



# **The role of threat on Afrikaner attitude towards affirmative action and its beneficiaries**

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20162988

A research project submitted to the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration.

10 November 2010

## Abstract

The research aimed to identify the level of threat currently experienced by Afrikaners, and their attitudes towards policies of affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies.

Integrated threat theory was used in conjunction with social identity theory to identify current attitudes, and to investigate whether different attitudes existed between groups within the Afrikaner group. Data was collected from a representative sample via questionnaires.

Research findings show that Afrikaners feel extremely threatened. Afrikaner negativity is focused directly on the policies of affirmative action rather than the beneficiaries of these policies. It was evident that Afrikaner males feel more threatened than Afrikaner females. Young Afrikaners attitudes are consistently the most negative of all Afrikaner groups; this was unexpected as this group of individuals has spent the majority of their young lives in a democratic South Africa.

It is evident that a lot of work is still required to insure that the injustices of the past be adequately addressed. It is of critical importance that affirmative action be implemented with consideration to all groups of people and to understand the effect it has on those groups being negatively affected by it. All South Africans need to be responsible and recognise that the manner in which policy is implemented, has far greater influence than just the expected outcome of such policies.



## Keywords

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## Keywords

- Integrated threat
- Social Identity
- Affirmative Action
- Attitude



## Declaration

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### Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

Johannes F Moolman

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10 November 2010

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## Acknowledgements

A number of people helped immensely in their respective contributions to the completion of this dissertation. It would, however, be remiss to not mention in particular:

- (i) Jonathan Cook of the Gordon Institute of Business Science for his assistance, guidance, advice and most of all, patience, during the research and completion of this dissertation,
- (ii) My mother and father, for all their love, support and sacrifices that they have made to provide me with a good education, and during the tenure of this degree,
- (iii) My uncle Andre Viljoen who has been a source of inspiration and support throughout the years,
- (iv) My colleagues and friends, for their insight, numerous debates about affirmative action in South Africa, and assistance in collecting data in order to complete the research,
- (v) First National Bank who has provided me with the support to complete this degree.

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# 1 Introduction to the research problem

*“The decision to surrender the right to national sovereignty is certainly one of the most painful any leader can be asked to take. Most nations are prepared to risk war and catastrophe rather than to surrender this right. Yet this was the decision we had to take. We had to accept the necessity of giving up on the ideal on which we had been nurtured and the dream for which so many generations had struggled for and for which so many of our people had died”. (De Klerk, 1997 cited in Visser, 2004)*

## 1.1 Introduction

F.W. de Klerk, the last Afrikaner president of South Africa, encapsulated the “surrender” of Afrikaner power with the words above during a speech he made in London in 1997 on the process of transition between white and black rule.

The first democratic election of 1994 was an astonishingly peaceful process. There was a kind of a relief in the air, enhanced by an artificially created feeling that suddenly and miraculously all differences between blacks and whites had been resolved and that a new solid South African nation had come into being (Visser, 2004).

After the first democratic elections in 1994 (post apartheid), South African leaders have with their respective governments implemented specific policies to address inequalities and conflicts between different race groups. These policies were implemented to reduce the tension that existed within the country and to transform society. Specific effort was placed on redistributive programs, and “nation building” exercises (Esterhuysen, 2003).

After sixteen years of a new democratic South Africa, the policies and laws implemented to rectify the economic and social injustices of the past have had a significant impact on the Afrikaner. This research paper aims to explore the role of threat on the current Afrikaner mindset regarding these policies and the beneficiaries of these policies.

## **1.2 Motivation for Research – Afrikaner Threat**

### **South African Sentiment**

Recently, specific events have occurred and statements have been made regarding the multiple economic and social affirmative action (AA) policies implemented after the 1994 elections.

On 26 February 2010 a judgment was made by South Africa’s Labour Court in favour of a white police woman challenging Affirmative Action policies set out in South Africa’s Employment Equity Act. This judgment comes at a time when the Supreme Court of Appeal’s (SCA) Judge Dugan Mlambo

emphasised that, “Affirmative action is a constitutional imperative and it must be vigorously pursued” (SAPA, [www.news24.com](http://www.news24.com), 2009)

More specifically, the Afrikaner “boers” have come under pressure in instances where so called “hate speech” has been publicly voiced by high profile politicians. In a recent ruling (25 March 2010), the South Gauteng High Court in Johannesburg ruled that the use of the words "shoot the boers" was unconstitutional and unlawful. The Azanian Youth Organisation however issued a statement saying that “The song "shoot the boere" was a reminder of what still needed to be done in South Africa” (SAPA, 2010). The African National Congress (ANC) secretary general Mr. Gwede Mantashe said that the High Court judgment banning the use of the words "shoot the boer" was "incompetent" and "unimplementable". The ANC will appeal the judgment to get a more correct constitutional interpretation of the struggle songs it deems it forms a big part of the country's history (SAPA, 2010).

In another development, white farmers are extremely concerned about the department of rural development and land reforms strategic plan for 2013, where it is considering the possibility of declaring all productive agricultural land a national asset. Current owners will then receive rights to use the land on either a temporary or permanent basis (Duvenhage & van Rooyen, 2010)

Unfortunately South Africa has not overcome all the obstacles left by apartheid. When investigating the findings of the South African Reconciliation



Barometer (2009), people from different racial groups are interacting less with each other on an annual basis. Fewer interactions between different races leads to increased racial polarisation. The survey also reveals that only about half of South Africans (49%) believe that race relations have improved since 1994. Recent research shows South African society to be the most unequal in the world, with a Gini coefficient of 0.679 (SA Reconciliation Barometer, 2009). This acts as a clear indicator as to the inequalities experienced within South Africa, which are mainly between whites and blacks.

These inequalities between whites and blacks create the impression that very little has happened over the past sixteen years to rectify the injustices of the past. Current laws and policies are aimed at rectifying these issues. At this stage it would be good to better understand how these inequalities were firstly created, and what measures have been put in place to rectify them.

### **Afrikaner Empowerment**

The Afrikaners, more than any other population group, are associated with the decades of Apartheid (Werner, van Doorn, & Klandermans, 2008). Afrikaners are white South Africans who speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue. Afrikaners constitute the majority of the white population within South Africa.



