategies. These variables describe the nature of the intergroup relation in terms of permeability of intergroup boundaries, and stability and legitimacy of intergroup differences. Permeability of intergroup boundaries refers to boundaries between two groups in a social comparison situation. Permeable boundaries allow individuals to move from one group to another (Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke, and Klink, 1998). Impermeable boundaries do not allow the individuals to move. Stability of intergroup boundaries refers to the group members’ perception of any possible future changes of their ingroup status in comparison to a relevant outgroup, i.e. intergroup difference (Blanz, *et al.*, 1998). Intergroup differences are perceived as stable if any future change of the in group’s position relative to the relevant outgroup is considered to be unlikely (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, Blanz *et al.*, 1998, Mummendey, Klink, Wenzel, Mielke, and Blanz, 1999). Legitimacy of intergroup differences refers to individuals or group’s perception of the justness of the in-group’s status in comparison to a relevant outgroup (i.e. intergroup differences). Group status (i.e. intergroup differences) that was reached by fair means is perceived as legitimate (Niens, Cairns, Finchilescu, Forster, & Tredoux, 2003, p. 109).

Perception of permeability of group boundaries, stability and legitimacy of intergroup differences and ingroup identification stand in a functional relationship to identity management strategies. Prior to outlining these functional relationships in detail, the different identity management strategies as proposed by SIT will be introduced.

## **1.2. Identity Management strategies**

According to SIT, three classes of identity management strategies are distinguished: social mobility, social creativity, and social competition (Tajfel, 1978, Tajfel & Turner, 1979, Blanz *et al.*, 1998). These strategies can be applied individually or collectively. Individual strategies (i.e. individual mobility) attempt to change only the individual's position whilst the status relation between the two groups remains unchanged. Collective strategies (i.e. social or realistic competition) attempt to improve individual's position by changing the intergroup situation, i.e. group members will try to gain a positive social identity by changing the status relation between groups (Blanz, *et al.*, 1998).

**1.2.1 Social Mobility** is a strategy that is based on the assumption that the society in which the individual lives is a flexible one. If individuals are not satisfied, for whatever reasons, with the conditions imposed upon their lives by membership of a social group or the social categories to which they belong, it is possible for them as individuals to move into another group which better serves their social identity needs (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When boundaries between groups are permeable, individuals can move from one group to another and become members of a high status groups simply by changing their group memberships. The situation of the individuals own status is changed but the intergroup differences remain unchanged.

**1.2.2 Social creative strategies** are applied to regain positive social identity by changing the negative cognitive representation of status differences and thus the salience of the conflict of interest experienced by the subordinate/dominant group is reduced (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 21). According to Blanz, *et al.* (1998), social creativity strategies can be exhibited as group-level strategies (such as “change of comparison group”, “change of comparison dimension”, “re-evaluation of comparison dimension”

and “denial of intergroup differences”) or at individual-level (such as “individualization” and “subordinate re-categorization”)

Changing the outgroup with which the ingroup is compared (**changing comparison group**): Members of the ingroup avoid using the high status outgroup as a comparative frame of reference because it results in negative social identity. The ingroup will therefore select a new comparison group which holds a lower status position relative to the ingroup on a relevant comparison dimension. The ingroup will then feel superior when comparing themselves with the outgroup on a relevant comparison dimension, thus gaining a positive social identity (Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999). Comparing the ingroup to the outgroup on some new dimension (**changing comparison dimension**): If the ingroup cannot compare themselves favourably with the outgroup in terms of the present dimension of comparison they may seek other dimensions of comparison in which the ingroup holds a high-status position relative to the outgroup (e.g. if comparison between the ingroup and outgroup leads to a negative social identity within the economic comparison dimension, the ingroup may change the comparison dimension from economic to social comparison dimension in order to gain positive social identity, see Blanz *et al.*, 1998). Changing the values assigned to the comparison dimension (**re-evaluation of comparison dimension**): Re-evaluation of the comparison dimension is the process in which the low status group reverses the evaluation of the status-defining comparison dimension, without actually changing the position of the two groups on this dimension (for example, if a group status is defined by a negative social identity or low status on an economic dimension it will result in re-evaluation of the status defining this dimension by changing its perceived value).

Furthermore there are two social creativity strategies which are both related to a change of the subject of comparison, by re-defining the ingroup and turning to different levels of self-categorization: **Superordinate re-categorization and Subordinate re-categorization**. Superordinate re-categorization is a strategy by which the membership of a more inclusive category is emphasized. Members of both groups, the former ingroup (Whites) as well as the former outgroup (South Africans) will strive for positive social identity by means of social comparisons with other higher level outgroups (Blanz *et al.*, 1998). Subordinate re-categorization refers to a tendency by which the ingroup is split

into two groups (e.g. Zulu and Xhosa speaking people) and positive social identity is gained by perceiving the new ingroup as a high status group (Blanz *et al.*, 1998). Furthermore, members of a low status group can shift from social to personal self categorization and define themselves no longer as group members but as unique individuals which are not affected by group evaluations. The strategy of *individualization* represents an individual cognitive strategy by which only the individual changes the negative cognitive representation of their group membership by shifting from social to personal self-categorization (e.g. a Black person will no longer have a cognitive perception of himself as a member of his race group but rather consider himself as a unique individual not bound by belonging to a race group at all, (Blanz *et al.*, 1998).

**1.2.3. Social competition.** Group members may seek positive distinctiveness through direct competition with the outgroup. They may try to reverse the relative positions of the ingroup and the outgroup on a salient comparison dimension (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 45). Group members will try to improve their own status by improving the status of their ingroup by competing for a positive evaluation of their ingroup. The consequence of this social competition processes may generate conflict between the ingroup and the outgroup. **Realistic competition**, on the other hand, is linked to self-interest and negatively interdependent group goals (Blanz *et al.*, 1998). The group members improve their own status by improving the status of their ingroup through competing for allocations of resources which are in favour of their ingroup.

In addition to the social identity management strategies mentioned so far, two further responses are commonly considered which are derived from research on social comparisons. *Temporal comparison* is a strategy used to change the temporal reference of the comparison. The ingroup refrains from comparing their situation with other social groups and rather prefers comparing its present situation with its past/future situation (Blanz *et al.*, 1998). For instance, if the in-group's position appears to have improved over time, subjects achieve a positive comparison outcome by comparing their in-group's current position with its past position on relevant comparison dimensions (e.g. Black people will compare their current economic status to what it was in the past and to what they perceive it to be like in the future). *Comparison with standards* refers to the tendency by which the members of a group compare themselves with socially shared

goals or norms. When there is a satisfying approximation to these goals, subjects are able to evaluate their ingroup positively regardless of their disadvantaged position relative to the outgroup (Blanz *et al*, 1998).

### **1.3. Intergroup Relations and Identity Management Strategies**

It was outlined earlier that perceptions of the intergroup situations informs the identity management strategies applied by non-dominant and dominant groups. SIT postulates for non-dominant groups that under the condition that group boundaries are perceived to be permeable, individual mobility is the most likely strategy whilst perceptions of impermeable boundaries increases the likelihood that either social creativity strategies or social competition are applied depending on the perception of the intergroup differences. Impermeable group boundaries, perceptions of illegitimacy and instability increases the likelihood that group members of non-dominant groups engage in collective actions such as social competition (Niens *et al*, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 1979 and Mummendey, *et al.*, 1999), while impermeable group boundaries, perceptions of stable and legitimate intergroup difference increase the likelihood that social creative strategies are applied in order to regain positive social identity (Mummendey, *et al.*, 1999; Niens *et al*, 2003; Ellemers, 2002).

The predictions for dominant groups as proposed by SIT state that under the conditions of perceived illegitimacy and instability of intergroup difference, it is unlikely that members of the dominant group would regress to their primary preference of collective strategies in order to preserve their dominant group position (Niens *et al*, 2003). However according to Turner and Brown (1978) justification of existing ingroup identification or legitimisation of present ingroup bias may lead to preference for social competition by the dominant groups, since this strategy does not lead to a change in intergroup relations (such that the status of the dominant group will not be altered) but rather it facilitates the comparison process.

Furthermore, apart from these three socio-structural variables, a person's identification with his/her group becomes important in determining the management strategies that are likely to be chosen. Ingroup identification is often described as the

variable in SIT which mediates the relationship between socio-structural variables (i.e. permeability, legitimacy and stability) and identity management strategies (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999). In non-dominant groups it is predicted that perceived illegitimate and unstable intergroup differences increase the identification with the ingroup. Conversely, for dominant groups the opposite happens, that is, perceived legitimate and stable or unstable intergroup differences positively impact the degree of ingroup identification. However, a positive association between the strength of ingroup identification and collective strategies in contrast to a negative association with individual strategies has been detected relatively consistently, irrespective of status position (Niens & Cairns, 2002).

SIT assumptions and predictions have been tested in experiments and are increasingly used in the field of social psychology to investigate real intergroup relations in concrete societal contexts (Dumont & Louw, 2009). However, most of these field studies focussed either on dominant groups (e.g. Ellemers & Bos, 1998; Niens, *et al* 2003) or on non-dominant groups (e.g. Blanz, *et al*, 1996; Mummendey, Kessler, *et al* 1999; Mummendey, Klink, *et al*, 1999; Dlamini & Dumont, unpublished research).