The Afrikaners from the 1900's to 1990 implemented their own Afrikaner Economic empowerment programs (similar to affirmative action) within South Africa known as Afrikaner Nationalism, Broederbond and Volkskapitalisme. These programs were designed by Afrikaner intellectuals, and executed by organisations such as the Federale Volks belegging, RDB and the then National Party to ensure the survival of the Afrikaners and their economic emancipation (Giliomee, 2003).

Some of the major successes of these programmes were (Sadie, 2002/1; Giliomee, 2003, 2006)

- Afrikaner/white education and the creation of a Afrikaner middle class of intellectuals
- Afrikaans as the formal language in commerce, education and government structures
- State owned enterprises such as Telkom, Eskom, Railways and South African Airways
- Privately owned enterprises such as Rembrandt, Sanlam, Old Mutual, Iscor and Sasol

These racially segmented policies led to severe inequalities between the black majority and the white minority. However, after the democratic election of 1994 the ANC ruling power initiated programs to redress these injustices.



## **Black Empowerment**

Esterhuysen (2003) is of the view that the race-targeted interventions/policies implemented post 1994 have been far more extensive than those employed elsewhere. These interventions have included affirmative action (AA) in education, employment and sport. Another one of these programs, black economic empowerment (BEE) has set targets for the transformation of medium and large business enterprises in terms of black ownership and management, skills development and the procurement of goods and services. In addition, an extensive land reform program has aimed to secure land ownership for black populations by means of land restitutions (returning land to communities that were forcibly displaced), land tenure reform (securing tenure and preventing arbitrary evictions) and land redistribution (increasing black land ownership). Together, these policies have challenged the racial hierarchy in South Africa and their impact can be felt in all aspects of life, including the programs and languages that are available on public media, the composition of national sports teams, and the prospects for employment and acceptance to university study (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009).

These programs and policies have had a big impact on the Afrikaner society and the white population. Great shifts in power have occurred during the past sixteen years.



## **South Africa today – 16 years after democracy**

Most South Africans would agree that people's attitudes towards transformation policies and affirmative action are complex, multi-layered and fiercely divided. Where some policies and laws attract strong support, based on the perceived need to eradicate the effects suffered under apartheid, they also attract strong opposition from those who are not to benefit from them (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009). It has been argued that any form of affirmative action is unfair treatment and "reverse discrimination" against non-recipients of such policies (Glazer, 1975; Kinder & Sanders, 1990).

Attitudes toward affirmative action often are viewed as a litmus test for racial attitudes. When a specific group of people display negative attitudes toward affirmative action, it is taken as evidence of racial prejudice (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005).

Sixteen years has passed, and a new generation of Afrikaners are going about making their lives in a democratic South Africa. Younger Afrikaners have experienced a South Africa that is totally different to that of their forefathers. Both young and old Afrikaners need to deal with affirmative action policies and the recent statements about Afrikaners, but they may experience them differently.





## **Afrikaner Identity and Threat**

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour, 1986) and Self-categorisation Theory offer insight into when and why groups that people belong to influence their perceptions, emotions, and behaviours. According to Social Identity Theory, individuals derive their self-image not only from who they are as individuals, but also from the social groups to which they belong. According to Self-categorisation Theory, people derive meaning from the social environment by categorising themselves and others according to their group memberships.

A very important factor which affects reactions and attitudes to affirmative action is the nature of the group targeted by such policies. Research has shown that racially based affirmative action programs are the most widely resisted (Beaton & Tougas, 2001).

Visser (2004) is of the view that Afrikaners in the post apartheid South Africa may seem angry and frustrated. The Afrikaner may come across as an ethnic minority that reacts in an obstructionist manner to the political, economic and social transformation in the country. He is however also of the opinion that it is rather a reflection of the Afrikaner struggling through some traumatic experiences to adapt to a radically changed environment and to come to terms with their past.

Dovidio & Gaertner (1996) argue that the fear of losing white privilege can be a motivating factor for negative attitudes towards affirmative action policies.

This may also be the case for Afrikaners. White privilege is premised on a conception of whiteness that is founded on ideologies of in-group superiority over out-group members. Wambugu (2005) emphasises that negative attitudes towards out-group members can inspire opposition to affirmative action. For that reason, if white Afrikaners perceive blacks as illegal encroachers on previously Afrikaner domains and feel that their socio-economic security is under threat, they will have negative attitudes towards black people.

Previous studies have identified that the younger generation of Afrikaners exhibit a form of “Collective Guilt” about apartheid. These strong feelings of collective guilt were said to be accompanied by positive attitudes toward affirmative action (Werner, van Doorn, & Klandermans, 2008). Although this younger generation of Afrikaner exhibited collective guilt, many indicated that they should not be held responsible or be punished because of apartheid.

The Afrikaner population has experienced a great many changes during the past sixteen years. Great power shifts have occurred which may have had different effects on the Afrikaner identity and the threat levels experienced by this group. After sixteen years of democracy and the implementation of many transformation and affirmative action initiatives within South African society, it is critical to better understand whether differences exist in Afrikaner identity, and the role that threat has on racial attitudes within the Afrikaner community across different generations.

### 1.3 Scope and Research Structure

The scope of this study will only focus on racial attitudes and levels of threat experienced by Afrikaners with regards to affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies. The study will draw on relevant material concerning these constructs. A structured approach will be adopted in order to address the research aims. Chapter 2 reviews the literature relevant to Affirmative Action (AA), Social Identity Theory and Intergroup Threat. Chapter 3 will propose research questions that will help answer the research objectives. Chapter 4 will cover the methodology that will be used. The results from quantitative research using questionnaires will be presented in Chapter 5 and will be discussed in Chapter 6. In the final chapter, Chapter 7 conclusions will be made and key findings and insights will be highlighted.

### 1.4 Research aim and objectives

This paper aims to explore the differences in perceived intergroup threat levels and racial attitudes, if any, within the Afrikaner community sixteen years after the first democratic elections and implementation of transformation policies in South Africa.

Specific focus will be placed on establishing the levels of threat experienced by due to affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies, also on



whether different levels of threat exist between the different groups of Afrikaners.