SIT was for instance used by Niens and Cairns (2002) to study the intergroup relations between groups in Northern Ireland from the perspective of the Catholics using Social Identity Theory. The focus of their study was on the relationship between stability and legitimacy as well as ingroup identification in the changing political context of Northern Ireland. The authors revealed in their research that the construction of Identity management strategies scales in a specific social context is necessary for research in SIT (Niens and Cairns, 2002). Such scale may facilitate the investigation of identity management strategies and social dynamics and group differences in natural group settings in changing social and political situations. Mummendey, Klink, *et al.*, (1999) investigated the intergroup relation between the East and West Germans from the perspective of East Germans by using SIT. The authors stressed in their research that the application of SIT within real intergroup situations makes it necessary to thoroughly analyse the existing intergroup context. Since Germany was still experiencing a societal and economic transformation process, Mummendey, Klink, *et al.* (1999) introduced the “reversed stability effect”, which states that the perception of stability of intergroup

differences indicates stagnation of the transformation process and therefore increases the likelihood that East Germans prefer social competition as identity management strategy. Their results supported their assumption that ingroup identification was revealed to be an important mediator for stability effects. They found that perceived stability of status relationship increased social competition and decreased individual strategies. Niens, *et al.*, (2003) used SIT in the South African context by studying both non-dominant and dominant groups. The results of their study showed that Black participants had a stronger ingroup identification than Whites and that the perception of instability of intergroup differences was related to temporal comparison whilst collective efficacy was positively associated with social competition. However, group comparisons in this study were limited since the sample sizes of Black and White participants differed enormously (White sample = 283 and Black sample = 55).

The study by Dumont and Van Lill (2009) aimed to overcome the limitations of the study by Niens *et al.* (2003) by simultaneously investigating and systematically comparing the application of identity management strategies in both dominant and non-dominant groups within the South African societal context. Their results confirmed to a certain extent the assumptions regarding the interrelation between socio-structural variables and ingroup identification as proposed by SIT. For instance it was found that for non-dominant groups, perceived illegitimacy of economic differences increases ingroup identification, while in the dominant group, perceived illegitimacy of economic differences decreases ingroup identification (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009). The results on perceived stability of intergroup differences indicated no significant predictive power on ingroup identification, suggesting that the perception of legitimacy of economic differences rather than the perception of stability of economic differences represents the crucial factor in determining ingroup identification in the studied dominant and non-dominant groups (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009).

The systematic differences between dominant and non-dominant groups were confirmed by Dumont and Van Lill (2009) in respect of two interrelations: perceived legitimacy and social competition, and between perceived legitimacy and outgroup favouritism. In line with the predictions of SIT, it was shown that social competition is predicted by perceived legitimacy of intergroup differences in the dominant group and

that the dominant group differs significantly from the non-dominant groups. Their results also revealed systematic differences between the dominant group and one non-dominant group in respect of the interaction between perceived legitimacy of intergroup differences and outgroup favouritism (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009). Outgroup favouritism becomes likely for members of the dominant group, given that intergroup differences are perceived as illegitimate, while it becomes the strategy of choice for members of the non-dominant group in the condition where intergroup differences are perceived as legitimate. Furthermore their results indicated that over all groups investigated, negative ingroup identification is significantly associated with the two individual-level strategies, such as individualization and superordinate re-categorization (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009). In the dominant group it was found as predicted by SIT that ingroup identification is positively interrelated to the collective strategy such as social competition. These results also supported the assumption that ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies irrespective of the group's status position (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009).

According to SIT and as supported by other empirical findings such as the ones listed above, the functional relationships between ingroup identification, socio-structural variables and identity management strategies were established as follows:

1. High ingroup identification within the non-dominant group regardless of the permeability of boundaries will enhance the use of collective strategies (i.e. social competition) provided that intergroup differences are perceived as illegitimate and/or unstable (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; and Niens & Cairns, 2002)
2. High ingroup identification within the dominant group will enhance the use of collective strategies such as social competition provided that the intergroup differences are perceived as legitimate and/ or unstable (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Dumont & Van Lill, 2009; and Niens & Cairns, 2003).
3. Irrespective of the group's status position it is predicted that ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies, in that positive ingroup identification predicts collective strategies, while negative

ingroup identification predicts individual strategies (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Dumont & Van Lill, 2009; and Niens & Cairns, 2002).

Since the present study aims to explore from SIT perspective the choice of identity management strategies in two real groups (Blacks and Whites) within a real intergroup context characterised by a government-led transformation process it is necessary thoroughly analyze the intergroup relation and its context (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999).

#### **1.4. The nature of the South African government-led transformation process**

Before South Africa became a democratic country in 1994, the country was ruled and governed by the White minority. The seeds of apartheid were sowed as early as 1910 where the South African government made the act of union to establish the Union of South Africa that persuaded a racialist policy aimed at achieving White domination with Louis Botha as Prime Minister (Mutonga, 2005). The phenomenon of oppression, dispossession and exploitation was firmly entrenched in this act (the act among others included the 1913 Land act, the 1936 Homelands act). The act excluded Black Africans from the right to vote. As such, Apartheid officially became a policy after the reunited National Party won the White minority elections on the 28th May 1948. According to Vorster (2006, p. 731) “apartheid policy was designed to separate Black and White South Africans, to oppress, dominate and control Blacks, and in the same breath to enrich White South Africans at the expense of the oppressed people”. Apartheid represents the separation of racial groups in economic, political, social-cultural, residential and territorial spheres of life (Mutonga, 2005)

According to Guelke (2005, p. 2) “before South Africa’s political freedom under the ANC government, South African society had been an embodiment of both racism and inequality”. Before the political transition in 1994, the country’s White population enjoyed an enviable lifestyle such that their standard of living matched that of the richest countries in the world. On the other hand, the indigenous African majority lived in conditions that were typical of the poorest countries in the third world (Guelke,

2005). The policy of Apartheid also involved the separation of races in social places like churches, buses, theatre, sports and cinemas. Bantu (second class standard of education coined by the White government to refer to education for Blacks) education was also introduced and aimed at directing Black or non-White youth to the unskilled labour market, to ensure White social, economic and political control and prosperity (Guelke, 2005). Such unjust acts were carefully orchestrated and implemented by the White government. By controlling the media and other systems (i.e. religion, education and cultural activities) they convinced White electorate that the cause was "just" and it would greatly benefit Blacks in South Africa (Vorster, 2006)

Since the dismantling of Apartheid in the early 90's which led to the democratic elections in 1994, the present ANC government have different challenges on their hands. The White minority group has to live without so many privileges; whilst the Blacks have the harder tasks of learning and assuming responsibility (Guelke, 2005). It was enough to demand economic sanctions during the struggle but now the present government has had to think about getting the economy off the ground in favour of the majority of South Africans (Mallaby, 1992). Since 1994 when the Black majority gained political power for the very first time, the African National Congress (ANC) government's priority was to initiate a governmental-led transformation process aiming to redress social and economic status differences among racial groups in order to reach equality (Alexander, 1999). As it is a government-led transformation process the ANC government had to replace the attitudes of struggle between the racial groups with something more constructive in order to reach a point of economic and social equality in order to develop a non-racial society that is, a society in which racial diversity will no longer be equated with socio-economic inequalities (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009). SIT offers a concrete understanding of how this racial equality can be reached within a society that is still undergoing a transformation process.

According to SIT in the past, racial (Black/White/Indian/Coloured) categorization was more salient such that White people were the dominant group and the Blacks were the non-dominant group. In the future the economic and social status is aimed not to provide dimensions of segregation/inequality or dominance in terms of race categories, e.g. in the future we will still have group differences such as poor and rich

people but it will not be based on skin colour (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009). The South African government has since employed empowerment strategies such as Affirmative Action and BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) in order to empower Black people (Alexander, 1999). These empowerment strategies have initiated and accelerated the transformation process in the economic sector. These programs were intended and they are propagated as “inclusive processes” being interrelated with economic growth and development rather than being processes of merely re-distributing existing economic resources and wealth (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009, p. 9). As a result Black people have gradually gained more economic power and access to resources (i.e. they have access to education, job opportunities, and housing infrastructure to name a few).

With the government-led transformation process still in progress, the goal of equality has been reached politically but economically it is still in line with racial segregation (Dumont & Van Lill, 2009). One may ask the question how different racial groups deal psychologically with the economic inequality whilst being in a society under transformation which aims to reduce economic inequality.

SIT offers us a theoretical framework to shed light on how different racial groups deal psychologically with the transformation process. SIT states that individuals strive for a positive self concept, which they can partly reach through positive social identity by making comparison with other social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979 and Turner, 1978) (e.g. racial or ethnic groups). If the comparison dimension between the ingroup and out group leads to a negative social identity, the ingroup will apply identity management strategies in order to restore positive social identity (Tajfel, & Turner, 1979).