This study aims to provide insight as to whether or not any change is taking place within the Afrikaner community that will be beneficial to the transformation process within South Africa. Levels of group identity and intergroup threat will specifically be measured and compared in order to form a conclusion.

## 2 Literature Review

The literature review will follow the following framework in order to get a clear understanding and theory base from which a detailed investigation can be made in to current Afrikaner sentiment.

As the role of threat on the Afrikaner attitude towards affirmative action and its beneficiaries is to be investigated, it is essential to establish a sound basis of social identity theory and self categorisation in order to better understand how groups and individuals may classify themselves. An analysis of what social identity is, from a global and Afrikaner perspective will be investigated first.

The next stage in the review will explore affirmative action and transformation policies implemented after the 1994 elections, and the “power shift” that took place as a result in the change of government. Specific focus will be placed on how these policies were implemented, and the effect they had on the Afrikaner community.

After it has been established what the Afrikaner has experienced with regards to policies implemented post 1994, the role of intergroup threat will be investigated.

Lastly, an analysis on the determinants of racial attitudes, how these attitudes can be measured, and any correlation exist between racial attitudes and intergroup threat will be investigated. These four constructs will provide the basis of further analysis in Chapter 5.

The analysis should provide a basis of information from which a detailed investigation can be made in to the Afrikaner community. The manner in which threats influence and react with one another will provide insights as to explore current Afrikaner sentiment, and establish if any clear differences exist within the Afrikaner community.

## 2.1 Social identity theory

### What is social identity theory?

As the Afrikaner is to be investigated it is critical to understand how individuals and groups form social identities, and what implications are of these identities.

Tajful (1981), defined social identity as, *“that part of an individual’s self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group... together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”*

Most people derive their self-esteem from the status of the groups of which they are members. It is normal for people to feel proud of being members of these groups, and being a member is an important part of how they see themselves (Werner, van Doorn, & Klandermans, 2008).

Booyesen (2007) describes social identity theory (SIT) as a cognitive theory which holds that people tend to classify themselves and others into social groups, and that these groups have a significant effect on intergroup attitudes and interactions. SIT is concerned with the psychological and sociological aspects of group behaviour and explains the psychological basis for group behaviour, group association and intergroup discrimination. SIT is composed of 3 elements:

- **Categorisation:** Individuals often put others (and themselves) into categories. Labeling someone as an Afrikaner, coloured or a rugby player for example, are ways of saying other things about these people
- **Identification:** Individuals also associate with certain groups (their in-groups), which serve to improve their self esteem
- **Comparison:** Individuals compare their groups with other groups, individuals most often favour the group to which they belong (positive discrimination), and compete with groups to which they do not belong (out-groups)

Almost every individual living in a society categorises social relationships, people also ascribe to certain characteristics resulting in the formation of both personal and group identity. Identity therefore reflects an individual's association with a collective or social category and enables a feeling of belonging to a particular group (Vedina & Baumane, 2009).

Booyesen (2007) argues that being a member of an ethnic or cultural group is shown to be one of the major sources of societal identification and identity formation. South African research found that race is the most salient categorisation in the South African workplace (Booyesen, 2007).

Booyesen (2007) also pointed out that in complex societies where groups are under threat, individuals prefer boundaries between groups that are clear and easily understood, they also tend to perceive the in-group as homogeneous. Individuals under threat perceive themselves as being even more similar to the in-group and more different from the out-group, than what they would if they were not under threat.

### **Social diversity**

Diversity is regarded to stem from two sources: readily detectable attributes and underlying attributes. Readily detectable attributes (RDA) are attributes like age, gender, and ethnic origin that are easily observed in a person. Underlying attributes include characteristics such as personal priorities,



knowledge levels, values, cultural beliefs, attitudes about schooling and education, and so forth that are not so easily observed (Shrivastava & Gregory, 2009).

Similarly Afrikaners share multiple readily detectable attributes. Race, ethnic origin, language are easily observed within this group. Afrikaners are white and speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue language. Due to the history of apartheid there exists very strong but less noticeable attributes within the Afrikaner community regarding knowledge levels, personal values and cultural beliefs. Afrikaners had much greater opportunities regarding education during the apartheid era, and therefore can be regarded as being more formally educated than the black majority of South Africans. Afrikaners also grew up in largely conservative households and were indoctrinated with the principle of being a superior race to that of the black majority.

Even though it is true that RDA contribute to one's social identity, Shrivastava & Gregory (2009) state that it is also true that the level to which an individual identifies with those perceived to be similar to themselves may vary across individuals. For instance, a female influenced by feminism would probably attach a lot of salience to gender while determining her own identity; the same may not hold true of a female not exposed to feminism. It can therefore be assumed that Afrikaner perceptions and sentiment towards

affirmative action and its beneficiaries could vary in the degree to which individuals identify with the Afrikaner in-group.

Social identity theory motivates the fact that in many cases, when a person interacts with someone else, the individuals involved do not act as truly independently or autonomously. Instead, individuals behave in a manner that defines the ideal behaviour for a “representative” member of the in-group or social category in a given situation. SIT proposes that social identities not only describe but also prescribe appropriate behaviour for in-group members (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995).

This supports that some Afrikaners will act in a manner that will support the interests of the group, even though they may have acted differently or more independently in a different situation.

### **Identity Salience**

The concept of identity salience is important in identity theory. The salience that is attached to different identities influences how much effort an individual places in portraying a specific role and how well the role may be performed (Burke, 1997) . People do not only have one identity, but rather choose an identity that is most fitting in a given situation due to self or group interest. Therefore, the level with which one identifies with a specific identity could affect the behaviour and attitude toward an out-group.

### **Behaviour toward out-group members**

According to SIT, people are likely to judge out-group members more harshly than in-group members, and less likely to give out-group members the benefit of the doubt in ambiguous situations. People who are in the same in-group as someone who exhibits discriminatory behaviour, will perceive the behaviour differently from out-group members. Even more so, in-group members are less likely to see behaviour by one of their group members as discriminatory. In-group members would feel that the behaviour was even less discriminatory if the group has a specific reason to excuse the bad behaviour (Krumm & Corning, 2008).