According to SIT, the perception of intergroup difference between the racial groups (Black and White) in respect to stability, legitimacy, and permeability will affect the degree to which the people identify with their racial group (ingroup) (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; and Niens & Cairns., 2002). SIT therefore assumes that perception of such intergroup differences will exert their influence in the choice of identity management strategies (Mummendey, *et al.*, 1999). However, predictions regarding intergroup relations among social groups, particularly in relation to identity management strategies, need to be adapted to the

specific inter-group situation at stake, in the South African context where a history of racial segregation and inequality stands in relation to the societal transformation process.

Since equality has not yet been achieved along the economic and social dimensions, it can be expected that some racial groups may still experience negative social identity when comparing themselves with other racial groups. Generally as according to SIT it is expected that the perceptions of the instability of intergroup differences would be related to greater preferences of collective identity management strategies such as social competition (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Niens & Cairns., 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; and Turner, 1999). On the other hand perception of the stability of intergroup differences would be related to greater preference of collective identity management strategies such as creative strategies (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Niens & Cairns, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; and Turner, 1999).

However, given the fact that South African society is experiencing a transformation process, and that the outcome of this government-led transformation process aims at reaching equality along the economic dimension, it is suggested that this present study assumes the “reversed stability effect” as suggested by Mummendey *et al.* (1999). According to the reversed stability effect it can be hypothesised that members of non-dominant groups who perceive the transformation process as in progress, perceive the interracial situation as unstable and thus they will engage in social creative strategies (Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999). Members of the non-dominant groups who perceive the transformation process as stagnated perceive the interracial situation as stable and thus will engage in social competition in order to gain positive social identity (Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999). Moreover members of the dominant group who perceive the transformation process as either stagnated (stable) or in progress (unstable) will engage in collective strategies such as social competition in order to maintain the dominant status position (Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999).

For the context of South Africa, it can be assumed that Black people (as non-dominant group economically) who perceive that the transformation is happening (instability of intergroup differences) will engage in social creative strategies in order to

restore their positive social identity, whilst the Black people who perceive the transformation as stable/stagnated (stability of intergroup differences) will engage in social competition in order to restore their positive social identity. White people (as the dominant group) who perceive the transformation process as either stable or unstable will engage in social competition given that they aim to maintain their dominant group status.

## **2. AIMS, METHODS, PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES**

### **2.1. The aim of the study**

The aim of this cross-sectional survey is to explore from SIT perspective the choice of identity management strategies in two social groups (Blacks and Whites). These two groups hold different economic status positions but experience a government-led transformation process to overcome still existing economic intergroup differences. We further investigated three hypotheses that are derived from Social Identity Theory on the one hand, and from the concrete situation of South Africa (government-led economic transformation process), on the other. These hypotheses were also investigated in the study by Dumont and Van Lill (2009) and as a result this study replicates their study. The purpose of this was to investigate if similar findings were possible in a different setting (i.e. Eastern Cape) to provide a concrete understanding of this topic in order to be able to generalise such findings for future research.

### **2.2. Hypotheses**

1. For the non-dominant group (Black participants) ingroup identification is increased when intergroup differences are perceived as illegitimate and/or unstable and that an increased ingroup identification increases the likelihood that collective strategies are applied to change the intergroup relations (such as social and realistic competition) Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Niens & Cairns., 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; and Turner, 1999, Dumont & Van Lill, 2009)

2. High ingroup identification within the dominant group (White participants) will enhance the use of collective strategies such as social competition provided that the intergroup differences are perceived as legitimate and/or unstable (Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Niens & Cairns., 2002; Dumont & Van Lill, 2009).
3. Irrespective of the group's status position it is predicted that ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies, in that positive ingroup identification predicts collective strategies, while negative ingroup identification predicts individual strategies (Mummendey, Kessler *et al.*, 1999; Mummendey, Klink *et al.*, 1999; Ellemers, 2002; Niens & Cairns., 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986, Dumont & Van Lill, 2009).

Given the historical context of South Africa we based these hypotheses on one pre-condition which has to be controlled for the present study. The pre-condition states that Black people perceive themselves as members of a non-dominant group economically, whilst White people perceive themselves as members of the dominant group economically. This pre-condition will be tested by using the intergroup perception ladder across two different categories: political and economic status.

### **2.3 Participants**

In total 181 students participated in the present study. 110 were participants identified themselves as White South Africans whilst 60 participants identified themselves as Black South Africans. There were 4 participants who identified themselves as Indians and 7 identified themselves as coloureds. However due to the fact that the Indians and the coloureds refused to be classified as Blacks using the old apartheid system we decided to eliminate them from the study because it would have a negative effect on the results. On the other hand the number was too little to measure their perceptions against the Black and White participants because this will also have a negative effect on the findings. The number of the remaining participants was 170. Out of the 170 participants 126 were females, and 40 were males. The participants come from different provinces of South Africa but they reside within Grahamstown during university term. The gender between

two groups was equally distributed. The age average was 24.3 years ranging from 18 to 39 years. The two groups did not differ in the age.

#### **2.4 Procedure**

The participants who participated in the current research were second year psychology students at Rhodes University. The process of data collection was incorporated into their learning process in the social psychology module. The participants were given the research questionnaire as a tutorial and thereafter they had to answer questions with regards to the questionnaire. The aim of this procedure was for learning purposes and at the same time to collect data. However participation in answering the research questionnaire was voluntary and anonymity of participants was preserved. The tutorial leaders were briefed about the nature of the study and the task at hand before their respective tutorials. The participants were also briefed by their tutorial leaders about the nature of the research, how to answer the questionnaire and what was expected of them.

The students participated irrespective of their nationality and this was an ethical precaution since the class consists of students from different nationalities and at the same time this was a learning process for all the students. As an ethical precaution we include in the questionnaire an item of nationality where students had to state their nationality. The questionnaires were collected from the respective tutorial leaders and they were sorted according to their nationality. The questionnaires used for this research were submitted by participants who indicated to be South African citizens.

#### **2.5 Measuring Instruments**

For the perception of the government-led transformation process and their group status position, three different dimensions were measured: social, political and economic status. The intergroup perception ladder representing an adaptation of Cantril's Self-Anchoring Striving Scale (Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991) was applied for each category (social, economic and political status) and only political and economic status position was reported in the result section. The result also informed about the perceived stability and legitimacy of the intergroup situation.

The intergroup perception ladder was introduced to the participants with the following instructions: Participants were asked to imagine that the presented ladder represents economic/political status in South Africa. The top step represents the best status one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. The task of the participants was to indicate in their opinion, on which step the ingroup and the respective comparison group stood in the past (pre 1994). They also had to indicate where the ingroup and respective comparison group stand today, which step each group would reach in the future (i.e. in 15 years time), and on which step they should ideally stand. The in-groups' perceptions of their current status position as dominant, equal or non-dominant relative to the comparison group were computed from the perceived difference of the status level (in terms of steps on the ladder) between ingroup and outgroup (i.e. positive differences, zero-difference, and negative difference) of this multi-racial country.

#### 2.5.1 Variables of the SIT Model

Selection for the identity management strategy scales and the ingroup identification, scale was guided by the theoretical implications of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Niens and Cairns (1998) and Mummendey *et al.* (1999) developed measures for different identity management strategies, namely individualisation, social competition, realistic competition, superordinate recategorisation and temporal comparison. These scales were used in the South African context by Niens *et al.* (2003) and Dumont and Van Lill (2009). We have applied the same scales in the present study using a answer format of a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “disagree strongly” (1) to “agree strongly” (5).

**Individualization** was measured by two items: “I would rather have nothing to do with any of the racial groups in South Africa including my own” and “I usually do not consider myself as belonging to any “racial group”. The two items correlated significantly with each other,  $r = .32$ ,  $n = 170$ ,  $p < .001$  (White sample:  $r = .23$ ,  $n = 110$ .  $p < .05$ , and the Black sample:  $r = .39$ ,  $n = 60$ .  $p < .001$ ).

**Social competition** was measured by four items: “I want ingroup people to demonstrate that they are the superior group in terms of economic status”, “It is important that my racial group rise in economic power”, “Ingroup people should demonstrate that

they are the more successful group in terms of economic status” and “I want ingroup people to demonstrate that they are the superior group”. This scale revealed a Cronbach’s alpha of .85 for the whole sample (White sample alpha = .82, and Black sample alpha = .84) which could be considered adequate.

**Realistic competition** was measured by two items: “In the future, my group will fight for dominating most resources”, and “In the next few years, my group will make sure that they control access to most resources”. The analysis of correlation between these two variables revealed a Pearson’s coefficient of  $r = .54$ ,  $n = 170$ ,  $p < .01$  for the whole sample (White sample:  $r = .50$ ,  $n = 110$ ,  $p < .001$ , and Black sample:  $r = .41$ ,  $n = 60$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

**Superordinate re-categorization** was measured by two items namely; “First and foremost, I regard myself as South African rather than as a member of the ingroup“, and I consider myself as a proud South African”. The correlation between the two items revealed to be significant with a Pearson’s coefficient of  $r = .41$ ,  $n = 170$ ,  $p < .001$  for the whole sample (White sample:  $r = .47$ ,  $n = 110$ ,  $p < .001$ , and the Black sample;  $r = .31$ ,  $n = 60$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

**Temporal comparison** was measured by two items: “It is important for my group to compare their situation today with their situation 10 years ago” and “It is more important for my group to compare their current situation with their situation 10 years ago than with the situation of other *racial* groups”. The two items correlated significant with each other for the whole group,  $r = .29$ ,  $n = 170$ ,  $p < 0.01$  (White sample:  $r = .17$ ,  $n = 110$ ,  $p = .07$ ; and Black sample:  $r = .33$ ,  $n = 60$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The correlation between the two items only was marginal for the White sample which will be taken into consideration when analysing and interpreting the results.

**Ingroup Identification.** According to Tajfel, ingroup identification (1982, p. 2) can be regarded as an individual’s cognitive awareness of group membership that is related to some value connotation and which may be accompanied by an emotional investment. Ingroup identification was measured with three items (Mummendey, *et al.*, 1999): “I identify myself as belonging to ingroup”, “I feel strong ties with my group members”, and “I identify with members of my group”. The reliability analysis revealed

a Cronbach's alpha of .74 for the whole sample (Black sample: alpha = .79, White sample: alpha = .69).

### **3. RESULTS**

#### **3.1 Preliminary Analysis**

##### *3.1.1 Perceived Status Positions*

The purpose of this analysis was to control our precondition which stated that Black participants perceive themselves as members of the non-dominant group economically, whilst White participants perceive themselves as members of the dominant group economically. The participants' perceptions of the intergroup relations were measured in respect to political status, social status and economic status. However we reported in this section only the perceived political and economic status position. We had stated earlier that equality has been reached politically. The purpose of including the political status in this analysis was to support this claim and at the same time to show a clear picture of how these change in status position politically between the two groups has progressed over the years. On the other hand since the government-led transformation process through its empowerment strategies aim at accelerating the transformation process within the economic sector. It was therefore necessary to understand how these racial groups perceive the change of their economic status relative to the outgroup over the last 14 years, how they anticipate the relative status to change in the next 15 years and what the in-group's economic status relative to the outgroup should ideally be.

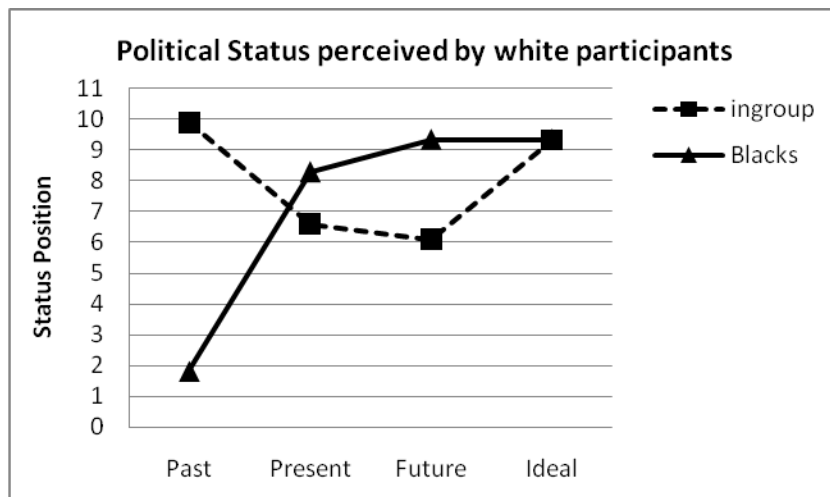
##### 3.1.2 Political Status

Figure 1.1 below shows that White participants perceived their group as politically dominant relative to Black participants in the past whilst in the present they perceive their group as politically non-dominant. In the future they perceive their group as the non-dominant group and ideally they perceive a state of equality. Statistically (as shown in table 1.1 below) the perceived differences between White and Black participants reached

significance for the past, the present and the future. However, ideally political status positions are perceived as equal

	Statistical presentation of perceived Political status by Whites		
	ingroup M (SD)	Outgroup M (SD)	t-statistic
<b>Past</b>	9.89	1.82	t(109)= -34.64, $p < .001$
	(1.59)	(1.26)	
<b>Present</b>	6.6	8.29	t(109)= 3.85, $p < .001$
	(4.12)	(1.87)	
<b>Future</b>	6.1	9.34	t(109)= 10.36, $p < .001$
	(2.54)	(1.56)	
<b>Ideally</b>	9.32	(9.34)	t(109)= 0.38, $p > .05$
	(2.09)	2.04	

*Table 1.1 White sample*



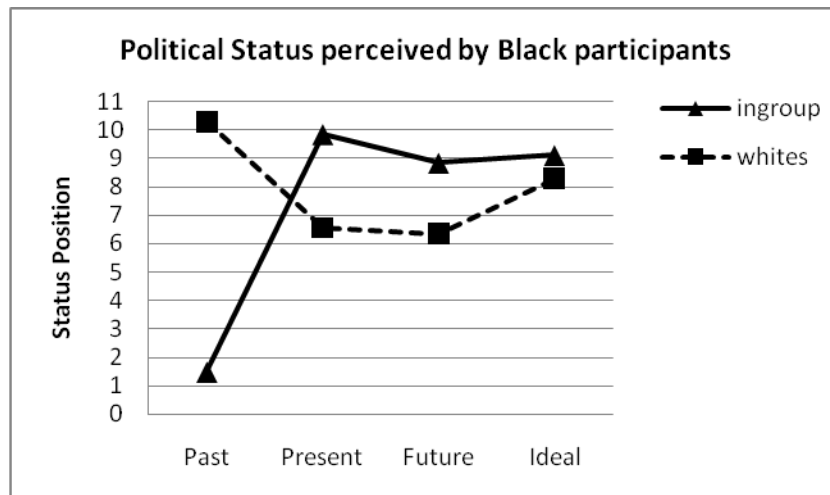
*Figure 1.1: White sample*

Figure 1.2 below shows that Black participants perceived their group as politically non-dominant relative to White participants in the past whilst in the present they perceive their group as politically dominant. In the future they still perceive their group as the dominant group and ideally they perceive a state of equality. Statistically (as

shown by table 1.2 below) the perceived differences between Black and White participants reached statistical significance for the past, the present, the future. However ideally political status positions are perceived as nearly equal.

	Statistical presentation of perceived political status by Blacks		
	ingroup M (SD)	Outgroup M (SD)	t-statistic
<b>Past</b>	1.48 (1.13)	10.03 (1.55)	t(59)= -33.65, $p < .001$
<b>Present</b>	9.83 (11.91)	6.55 (2.66)	t(59)= 3.85, $p < .05$
<b>Future</b>	8.83 (2.03)	6.33 (2.83)	t(59)= 5.27, $p < .001$
<b>Ideally</b>	9.1 (1.96)	8.28 (2.76)	t(59)= 2.54, $p < .05$

*Table 1.2 Black sample*



**Figure 1.2: Black Sample**

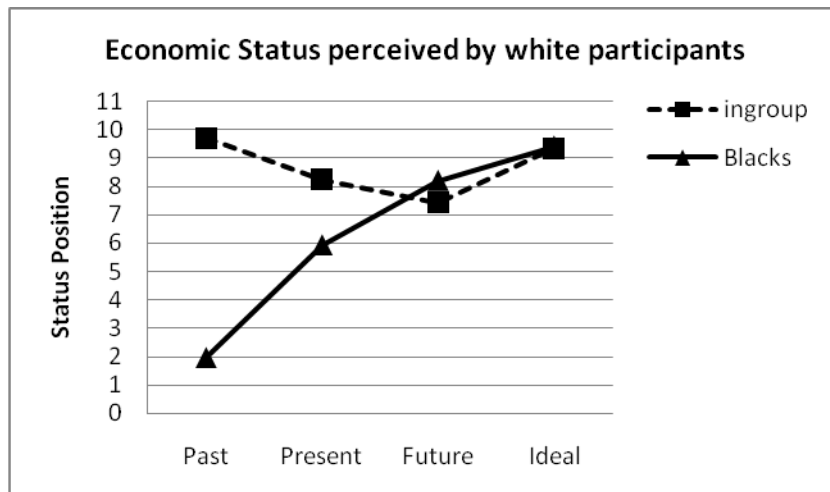
### 3.1.3 Economic Status

Figure 2.1 below shows that the White participants perceived economically their group as dominant relative to Black participants in the past and at present. Statistically (as shown by table 2.1 below) the perceived differences between White and Black participants

reached significance for the past and the present indicating that White participants perceive themselves currently as the dominant group economically. White participants perceive for themselves status loss and the change of the status relations in the future. However, when asked about ideal status relations White participants aim for equality. The results of the perceptions of the present status relations were in line with our assumption that White participants still perceive themselves currently as the dominant group.