Afrikaners would therefore seem to justify their past wrongs and build arguments that will promote to deemphasize the level of discrimination during the apartheid era.

### **Identity and Resources**

Reza (2007) argues that the meaningful relationships between persons and things incorporate the concept of resources (things that sustain persons and interactions) as a central component in identity processes.

Burke (1997) is of the opinion that much of the meaningful activity within a group is governed by an identity that revolves around the control of resources. It is suggested that this feature as much as anything, helps to define social structure.

This would support the notion that a significant part of the Afrikaner identity revolved around the fact that they controlled almost all the resources within South Africa. Afrikaners held both political and economic power and were intent not to share it. The Afrikaner was in control of almost all South African resources prior to 1994. The transformation and affirmative action policies put in place since then are aimed at redistributing these resources to the majority of black South Africans. This would have had a significant impact on the identity of the Afrikaner.

## **2.2 Transformation and Affirmative Action policies post 1994**

### **Policy Implementation**

The South African constitution gives expression to Convention 111 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which obliges signatory States, of which South Africa is one, to enact mechanisms of redress (Labour, 2010).

As Afrikaners had enforced decades of segregation and separate development, they had built considerable wealth and implemented specific programs with infrastructure to insure the continued prosperity of their in-group. This could not be maintained in the post apartheid South Africa.

Transformation policies implemented after 1994 specifically focused on affirmative action with most of the benefits aimed toward the black majority.

Some groups (especially Afrikaners) have argued that affirmative action is a

form of reverse racism, and have raised concerns about a drop in standards, and have portrayed the beneficiaries of affirmative action as being less competent than other students, job applicants and sports players. It is also evident that the younger groups of whites complain that they are unfairly prejudiced by affirmative action since they did not personally benefit from apartheid (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009). The majority of this discontent stems from white Afrikaners.

Affirmative action can be implemented by either a “bottom up” or “top down” approach (Leonard, 2005). The differences in the two approaches can be seen in Table 1.

**Table 1: Differences between bottom-up and top-down Affirmative Action**

Bottom-up	Top-down
Enforcement by consent	Enforcement by legislation
Power primarily obtained through personal growth and work skills development	Power primarily gained through positional advancement
Productivity and work standards usually considered in the empowerment of the disadvantaged	Productivity and work standards often not considered in the empowerment of the disadvantaged
Senior management/organization-driven	Government driven
Pro-active interventions	Reactive interventions
Both input and output policies equally important	Output policies slightly favoured above input policies

**Source:** (Leonard, 2005)

Affirmative action policies in South Africa were implemented through a top-down approach with the following legislation (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009).

- The Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (Act 4 of 2000)
- The Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998)
- The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (Act 53 of 2003)

- The land reform program was supported by the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994)

The South African Department of Labour (2010) is of the view that some groups within South Africa view these Acts to be racially divisive and its application too mechanistic.

It is also extremely disappointed by the behaviour by some white groups (Afrikaners) who are perceived to be anti-policy, while some government departments (black groups) feel that more should be done to promote the policies.

### **Power shift and attitudes toward policies**

Tuch and Hughes (1996) are of the opinion that a full picture of whites' racial policy views requires a broad theoretical brush.

Attitudes toward affirmative action policies are often explained in terms of individual differences of the respondents. Among those, demographic variables such as race and gender, and beliefs about the beneficiaries have been widely studied (Krings, Tschan, & Bettex, 2007).

It has been found that verbal support for affirmative action policies does not necessarily imply behavioural support, nor does it imply any active effort in promoting such policies. (Kleugel & Smith, 1983).

Krysan (2000) is of the view that individuals and groups attitudes toward affirmative action is an amalgamation of their feelings toward the policy and their feelings toward the beneficiaries of these policies.

Vedina and Baumane (2009) indicate that similarly as in Latvia, the introduction of transformation policies in South Africa after 1994 have introduced a variety of changes within its society – the political regime, economic system, social environment, cultural adjustments, etc. As in Latvia, it has caused certain alterations in its Afrikaners perceptions of their relative standing with respect to various institutions, their power distribution and status structures, both factual and perceived. Dramatic change generates conflict on various levels. As far as individuals and groups are concerned, it not only creates conflict of interest but also feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Estehhuyse (2003) is of the opinion that Afrikaners are faced with some or other imminent loss that is due to the implementation of affirmative action, and that the fear of the “unknown” breeds confrontation within this group.

Generally speaking, prior to 1994 power at all levels of society was held by white males, as the dominant group who wielded political, economic, managerial and social power. White woman held some power because they were associated with the then dominant group. Power was almost exclusively in the white male domain (Booyesen, 2007)

After the 1994 elections there were significant power shifts. Political power shifted almost completely from white males (Afrikaners), to black males and



in some extent to females, especially black females. Social power moved from whites to blacks. Even though some shifts in management and economic power have already taken place, both power bases still reside with white males (Afrikaners).

The impact of these power shifts and change on social identities have brought about feelings of great anxiety and threat amongst the various groups affected, specifically the Afrikaner.

These shifts in power brought about by affirmative action increased the perception of threat amongst Afrikaners. For the first time since the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, a new Afrikaner diaspora was initiated to countries such as England, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These developments also had a traumatic social impact on the Afrikaner family structures (Visser, 2004).

To better understand attitude towards policy from a threat-based perspective, the emotions toward a group (excluding prejudice), should predict attitudes toward a policy affecting the group (Cottrell, Richards, & Nichols, 2010).

Perceptions of entitlement also arise historically as dominant groups forge ideologies that justify their relative social and material advantages. In contrast, groups can be said to be racially alienated when they perceive themselves to be unfairly disenfranchised relative to other racial groups. A

sense of violated entitlement is closely related to perceptions of threat (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009).

When reviewing this literature it becomes clear that the Afrikaner may view themselves as a group under threat. It is also evident that individuals within the Afrikaner group may perceive this threat differently, and may have different views regarding affirmative action policies being implemented and the beneficiaries of these policies.

In order to investigate possible differences on the role of threat within the Afrikaner group, it is important to better understand the elements that constitute intergroup threat and to understand how it can be measured.

## 2.3 Intergroup Threat

### **What is Intergroup Threat?**

Intergroup threat occurs when one group's actions, beliefs, or characteristics challenge the goal attainment or well-being of another group (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).

Sherif and Sherif (1969) proposed that when the goals of different groups are aligned and complementary, relations between the groups will be positive. However, when conflicting goals exist between groups, relations will deteriorate. The resulting conflict may increase in-group solidarity,

which in turn widens the differences between the groups, resulting in intergroup hostility.

When the interests of a group as a whole are threatened, members perceive this as threatening even though self-interest is not directly impacted. For example, a Afrikaner male may perceive affirmative action as threatening the overall interests of his in-group even when he is not personally affected by it (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006)

### **Integrated Threat Theory**

Integrated threat theory (ITT), developed by Stephan and Stephan (1996), classifies threats into four major types: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006)

Realistic threat includes conflicting goals, perceptions of competition, and threats to the physical and economic well-being of the in-group. When two groups are in competition for scarce resources, the potential success of one group may threaten the well-being of the other, resulting in negative attitudes toward the out-group.

Symbolic threat arises when the values, norms, and beliefs between groups are in conflict with one another. Intergroup anxiety is experienced when an in-group member feels uneasiness and awkward in the presence of out-

group members they are uncertain as to how to behave toward them. Negative stereotypes generate threat by creating negative expectations concerning the behaviour of out-group members. These negative stereotypes have for a long time been associated with negative out-group attitudes (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).

Conflict between in-groups and out-groups may increase in-group solidarity, creating intergroup hostility.

According to Durrheim et al (2009), group threat would be strongly related to policy opinions. After the transition to black majority rule many whites (Afrikaners) in South Africa have felt increasingly marginalised as a small minority, with much to lose from race-targeted policies of transformation. In addition to this group threat, Afrikaners may oppose the affirmative action policies in the belief that they have been (or will be) directly affected by them.

In contrast, support for racial change policies is expected among black people who believe that white Afrikaners continue to be advantaged by the legacy of racism and thus pose a threat to their group position in society. It is also possible that blacks would support the policies out of self-interest, believing that they would benefit personally from them (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009)

## Groups in South Africa

The long history of racial segregation and apartheid has negatively affected of the level of social trust among the population. Social trust is still low across racial lines. Research shows that interactions between the different racial groups in South Africa are often limited to the workplace (SA Reconciliation Barometer, 2009)

Wocke & Sutherland (2008) have confirmed three South African identities identified in the workplace, they are:

- a. White males,
- b. Africans
- c. and a “middle group” consisting of White females, Coloureds and Indians.

These groups with strong social identities appear to be in conflict with each other. It is also very important to note that these different social identity groups perceive change and transformation differently from each other (Booyesen, 2007). Resistance levels to transformation (perceived self-interest, feelings of fear and uncertainty, conservatism), may be higher in some groups than in others (Esterhuyse, 2003).

In order to explore the possible differences within the Afrikaner population with regards to intergroup threat levels, it is critical that they can be measured accurately.

## **In-group identification**

Empirical evidence suggests that within an intergroup situation, those with high in-group identification likely to show a variety of group-level responses relative to those individuals who identify poorly with the in-group. The more people identify with their in-group, the more concerned they are about their group interests and consider it important to preserve and protect their own culture and resources. Strong in-group identification functions as a lens that makes in-group members sensitive to anything that could harm their group (Gonzalez, Verkeyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008).

## **Previous Studies**

Previous research on threats has been concerned with threats posed by out-groups, there is no reason why perceived threats would not also be related to attitudes toward public policies such as affirmative action, which may be perceived as posing threats to the in-group (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006).

Integrated threat theory has supported the idea that the four threats (realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes) are related to attitudes toward out-groups. It has also been found that employing all four types of threat tends to provide a more complete picture of the factors that influence attitudes toward out-group members than studies limited to only one or two of the factors.

Many studies have shown that integrated threat theory can be used successfully to predict attitudes. Some of these studies where attitudes were successfully measured were:

- attitudes between Mexicans and Americans (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, Intergrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States, 2000) and;
- women's attitude toward men (Stephan C. W., Stephan, Demitrakis, Yamada, & Clason, 2000)

Prior studies related to integrated threat theory has also been completed in order to predict attitudes toward affirmative action policy (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006).

Results of the studies confirm the following for integrated threat theory:

- Realistic threats and symbolic threats in the integrated threat theory are significant or marginally significant predictors of both opposition to the policy of affirmative action and attitudes toward the beneficiaries (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006).

There are also differences between predictors of attitudes towards the policy and predictors of attitudes toward the beneficiaries.

- Negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety are significant predictors of attitudes toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action, but are not

significant predictors of attitudes toward the policy of affirmative action

What was also clear from these studies was that white males who identify strongly with their in-group feel threatened by and focus their hostility on the recipients of affirmative action, and not the policy itself. This finding is consistent with the idea suggested in integrated threat theory that strong identity with in-groups leads to prejudice toward out-groups (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006)

### **Racial Attitude**

According to the South African Reconciliation Barometer (2009), The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation has established the following factors to assist in determining racial attitude levels of South African citizens. Individuals and groups are more likely to have a positive racial attitude when:

- Human Security: If an individual is not threatened
- Political Culture: If an individual views the institutions of government as legitimate and accountable
- Cross-cutting Relationships: If individuals are able to form working relationships that cross divisions
- Dialogue: If individuals are committed to meaningful dialogue
- Historical Confrontation: If individuals are able to confront and address issues from the past in a positive manner



- Race Relations: If individuals from different races hold fewer negative perceptions of each other

It is evident that there exists a positive relationship between the factors associated with ITT and those used to measure racial attitudes.

### **Conclusion**

With the demise of both apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism, Afrikaners had to discard much of their historic views as obsolete. The white “yes” vote in 1992 referendum could be interpreted as a choice that Afrikaners were pro a multi-racial South Africa and wanted to create change. (Visser, 2004).

Many of the younger generation of Afrikaners at the time were delighted to be rid of the stifling cultural conformity of Afrikaner society and the anxieties about security in the final decades of apartheid. Many Afrikaners are proud to be living in a democracy.