	Statistical presentation of perceived economic status by Whites		
	ingroup M (SD)	Outgroup M (SD)	t-statistic
<b>Past</b>	9.69	1.97	t(109)= -29.41, $p < .001$
	(1.59)	(1.59)	
<b>Present</b>	8.23	5.94	t(109)= -7.41, $p < .001$
	(1.87)	(2.37)	
<b>Future</b>	7.43	9.41	t(109)= 2.56, $p < .01$
	(2.16)	(1.88)	
<b>Ideally</b>	9.34	9.41	t(109)= 0.54, $p > .05$
	(2.16)	(1.88)	

*Table 2.1 White sample*

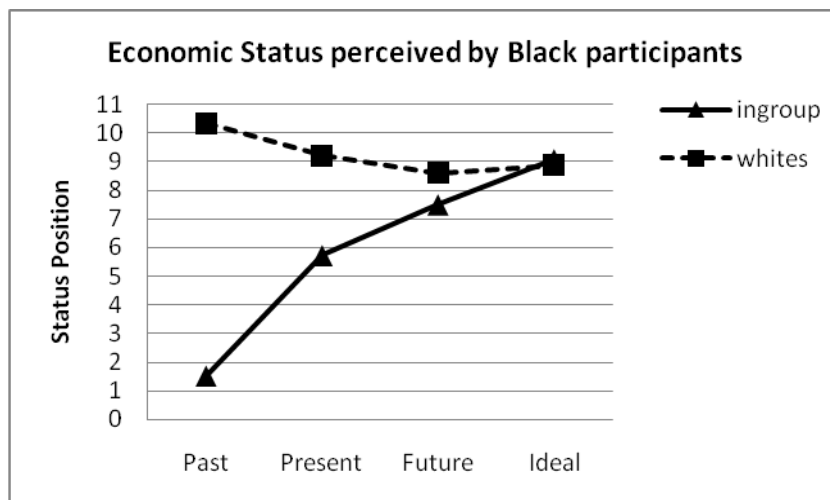


*Figure 2.1: White Sample*

Figure 2.2 below shows that Black participants perceive economically their group as non-dominant relative to White participants in the past and in the present. Statistically (as shown in table 2.2 below) the perceived differences between White and Black participants reached significance for the past and in the present. Even in the future Black participants anticipate intergroup differences between White and Black South Africans economically, in that White South Africans remain in their dominant position. However, ideally these group differences are perceived to disappear. These results were in line with our assumption that Black participants perceive themselves currently as the non-dominant group economically.

	Statistical presentation of perceived economic status by Blacks		
	ingroup M (SD)	Outgroup M (SD)	t- statistics
<b>Past</b>	1.52	10.32	t(59)= -31.20, $p < .001$
	(1.32)	(1.53)	
<b>Present</b>	5.73	9.20	t(59)= -7.08, $p < .001$
	(2.57)	(1.85)	
<b>Future</b>	7.50	8.60	t(59)= -2.77, $p < .01$
	(2.15)	(2.00)	
<b>Ideally</b>	9.08	8.88	t(59)= 0.73, $p > .05$
	(2.07)	(2.23)	

*Table 2.2 Black sample*



*Figure 2.2: Black Sample*

To sum up the results of the perceived intergroup relations between Black and White participants it can be stated that Black participants perceive the current economic in-group status as non-dominant whilst White participants perceive the current economic in-group status as dominant. This is in line with the precondition stated in our hypotheses. The results could illustrate that there was a great intergroup difference in the past politically. In the present the gap has been reduced and that the perceived status position has been reversed such that White participants are currently perceived by the Black participants and by themselves as non-dominant group whilst the Black participants were perceived by White participants and by themselves as the dominant group politically.

#### 3.1.4 Ingroup Identification

Ingroup identification as measured by the indicator item in the questionnaire was significantly above the scale mid-point [ $t_{Whites}(109) = 14.95, p < .001, t_{Blacks}(59) = 8.38, p < .001$ ], for both groups. However, Black participants ( $M = 3.95, SD = 0.88$ ) did not differ in their ingroup identification relative to White participants ( $M = 3.94, SD = 0.66$ ),  $F(1, 168) = 0.01, p > .05$ . The latter contradicts previous findings within the context of South Africa showing that Black participants show higher ingroup identification scores relative to White participants (see Niens & Cairns, 2002, and Dumont & Van Lill, 2009).

#### 3.2 Perceived stability and legitimacy of intergroup differences (economic dimension)

Two stability variables were built (difference between future status and past status) referring to either economic change of the ingroup or the outgroup. Positive values indicate perceived status gain and negative values indicate perceived status loss. The legitimacy variable was calculated using the difference between ideal ingroup status and current ingroup status. The differences between these two groups were calculated using SPSS. All values less than 6 were recoded as 0 whilst values above 6 were recoded as 1. This new variable was transformed to a dummy variable with 0 indicating illegitimacy and 1 legitimacy. Table 1 below summarises the means, standard deviation and F-Statistics for the stability variables. As the results indicate, Black participants perceive instability as status gain for the ingroup and as status loss for the outgroup, while White

participants perceive instability as status loss for the ingroup and as status gain for the outgroup.

Table 1. Means, standard deviation and F-Statistics for the stability variables

Socio-structural variables	White Sample M (SD)	Black Sample M (SD)	F- Statistics
stability (ingroup)	-2.26 (2.91)	5.98 (2.55)	$F(1,168) = 338.54,$ $p < .001$
stability (outgroup)	6.23 (2.90)	-1.72 (2.31)	$F(1,168) = 378.32,$ $p < .001$

The Chi-square analysis revealed that significantly more Black participants perceive legitimacy (31 out of 60) while significantly more White participants perceive illegitimacy of intergroup differences (92 out of 110),  $X^2(1) = 23.59, p < .001$ . This difference in perception of legitimacy of the intergroup difference can be explained with reference to the economic dimension. For the Black participants, economic change has mostly happened but it is still in the process with an expectation of more change to come in the future. The process of the economic transformation and the current and future intergroup status is seen as legitimate, such that Black participants feel that they have gained access to some resources but still restricted to other resources but they see themselves gaining all access to resources in the future. Hence this will promote the use of competitive strategies to secure their perceived status position for the future. On the other hand for the White participants see the process of economic change and their current and perceived future status positions as illegitimate, such that this negatively impacts on their perceived dominant status position. White participants, as the still dominant minority group economically feel threatened in that their status position cannot be maintained since the redistribution of resources is in favour of Black participants. They perceive the redistribution as unjust and they feel that the political system is incapable of restructuring all resources adequately in favour of all citizens. Consequently

White participants will fight to maintain their dominant economic status by employing competitive strategies.

### **3.3 Preferences for Identity Management Strategies**

As the results in Table 2 shows that, White participants score significantly higher on change of categorisation cluster strategy relative to Black participants (such as individualisation and superordinate recategorisation), while Black participants score significantly higher on collective strategies relative to White participants (such as social competition, realistic competition and temporal comparison). The choice of collective strategies by the Black participants is to improve their own ingroup status by either evaluating themselves positively in relation to White participants or by either competing for the current redistribution of resources employed by the government-led transformation process which are in favour of their ingroup. Since the transformation process is still in progress Black participants would constantly want to positively evaluate their current status position (in terms of gaining more access to resources i.e. education, jobs e.t.c) with their past status position. On the other hand in order for White participants to keep their positive status position they will compare themselves with a higher level group such as other White participants from other countries rather than comparing themselves to the outgroup or alternatively certain individuals will shift their own negative identity by reverting to personal self-categorization.

Table 2. Means, standard deviation and F-Statistics for the identity management strategies

Strategies	White Sample M (SD)	Black Sample M (SD)	F- Statistics
Individualisation	2.79 (0.81)	2.31 (0.91)	$F(1,168) = 12.34,$ $p < .01$
Social Competition	1.89 (0.77)	2.58 (0.87)	$F(1,168) = 27.69,$ $p < .001$
Realistic	2.47 (0.76)	3.31 (0.81)	$F(1,168) = 44.72,$

Competition			$p < .001$
Superordinate	4.22 (0.84)	3.79 (0.95)	$F(1,168) = 9.34,$
Recategorisation			$p < .01$
Temporal	2.71 (.078)	3.36 (0.88)	$F(1,168) = 24.15,$
Comparison			$p < .001$

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#### 4. MAIN ANALYSIS

To test the hypotheses a regression analysis was used to investigate variables predicting identity management strategies. The socio-structural variables stability, legitimacy and ingroup identification derived from SIT were computed as independent variables whilst the identity management strategies social competition and realistic competition were computed as dependent variables. These two management strategies used in this analysis are only the collective strategies that were significant and as stated in our hypotheses. Table 3 informs about the intercorrelations of the principle variables.