Afrikaners are predominantly a religious, law-abiding and pragmatic people, enjoying freedom of speech and other individual rights. They no longer speak of themselves as a separate people with a special calling or destiny, but accept a common South African identity and the duty to address the challenges that confront the country.

The language of Afrikaans still remains the symbol of their sense of place and community.



The results of this study will either provide evidence either for this change in Afrikaner attitude, or it will give an indication of how far the Afrikaner still needs to adapt to become part of a fully, non racial democratic South Africa.

## 3 Research questions

This study will draw lessons from Social identity theory, Integrated Threat Theory and Racial Attitudes. The study will firstly identify and measure Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action policies, and then attitude toward the beneficiaries of these policies using integrated threat theory. A number of questions will be asked from which inferences will be made about current Afrikaner sentiment. The questions to be answered are:

***Research Question 1:***

- Are there significant differences in perceived threat levels within the Afrikaner population?

***Research Question 2:***

- Are there significant differences regarding the level of personal relevance within the Afrikaner population?

***Research Question 3:***

- Are there significant differences in in-group identification within the Afrikaner population?

***Research Question 4:***

- Are there significant differences among Afrikaners in attitudes towards affirmative action?

***Research Question 5:***

- Are there significant differences in attitude towards beneficiaries of affirmative action policies within the Afrikaner population?

***Research Question 6:***

- Is there any correlation between perceived levels of threat and Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action?

***Research Question 7:***

- Is there any correlation between perceived levels of threat and Afrikaner attitude toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action?

## 4 Research methodology

### 4.1 Research Design

The methodological paradigms that were followed in this study have been descriptive in nature, and involved both secondary and quantitative research. The area of research provided valuable insights into the current Afrikaner sentiment now sixteen years after the first democratic elections in South Africa.

This study aimed to identify the level of threat experienced by the Afrikaner, and their attitude toward policies of affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies. In order to do this it is essential to understand opinions concerning relations between the races in the South African society. As we were looking to find the current status quo amongst Afrikaners, descriptive research methods were used. This allowed us to describe "what currently exists" with respect to variables and conditions that were tested (Zikmund, 2003)

A number of scales that have been developed and tested in order to accurately measure relations between different racial groups were utilised in this study. These scales have been translated to Afrikaans to insure that they presented a more reflective picture of the of threats and attitudes experienced by Afrikaners.

The research design was quantitative and descriptive in nature.

### **Secondary data**

The purpose of conducting a literature review is to study prior research, theories and models. This provides the researcher with a thorough understanding of the topic, encourages new ideas, and serves as a stepping stone for future primary research (Zikmund, 2003). The information sources include materials on the Afrikaner history, social identity theory, affirmative action policies, intergroup threat and integrated threat theory. The number of sources includes journals, books, newspapers and the internet as part of this secondary research.

### **Quantitative Research**

In quantitative research the goal is to determine the relationship between one thing (an independent variable) and another (a dependent or outcome variable) in a population. Quantitative research designs are either descriptive (subjects usually measured once) or experimental (subjects measured before and after a treatment). As we have no data or access to previous studies indicating threat levels experienced by Afrikaners, this study is descriptive in nature and will only be measured once on a single sample.

A descriptive study establishes only associations between variables. The study involved collecting data in order to answer the research questions

concerning current Afrikaner attitudes. The study accurately determined and reported Afrikaner attitude at the time the research was conducted.

## 4.2 Population

Population can be defined as individuals, groups, organisations, human products and events, or an aggregate of items and conditions to which that population is exposed (Welman & Kriger, 2005).

Therefore, the population of relevance for this study is the Afrikaner. An investigation as to how individuals within this group identify with the in-group, and their attitudes toward out-group was also done. This study also identified affirmative action policies, how they were implemented and the groups that constitute the beneficiaries of these policies.

The Afrikaner was defined as white South Africans who speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue language.

### 4.3 Sampling method and size

The sample size is defined as the “number of elements that will be included in the sample”. The key question to be answered was what sample size do I need? In answering this question it is important to remember that there is not a simple answer to this question (Czaja & Blair, 1996). Sample sizes are a function of many variables such as time constraints, budget availability; measurement vs. insights, respondent availability and whether the research design is exploratory, causal or descriptive in nature (Czaja & Blair, 1996).

This study allowed the researcher to make inferences about the Afrikaner population, based on descriptive statistics (such as means and proportions). The researcher believes that the sample size provided accurate estimates of the "true" population attitudes. The precision of the results will depend fundamentally on the variation between individuals and the sample size.

In order to obtain statistically relevant results a minimum of 30 respondents was required. The researcher found that this minimum sample would have to be increased to at least 60 respondents as to insure relevance across the various groups being investigated. To insure that sufficient data would be collected, the researcher aimed to get at least double the required number of respondents, and 120 Afrikaners were approached individually to complete the research questionnaire. This will be done to insure a representative sample.



A convenient sample was selected from the population of relevance. Afrikaners from different companies, different age groups and walks of life were included to insure that results cannot be skewed. The researcher approached family, as well as Afrikaner friends and colleagues and requested them to complete the research questionnaire.

Only individuals of sixteen years and older were allowed to participate.

#### 4.4 Data collection

The choice of an appropriate data collection method was dependant on (i) the volume and variety of data required (ii) the objectivity and reliability of data required and (iii) the cost and duration of the study (Martins, Loubster, & van Wyk, 2002).

A survey was completed with a detailed questionnaire designed to include all constructs. This survey was self administered and was distributed via hard copies. The survey made use of a five point likert scale. This questionnaire was pretested to insure accuracy before the final survey was conducted. The questionnaire was only presented in the language of Afrikaans as to insure a representative sample.

The questionnaire consisted of nine measures including the four threat variables (realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative

stereotypes), personal relevance, strength of in-group identification, attitudes toward the policy of affirmative action, attitudes toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action and demographics.

Measurement instruments from the literature were identified. The researcher made use of questions presented in similar studies as to insure accuracy and validity of the research findings. The origin of the questions and statements included in the questionnaire was taken from:

- The intergroup threat scale (Realistic, Symbolic, Intergroup Anxiety, Negative stereotyping) was from:

Stephan, W. G & Stephan, C. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-176.