The first hypothesis stated for the non-dominant group (Black participants) that ingroup identification is increased when intergroup differences are perceived as illegitimate and/or unstable and that an increased ingroup identification increases the likelihood that collective strategies to change the intergroup relations (such as social and realistic competition) are applied (H1). To test the hypothesis we conducted three separate regression analyses. In the first regression analysis we regressed ingroup identification on perceived ingroup in/stability, perceived outgroup in/stability and perceived ill/legitimacy. The results indicated that the model did not fit the data,  $F(3,56) = 0.18, p > .05$ . This result indicates that our prediction which stated that ingroup identification is increased when intergroup differences are perceived as illegitimate and unstable, could not be confirmed. In the second regression model, we regressed realistic competition on perceived ingroup in/stability, perceived outgroup in/stability, perceived ill/legitimacy and ingroup identification. The model was not significant,  $F(4,55) = 1.32, p > .05$ . In the third regression model, we regressed social competition on perceived ingroup in/stability, perceived outgroup in/stability, perceived ill/legitimacy and ingroup

identification. The model was marginal significant,  $F(4,55) = 2.14, p = .08$ , and explained 7.2% of variance of the dependent variable, social competition. As predicted, ingroup identification (beta = .26),  $t = 2.04, p < .05$ , and perceived illegitimacy predicted social competition (beta = .27),  $t = 2.12, p < .05$ . That means, the more Black participants identify with their ingroup and the more they perceive current intergroup differences as illegitimate the more they act collectively via social competition.

The second hypothesis stated that high ingroup identification within the dominant group (White participants) will enhance the use of collective strategies such as social competition provided that the intergroup differences are perceived as legitimate and unstable (H2). To test these hypotheses we conducted three separate regression analyses. In the first regression analysis we regressed ingroup identification on perceived ingroup in/stability, perceived outgroup in/stability and perceived ill/legitimacy. The results indicated that the model did not fit the data,  $F(3,106) = 1.28, p > .05$ . This result indicates that our prediction which stated that ingroup identification is increased when intergroup differences are perceived as legitimate and/or un/stable could not be confirmed. In the second regression model, we regressed realistic competition on perceived ingroup in/stability, perceived in/outgroup stability, perceived ill/legitimacy and ingroup identification. The model was significant,  $F(4,105) = 3.56, p < .01$ , explaining 8.6% variance of realistic competition. As predicted for the dominant group, ingroup identification had a positive impact on realistic competition (beta = .30),  $t = 3.21, p < .01$ , indicating that the more White participants identify with White participants the more they use realistic competition. In the third regression model, we regressed social competition on perceived ingroup in/stability, perceived in/outgroup stability, perceived ill/legitimacy and ingroup identification. The model was significant,  $F(4,105) = 4.764, p < .01$ , and explained 12.1% of variance of social competition. Again as predicted, ingroup identification positively influenced social competition (beta = .31),  $t = 3.34, p < .01$ , and perceived legitimacy was positively associated with social competition (beta = .30),  $t = 3.27, p < .01$ . That means, the more White participants identify with their ingroup and the more they perceive intergroup differences as legitimate the more they act collectively via social competition to maintain their still existing intergroup differences.

Our final hypothesis predicted that irrespective of the group's status position ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies, in that positive ingroup identification predicts collective strategies while negative ingroup identification predicts individual strategies. This hypothesis was tested by conducting the Pearson product-moment correlation between ingroup identification and individual identity management strategies (individualisation) and collective identity management strategies (social competition, realistic competition temporal comparison and superordinate recategorisation). Table 3 summaries the findings.

Table 3: Intercorrelations between ingroup identification and identity management strategies

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Ingroup Identification		-.16*	-.35****	.26**	.26**	.26**
2 Individualisation	-.40****		.20**	-.19*	-.07	-.10
3 Superordinate recategorisation	.02	.01		-.32**	-.19*	-.25****
4 Social competition	.29 <sup>†</sup>	-.07	-.28*		.34****	.29**
5 Realistic competition	.09	-.10	.12	.24 <sup>†</sup>		.10
6 Temporal comparison	.17	.02	-.14	-.36**	.50****	

Note. † p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\*\* p < .001. Correlation coefficients in upper part refer to White sample and in lower part to Black sample

The hypothesis could be confirmed for the White sample, since ingroup identification correlated negatively with individualisation and superordinate recategorisation and positively with social competition, realistic competition and temporal comparison. The hypothesis could be partially confirmed for the Black sample since ingroup identification

correlated negatively with individualisation and positively, although marginal, with social competition.

## **5. DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY**

The aim of the study was to explore from an SIT perspective, the choice of identity management strategies in two social groups (Blacks and Whites). These two groups hold different economic status positions but experience a government-led transformation process to overcome still existing economic intergroup differences. The government-led transformation is still in process in South Africa and its future goal is to reach a state of equality (i.e. overcoming social and economic differences) amongst different racial groups. Based on SIT, and by taking the specific context of South Africa into consideration, we hypothesised that dominant and non-dominant groups would differ systematically regarding the functional interaction between intergroup differences perceived as legitimate/illegitimate and/or stable/unstable and identity management strategies: with the non-dominant group, ingroup identification is increased when intergroup differences are perceived as illegitimate and unstable (i.e. reversed stability effect) and that an increased ingroup identification increases the likelihood that collective strategies are applied to change the intergroup relations (such as social and realistic competition) (H1). With the dominant group, high ingroup identification enhances the use of collective strategies such as social competition, provided that the intergroup differences are perceived as legitimate and/or unstable (H2). Lastly irrespective of the group's status position ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies, in that positive ingroup identification predicts collective strategies while negative ingroup identification predicts individual strategies (H3).

The results confirmed our precondition that Black participants perceive themselves as members of non-dominant group economically whilst White participants perceive themselves as the dominant group economically. Furthermore, the margins between these time eras (past and present) between the two groups decreases which further indicate that the transformation is perceived to be in progress and that both racial groups perceive that in the future and ideally a state of equality will be reached. This further suggests that both racial groups perceive the economic process and their status

position as unstable. However for the White participants the transformation progress and instability of intergroup differences means status loss in that the government-led transformation is a re-distribution process of existing wealth and economic resources in favour of Black participants rather than as a process interlinked with economic growth for both groups. White participants perceive that the more Black participants gain economic power automatically they lose their status position as the dominant group economically. Thus White participants will act collectively via social competition than acting individually in order to maintain their existing dominant status position. Whilst on the other hand progress for the Black participants indicates more economic growth in terms of improving their present economic status and their non-dominant status position. Though ideally they perceive a state of equality, in the future they perceive themselves as more economically advanced but not to the same degree as with the White participants or slightly below the White participants. The perception of instability amongst the Black participants will further increase the collective use of social competition as a strategy to improve their current non-dominant status position.

The results of the study have revealed that there is no difference in in-group identification between the two racial groups. The results revealed that the participants of both groups identify strongly with their in-group/racial group. In previous studies (i.e. Niens, *et al.*, 2003 and Dumont and Van Lill, 2009) it was found that when comparing the two racial groups (Blacks and Whites), Blacks had a stronger ingroup identification than Whites. It is important to note the gap in years between the previous studies and the current study. The years in which these previous studies were conducted were around the time when the government initiated empowerment projects were not salient as they are today. As a result White participants did not feel threatened by these empowerment projects. In the present study the non difference in in-group identification may be due to the fact that both racial groups are experiencing the progress of the transformation process. For the White participants, instability of intergroup differences threatens their dominant status economically. As a result, in order for White participants to remain positive about their status position and not to loose their current status they need to unite and identify strongly with each other. On the other hand Black participants are optimistic about the improvement of their economic status currently. However in the future, they

still perceive that they will not reach the same status as with the White participants. Hence in order for Black participants to remain optimistic about the future changes they need to continue identifying with each other and to continuously evaluate themselves positively.

Since Black and White participants identify strongly with their racial group, the existence of intergroup difference is obvious. Our aim was therefore to confirm the existence of such intergroup difference with reference to the ongoing government-led transformation process within the economic dimension as both racial groups still perceive a state of inequality but yet perceive the transformation as happening. As stated above the Black participants perceive the instability of intergroup difference (i.e. the progress of the transformation process) as status gain for their ingroup and status loss for their outgroup, whilst the White participants perceive the instability of intergroup difference as status loss for their ingroup and gain for the outgroup. The results also revealed that more Black participants (52%) perceive the intergroup difference as legitimate whilst more White participants (84%) perceive the intergroup differences as illegitimate. This may suggest that more Black participants are happy about the transformation process and the redistribution of resources and they feel that the current economic intergroup differences is fair and just. On the other hand, more White participants feel that the redistribution of resources/economic transformation process is unjust and it is in favour of the outgroup.

The results only partially confirmed the hypothesis addressing the functional relationship between the perceptions of the intergroup relations (stability and legitimacy), ingroup identification and collective strategies to change the intergroup relations (i.e. social & realistic competition) for the non-dominant group. It was shown that ingroup identification and perceived illegitimacy predicted social competition, indicating that the more Black participants identify with their ingroup and the more they perceive illegitimacy the more they act collectively via social competition. This result replicates the findings of Dumont and Van Lill (2009) that perceived legitimacy seems to be a more important predictor for strategies changing the intergroup relations than perceived stability. This may also suggest that Black participants do not doubt the government-led transformation process.

For the White sample it was found that ingroup identification predicted both social and realistic competition, while social competition was also predicted by the perceived legitimacy of intergroup differences. These results are in opposite to the findings of Niens *et al.* (2003). In their study they found out that perceived legitimacy was not significant for collective strategies amongst the White participants but rather significant for individual strategies (i.e. individualisation). The difference in the present study may be due to the fact that strategies employed to empower Black participants (such as Affirmative Action) are more salient today than they were when Niens *et al.* (2003) conducted their study. The salience of these empowering strategies might be experienced by White participants as a threat to their current dominant economic status position. As a result, the more legitimate the status differences between the two groups are perceived by Whites, the stronger they identify with their ingroup and act collectively in order to preserve their current economic status. These results are in line with findings of experimental studies (Ellemers *et al.*, 1993).

The last hypothesis predicted that irrespective of the group's status position ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies, in that positive ingroup identification predicts collective strategies while negative ingroup identification predicts individual strategies. The hypothesis could be confirmed for the White sample, since ingroup identification correlated negatively with individualisation and superordinate recategorisation and positively with social competition, realistic competition and temporal comparison. The hypothesis could only be partially confirmed for the Black sample since ingroup identification correlated negatively with individualisation and positively with social competition. These results are in line with the findings of Dumont and Van Lill (2009) who demonstrated that ingroup identification differentiates between individual and collective strategies irrespective of the group's status position.

## **6. GENERAL DISCUSSION**

In the present study predictions for main effects derived from SIT could be largely confirmed in a real intergroup setting. The relationship between SIT variables and

identity management was proved to be true such that perception of negative social identity (perception of intergroup differences) will enhance the use identity management strategies to counteract feelings of negative social identity. Ingroup identification revealed a stronger influence on the distinction between collective and individual strategies and this was similar to the finding by Dumont and Van Lill (2009) and Mummendey *et al.* (1996). Illegitimacy also proved to be a strong predictor for competitive strategies irrespective of the groups' status position and this was also similar to the findings by Dumont and Van Lill (2009).

On the other hand our results also provided some confirmation that SIT can be used to explain group differences in changing social and political situations. The findings also provided some insight that Socio-historical context have a strong influence on socio-structural variables and the choice of identity management strategies. As South Africa is still in the process of economic transformation, identity management strategies better explains the ways of coping with the changing intergroup differences. Within the context of South Africa, since the economic transformation is a process of redistribution of resources, groups' reaction (i.e. applying social competition) to this social change may predict conflict between the two racial groups. The White participants may feel that the redistribution of resources is an unjust procedure such that they are not gaining from the whole transformation process but instead they are loosing their status position as more Black participants gain economic power. As a result White participants will feel disadvantaged by the process and they will retaliate to this unjust procedure via social competition in order to preserve their threatened status position.

In spite of all the above findings it is important to note that the study was in a form of a survey and it was less controlled as in a laboratory settings which may further limit the findings of the study. It is therefore important to address the limitations of the study. Firstly, limited sample properties do not allow generalisation of the results. The sample used in the study consists of University students which may represent particular perceptions of the South African population. It also believed that students display more positive attitudes which may have also affect the results (Niens & Cairns 2002). The sample used was small and it was unevenly distributed such that there were more Whites

than Blacks. This could be relevant as majority and minority groups are believed to differ in terms of predictors determining preferences for identity management strategies.

Secondly although the study was conducted at University which is considered as a high diversity context, one has to keep in mind that some of the participants come from desegregated communities (low diversity context). Research has shown that participants who come from desegregated communities have a tendency to respond to social change process by social competition increasing the probability of ingroup projection which may give rise to more Black participants striving for dominance in relation to their outgroup (Dumont & Waldzus, 2009). As a result intergroup contact that is promoted by the new South African constitution in a high diversity context (i.e. Rhodes University) that is in favour of the low diversity context (i.e. Black participants) cannot be expected to be representative of the current situation in South Africa (Dumont & Waldzus, 2009). Majority of Black students in institutions in the current social change who are products of the economic transformation (i.e. BEE) come from single racial schools (low diversity) where there is no intergroup contact. Given the history of South Africa such as the legacy of apartheid it can be expected under less optimal intergroup contact (i.e. in low diversity context) social change process can be experienced as intergroup conflict

Despite the limitations of the study presented above, the study gives some insight into the current government-led economic transformation process. The results of the study also supported the assumptions that dominant and non-dominant groups differ systematically regarding the functional interaction between beliefs about the intergroup situation and ingroup identification, and regarding beliefs about the intergroup situation and identity management strategies. In addition future research on this topic in real life intergroup situation is necessary to highlight SIT as an explanation for individual and group differences in changing social and political context. This will help generalise findings of other studies on this subject in the future.

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## APENDIX A

Below are the measures used to measure identity management strategies in-group identification and attribution towards government and apartheid. In most cases the response was a 5-point likert scale in which participants indicated how much they agreed or disagreed with the statements presented. (e.g. 1= totally disagree to 5= totally agree)

### **In-group Identification**

In-group Identification Cognitive - I identify with my ingroup

In-group Identification Emotional - I feel strong ties with my ingroup.

In-group Identification Commitment - I identify myself as belonging to my ingroup.

### **Temporal comparison**

Temporal comparison 1 - It is important for my ingroup to compare their situation today with their situation 10 years ago.

Temporal comparison 2 - It is more important for my ingroup to compare their current situation with their situation 10 years ago than with the situation of other “racial” groups

### **Social competition General**

Social competition General 1 – My ingroup should demonstrate that they are the better group.

Social competition General 2 - I want my ingroup to demonstrate that they are the superior group

### **Social Competition economic**

Social competition economic status 1 – My ingroup should demonstrate that they are the more successful group in terms of economic status

Social competition economic status 2 - It is important that my racial group rise in economic power.

Social competition economic status 3 - I want my racial group to demonstrate that they are the superior group in terms of economic status.

### **Realistic competition**

Realistic competition 1- In the future, my racial group will fight for dominating most resources.

Realistic competition 2 - In the next few years, my racial group will make sure that they control access to most resources.

### **Individualisation**

Individualisation 1 - I usually do not consider myself as belonging to any “racial” group.

Individualisation 2- I regard myself as a single person rather than as a member of a certain group of participants.

Individualisation 3 - I would rather have nothing to do with any of the “racial” groups in South Africa, including my own.

### **Superordinate recategorisation**

Superordinate recategorisation 1 - First and foremost, I regard myself as South African rather than as a member of the any racial group

Superordinate recategorisation 2 - I consider myself as a proud South African

### **Re-evaluation of Comparison Dimension**

Re-evaluation of comparison dimension group 1- Black participants consider economic status as (desirable/undesirable)

Re-evaluation of comparison dimension group 2- White participants consider economic status as (desirable/undesirable)

### **New Comparison Group**

New comparison group 1 - How important is it for my racial group to compare with the outgroup

New comparison group 2 - How important is it for my ingroup participants to compare with participants of other African countries

New comparison group 3 - How important is it for my ingroup participants to compare  
with Europeans

New comparison group 4 - How important is it for my ingroup participants to compare  
with Americans

**Comparison with standards.**

Comparison with standards 1 - How important is it for my ingroup to compare  
themselves with what everybody would consider as  
standard in these days?

Comparison with standards 2 - How important is it for my ingroup to compare with the  
outgroup?

## APPENDIX B

### Questionnaire B

Dear participant,

This survey is a project that addresses Black and White participants's perceptions of the South African government-led transformation process and it further explore the choices of identity management strategies that participants apply in order to restore thier positive social identity. The project is organized by Thobile Dlamini, it is part of my Masters in Clinical Psychology programme under the supervision of Werner Bohmke from the Department of Psychology.

Thank you for giving some of your time for this research. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the tasks.

The survey is **anonymous**. No one will be able to discover your identity.

Please note: We are interested in participants's opinion about various social issues. We would like to know what you personally think. We are interested in your honest opinion. **There are no right or wrong answers.** Try not to think too long about each statement. Usually your first response is the one you come back to in the end.

Please **respond to every item** even if you find it difficult to form an opinion.

South Africa is celebrating its 13 year anniversary of democracy. Since 1994, when Apartheid was demolished, many changes occurred for nearly each racial group in this multi-racial country.

Imagine that the ladder below represents *political status* in South Africa. The top step represents the best *political status* one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. Please, indicate your opinion about which step Black South Africans (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) and White South Africans stand on by ticking the appropriate rung.

	Past		Present		in 15 year times		ideally	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
11								
10								
9								
8								
7								
6								
5								
4								
3								
2								
1								
0								

Now imagine that the ladder below represents *Social status* in South Africa amongst racial groups. The top step represents the best *social status* one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. Please, indicate your opinion about which step Black South Africans and White South Africans stand on by ticking the appropriate rung.

	Past		Present		in 15 year times		ideally	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
11								
10								
9								
8								
7								
6								
5								
4								
3								
2								
1								
0								

Imagine that this ladder represents *economic status* in South Africa. The top step represents the best *economic status* one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. Please, indicate your opinion about which step Black South Africans and White South Africans stand on by ticking the appropriate rung.