- The attitude toward Affirmative Action and its Beneficiaries scale was from:

Renfro, L. C., Duran, A., Stephan, W. G., & Clason, D. L. (2006). The role of Threat in Attitudes toward Affirmative Action and its Beneficiaries. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* , 41-74.

In this survey:

- All constructs taken from the literature was assessed such that their Cronbach alpha reliability exceeds the recommended value of .7

- All constructs taken from the literature were necessary to reflect the context of the study

See appendix for questionnaire presented in this study.

#### 4.5 Data analysis

According to Zikmund (2003, p.73) data analysis “is the application of reasoning to understand and interpret the data that have been collected’. Secondary data analysis was completed to review the historical literature, which helped to identify gaps and issues that still needed explanation in the quantitative phase.

Descriptive statistics was completed and presented in tables and figures. to the data is then described and discussed generally and conveniently. The descriptive statistics helped summarise and support assertions made by the researcher.

The researcher manually captured the necessary data from the questionnaires in to an electronic format before doing the analysis. Basic descriptive analysis was completed making use of one of the major statistical packages (SPSS).

The results of this questionnaire provided us with information as to the attitude of Afrikaners. This allowed us to draw some conclusions as to the correlation between affirmative action policy attitudes and its beneficiaries.

#### 4.6 Research limitations

The research had the following limitations:

- Inferences was drawn from the data which may not necessarily be correct for all Afrikaners, the sample is limited as it will never predict the view of all Afrikaners
- Many more factors than mentioned in the literature play a role in an individual's attitude toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries

## 5 Results

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter sample characteristics, reliability and results will be presented. The results will firstly be presented per test conducted and then in a combined format per research question. Discussion around findings will be addressed in chapter six.

### 5.2 Sample characteristics

A total of 120 people were asked to participate in the research. A response rate of 91% was obtained. The 109 responses were analysed by a research consultant. Various validity checks were done to insure that the data was correct. The high response rate could be attributed to the following measures that were put in place:

- Hard copies of the questionnaires were handed to each respondent individually
- Hard copies provided an additional sense of confidentiality. With electronic survey subjects tend to doubt confidentiality
- Daily follow up via telephone and email to remind participants to complete the questionnaire before a specified date

- Collection of the questionnaire was done in person on a agreed date and time

### 5.2.1 Age

The average age was 33.7 with a minimum of 21 years old and the oldest being 64 years old. Age is a key factor within the research questions; we will later see how this impacts on the findings.

**Table 2: Age group distribution**

Age group	Frequency	Percent
21 - 25	10	9.17
26 – 30	18	16.51
31 - 35	25	22.94
36 - 40	26	23.85
41 - 45	5	4.59
46 & older	25	22.94

Only 5 respondents are represented in the group 41- 45. As there is low representation in the group, a decision was made to combine the group with that of subjects 46 and older. The new age group will constitute all respondents 41 and older, totaling 30 respondents. All analysis will be completed on this new group.

### 5.2.2 Gender

A well balanced group of males and females responded to the questionnaire. Of the 109 valid respondents there were 53 females and 56 males. As many of the research questions are aimed at finding differences within the sample group, this well balanced view allows for more accurate analysis to be made.

**Table 3: Gender distribution**

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Female	53	48.62
Male	56	51.38

### 5.3 Scale

Respondents were asked to indicate their feeling toward various aspects of this study according to the scale below. This would indicate the group's attitude toward specific variables being measured in this study.

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Moderately	Neutral	Agree Moderately	Agree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5

## 5.4 Descriptive statistics

We firstly identify overall Afrikaner sentiments toward the various aspects investigated in this study. This will provide us with a view of current Afrikaner sentiment before we identify differences that may exist within the Afrikaner population.

### 5.4.1 Types of threat

This study measured the threat levels experienced by Afrikaners. The four threat types contributing toward Integrated Threat theory were measured individually to better understand current Afrikaner sentiment. The results of each of these types of threat are described below and indicate current Afrikaner attitude.

#### 5.4.1.1 *Realistic threat*

Afrikaners in this sample experience high levels of realistic threat. A mean of 3.98 was established for all respondents where 5 was the highest level of realistic threat. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.71 which is acceptable.

**Table 4: Realistic threat**

<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Cronbach Alpha (Raw)</b>
109	3.98012	0.70664	0.715005



#### 5.4.1.2 *Symbolic threat*

Afrikaners in this sample experience high levels of symbolic threat. A mean of 3.89 was established for all respondents where 5 was the highest level of symbolic threat. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.77 which is acceptable.

**Table 5: Symbolic threat**

<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Cronbach Alpha (Raw)</b>
109	3.89144	0.81567	0.766128

#### 5.4.1.3 *Intergroup anxiety*

Afrikaners in this sample did not experience much intergroup anxiety. A mean of 2.92 was established for all respondents where 5 was the highest level of intergroup anxiety. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.92 which is acceptable.

**Table 6: Intergroup anxiety**

<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Cronbach Alpha (Raw)</b>
109	2.92202	1.10404	0.923108

#### 5.4.1.4 Negative stereotype

Afrikaners in this sample experience high levels of negative stereotyping. A mean of 3.84 was established for all respondents where 5 was the highest level of negative stereotyping. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.78 which is acceptable.

**Table 7: Negative stereotype**

N	Mean	Std Dev	Cronbach Alpha (Raw)
109	3.83978	0.77817	0.831336

#### 5.4.2 In-Group Identification

There is strong in-group identification amongst Afrikaners in this study. A mean of 4.23 was established where 5 was the maximum level of in-group identification. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.79 which is acceptable.

**Table 8: In-group identification**

N	Mean	Std Dev	Cronbach Alpha (Raw)
109	4.22706	0.79534	0.747923

### 5.4.3 Attitude toward beneficiaries of Affirmative Action

Afrikaner attitudes toward beneficiaries of affirmative action were slightly negative with a mean of 3.29 was established where 5 was the maximum negativity toward beneficiaries of affirmative action. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.92 which is acceptable.