	Past		Present		in 15 year times		ideally	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
11								
10								
9								
8								
7								
6								
5								
4								
3								
2								
1								
0								

Please indicate the degree of your agreement with the following statements by ticking the appropriate number from ① to ⑤

	totally disagree	disagree	neither / nor	agree	totally agree
1					
Black participants should demonstrate that they are the more successful group in terms of economic status.	①	②	③	④	⑤
2					
I identify with Black participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
3					
I perceive myself as belonging to a majority.	①	②	③	④	⑤
4					
I consider myself as belonging to the group that speaks my home language.	①	②	③	④	⑤
5					
Black participants should demonstrate that they are the better group.	①	②	③	④	⑤
6					
It is important for Black participants to compare their situation today with their situation 10 years ago.	①	②	③	④	⑤
7					
I identify myself as belonging to Black participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
8					
I feel strong ties with Black participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
9					
I usually do not consider myself as belonging to any “racial” group.	①	②	③	④	⑤
10					
The differences between Black participants and White participants are smaller than they used to be.	①	②	③	④	⑤
11					
I regard myself as a single person rather than as a member of a certain group of participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
12					
I want Black participants to demonstrate that they are the superior group.	①	②	③	④	⑤
13					
Black participants and White participants are more similar today than they were in the past.	①	②	③	④	⑤
14					
It is important that my racial group to rise in economic power.	①	②	③	④	⑤
15					

First and foremost, I regard myself as South African rather than as a member of the Black participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>16</small>					
In the future, Black participants will fight for dominating most resources.	①	②	③	④	⑤

**Please indicate the degree of your agreement with the following statements by ticking the appropriate number from ① to ⑤**

	totally disagree	disagree	neither / nor	agree	totally agree
<small>17</small>					
The current economic differences between Black participants and White participants are just temporary.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>18</small>					
It is more important for Black participants to compare their current situation with their situation 10 years ago than with the situation of other “racial” groups.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>19</small>					
In the next few years, Black participants will make sure that they control access to most resources.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>20</small>					
I consider myself as a proud South African.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>21</small>					
In my every day life I experience Black participants as majority in this country.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>22</small>					
I would rather have nothing to do with any of the “racial” groups in South Africa, including my own.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>23</small>					
I want Black participants to demonstrate that they are the superior group in terms of economic status.	①	②	③	④	⑤

**Please answer the next questions by ticking the appropriate number from ① to ⑤ .**

How important do you consider the following dimensions to characterize the situation of Black participants?

un-  
important                      very  
important

Economic position	①	②	③	④	⑤
Social relationship	①	②	③	④	⑤
Quality of Life	①	②	③	④	⑤
Opportunity for personal growth	①	②	③	④	⑤

	<b>un- important</b>			<b>very important</b>	
How important is it for Black participants to compare themselves with what everybody would consider as standard in these days?	①	②	③	④	⑤
How important is it for Black participants to compare with White participants?	①	②	③	④	⑤

How important is it for Black participants to compare with the following groups?

	<b>unimportant</b>			<b>very important</b>	
Black South Africans	①	②	③	④	⑤
Participants of other African countries	①	②	③	④	⑤
Europeans	①	②	③	④	⑤
Americans	①	②	③	④	⑤

Please indicate how in your opinion Black participants value the following dimension:

	<b>undesirable</b>			<b>desirable</b>	
Black participants consider economic status as	①	②	③	④	⑤

Please indicate how in your opinion Black participants value the following dimension:

	<b>undesirable</b>			<b>desirable</b>	
White participants consider economic status as	①	②	③	④	⑤

Please give the following information by ticking the appropriate box or writing in the space provided:

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Gender:                    **female**  **1**            **male**  **2**

3. What was the racial classification of your parents under the laws of Apartheid?

**Black**  **1**   **Coloured**  **2**   **Indian**  **3**   **White**  **4**

\_\_\_\_\_

4: Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C

### Questionnaire W

Dear participant,

This survey is a project that addresses Black and White participants's perceptions of the South African government-led transformation process and it further explore the choices of identity management strategies that participants apply in order to restore thier positive social identity. The project is organized by Thobile Dlamini, it is part of my Masters in Clinical Psychology programme under the supervision of Werner Bohmke from the Department of Psychology.

Thank you for giving some of your time for this research. It will take approximately 20 minutes to complete the tasks.

The survey is **anonymous**. No one will be able to discover your identity.

Please note: We are interested in participants's opinion about various social issues. We would like to know what you personally think. We are interested in your honest opinion. **There are no right or wrong answers**. Try not to think too long about each statement. Usually your first response is the one you come back to in the end.

Please **respond to every item** even if you find it difficult to form an opinion.

South Africa is celebrating its 13 year anniversary of democracy. Since 1994, when Apartheid was demolished, many changes occurred for nearly each racial group in this multi-racial country.

Imagine that the ladder below represents *political status* in South Africa. The top step represents the best *political status* one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. Please, indicate your opinion about which step Black South Africans (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) and White South Africans stand on by ticking the appropriate rung.

	Past		Present		in 15 year times		ideally	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
11								
10								
9								
8								
7								
6								
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4								
3								
2								
1								
0								

Now imagine that the ladder below represents *Social status* in South Africa amongst racial groups. The top step represents the best *social status* one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. Please, indicate your opinion about which step Black South Africans and White South Africans stand on by ticking the appropriate rung.

	Past		Present		in 15 year times		ideally	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
11								
10								
9								
8								
7								
6								
5								
4								
3								
2								
1								
0								

Imagine that this ladder represents *economic status* in South Africa. The top step represents the best *economic status* one could imagine while the bottom step represents the worst. Please, indicate your opinion about which step Black South Africans and White South Africans stand on by ticking the appropriate rung.

	Past		Present		in 15 year times		ideally	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
11								
10								
9								
8								
7								
6								
5								
4								
3								
2								
1								
0								

Please indicate the degree of your agreement with the following statements by ticking the appropriate number from ① to ⑤

	totally disagree	disagree	neither / nor	agree	totally agree
1					
White participants should demonstrate that they are the more successful group in terms of economic status.	①	②	③	④	⑤
2					
I identify with White participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
3					
I perceive myself as belonging to a majority.	①	②	③	④	⑤
4					
I consider myself as belonging to the group that speaks my home language.	①	②	③	④	⑤
5					
White participants should demonstrate that they are the better group.	①	②	③	④	⑤
6					
It is important for White participants to compare their situation today with their situation 10 years ago.	①	②	③	④	⑤
7					
I identify myself as belonging to White participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
8					
I feel strong ties with White participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
9					
I usually do not consider myself as belonging to any “racial” group.	①	②	③	④	⑤
10					
The differences between White participants and Black participants are smaller than they used to be.	①	②	③	④	⑤
11					
I regard myself as a single person rather than as a member of a certain group of participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
12					
I want White participants to demonstrate that they are the superior group.	①	②	③	④	⑤
13					
White participants and Black participants are more similar today than they were in the past.	①	②	③	④	⑤
14					

It is important that my racial group rise in economic power.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>15</small>					
First and foremost, I regard myself as South African rather than as a member of the White participants.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>16</small>					
In the future, White participants will fight for dominating most resources.	①	②	③	④	⑤

**Please indicate the degree of your agreement with the following statements by ticking the appropriate number from ① to ⑤**

	totally disagree	disagree	neither / nor	agree	totally agree
<small>17</small>					
The current economic differences between White participants and Black participants are just temporary.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>18</small>					
It is more important for White participants to compare their current situation with their situation 10 years ago than with the situation of other “racial” groups.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>19</small>					
In the next few years, White participants will make sure that they control access to most resources.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>20</small>					
I consider myself as a proud South African.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>21</small>					
In my every day life I experience White participants as majority in this country.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>22</small>					
I would rather have nothing to do with any of the “racial” groups in South Africa, including my own.	①	②	③	④	⑤
<small>23</small>					
I want White participants to demonstrate that they are the superior group in terms of economic status.	①	②	③	④	⑤

**Please answer the next questions by ticking the appropriate number from ① to ⑤ .**

How important do you consider the following dimensions to characterize the situation of White participants?

**un-**

**very**

	important			important	
Economic position	①	②	③	④	⑤
Social relationship	①	②	③	④	⑤
Quality of Life	①	②	③	④	⑤
Opportunity for personal growth	①	②	③	④	⑤

	un- important	very important			
How important is it for White participants to compare themselves with what everybody would consider as standard in these days?	①	②	③	④	⑤

How important is it for White participants to compare with Black participants?	①	②	③	④	⑤
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How important is it for White participants to compare with the following groups?

	unimportant			very important	
White South Africans	①	②	③	④	⑤
Participants of other African countries	①	②	③	④	⑤
Europeans	①	②	③	④	⑤
Americans	①	②	③	④	⑤

Please indicate how in your opinion White participants value the following dimension:

	undesirabl e	desirable			
White participants consider economic status as	①	②	③	④	⑤

Please indicate how in your opinion White participants value the following dimension:

	undesirabl e	desirable			
Black participants consider economic status as	①	②	③	④	⑤

Please give the following information by ticking the appropriate box or writing in the space provided:

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Gender:                    **female**                     **male**

3. What was the racial classification of your parents under the laws of Apartheid?

**Black**    **Coloured**    **Indian**    **White**

\_\_\_\_\_

4: Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_