**Table 9: Attitude toward AA beneficiaries**

N	Mean	Std Dev	Cronbach Alpha (Raw)
109	3.27829	0.75002	0.916381

### 5.4.4 Attitude towards Affirmative Action Policy

Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action policies was extremely negative where a mean of 4.14 was established and 5 was the maximum negativity toward policies of affirmative action. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.88 which is acceptable.

**Table 10: Attitude toward AA policy**

N	Mean	Std Dev	Cronbach Alpha (Raw)
109	4.13609	0.71800	0.881607

#### 5.4.5 Personal relevance

Afrikaners in this study felt that affirmative action had extreme personal relevance as a mean of 4.59 was established and 5 was the maximum level of personal relevance. The Cronbach alpha reliability for this construct is 0.92 which is acceptable.

**Table 11: Personal relevance**

<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Cronbach Alpha (Raw)</b>
109	4.58716	0.65089	0.915853

#### 5.5 Research Questions

Most of the research questions aim to identify differences in attitude within the Afrikaner sample tested. The two variables that we are most concerned with are (1) Gender and (2) Age.

The results were generated by completing two different types of tests. Firstly, an Anova was done to identify whether significant statistical differences in attitude exist between different Afrikaner gender and age groups. Secondly, Duncan's Multiple Range hoc pair wise test was done to identify which groups differed.

### 5.5.1 Question 1

**Are there significant differences in perceived threat levels within the Afrikaner population?**

#### **Realistic Threat**

The Annova test returned positive results for differences in both gender and age. This confirms differences in both gender and age in Afrikaner perceived levels of realistic threat. In both instances the P value is smaller than 0.05 therefore indicating statistically significant differences (Table 12)

**Table 12: Annova - Realistic threat**

<b>Source</b>	<b>DF</b>	<b>F Value</b>	<b>Pr &gt; F</b>
<b>Gender</b>	1	4.28	0.0411
<b>Age</b>	4	4.17	0.0036

#### **Gender differences:**

Both Afrikaner men and woman both experience high levels of realistic threat; the Duncan test (Table 13) however confirms that Afrikaner men experience statistically significant higher levels of realistic threat than Afrikaner woman.

**Table 13: Gender differences - Realistic Threat**

**Means with the same letter are not significantly different.**

Duncan Grouping	Mean	Std Dev	N	Gender
A	4.0833	0.6875	56	Male
B	3.8711	0.7165	53	Female

**Age differences:**

All Afrikaner age groups experience high levels of realistic threat, however the Duncan test (Table 14) provides evidence that there are statistical differences between some of the different age groups. In this case the age groups of 21 – 30 and 40 and older experience significantly higher levels of realistic threat than subjects between the ages of 36 – 40. Although experiencing high levels of realistic threat, the age group 36 – 40 experiences the least of the different age groups of Afrikaners

**Table 14: Age differences - Realistic Threat**

**Means with the same letter are not significantly different.**

Duncan Grouping	Mean	Std Dev	N	Age
A	4.2833	0.81289758	10	21 - 25
A	4.1759	0.59263514	18	26 - 30
A	4.1611	0.69409570	30	41 & older
B	3.9067	0.57146660	25	31 - 35
B	3.5897	0.73519577	26	36 - 40

### Symbolic Threat

The Annova test returned positive results for differences in both gender and age. This confirms differences in both gender and age in Afrikaner perceived levels of symbolic threat. In both instances the P value is smaller than 0.05 therefore indicating statistically significant differences (Table 15)

**Table 15: Annova - Symbolic Threat**

Source	DF	F Value	Pr > F
Gender	1	4.05	0.0468
Age	4	3.76	0.0067

#### Gender differences:

Both Afrikaner men and woman both experience high levels of symbolic threat; the Duncan test (Table 16) however confirms that Afrikaner men experience statistically significant higher levels of symbolic threat than Afrikaner woman.

**Table 16: Gender differences - Symbolic Threat**

Means with the same letter are not significantly different.				
Duncan Grouping	Mean	Std Dev	N	Gender
A	4.0298	0.8066	56	Male
B	3.7453	0.8070	53	Female

**Age differences:**

All Afrikaner age groups experience high levels of symbolic threat, however the Duncan test (Table 17) provides evidence that there are statistical differences between some of the different age groups. In this case the age groups of 21 – 30 and 40 and older experience significantly higher levels of symbolic threat than subjects between the ages of 36 – 40. Although experiencing high levels of symbolic threat, the age group 36 – 40 experiences the least of the different age groups of Afrikaners

**Table 17: Age differences - Symbolic Threat**

<b>Means with the same letter are not significantly different.</b>					
<b>Duncan Grouping</b>		<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Age</b>
	A	4.1574	0.6823	18	26 - 30
	A	4.1333	0.8027	30	41 & older
	A	3.9833	0.8405	10	21 - 25
B	A	3.8533	0.8155	25	31 - 35
B		3.4295	0.7545	26	36 - 40

**Intergroup anxiety**

The Annova test provided a positive result confirming different levels of intergroup anxiety between different age groups of Afrikaners. In the instance of age the P value is smaller than 0.05 therefore indicating a statistically significant difference.



The Anova test however did not indicate any statistical significant differences between the different genders (P value greater than 0.05) of Afrikaners.

**Table 18: Annova - Intergroup Anxiety**

Source	DF	F Value	Pr > F
Gender	1	1.27	0.2633
Age	4	2.53	0.0450

**Age differences:**

Not all Afrikaner age groups experience high levels of intergroup anxiety. The Duncan test (Table 19) provides evidence that there are statistical differences between some of the different age groups. In this case, the age groups of 21 – 25 experience significantly higher levels of intergroup anxiety while the subjects between the ages of 31 – 40 experience less intergroup anxiety.

**Table 19: Age differences - Intergroup anxiety**

<b>Means with the same letter are not significantly different.</b>					
<b>Duncan Grouping</b>		<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Age</b>
	A	3.5500	1.0365	10	21 - 25
B	A	3.3426	0.8174	18	26 - 30
B	A	2.9000	1.3214	30	41 & older
B		2.7067	0.9394	25	31 - 35
B		2.6218	1.0609	26	36 - 40

### Negative stereotype

The Annova test provided a positive result confirming different levels of negative stereotyping between different age groups of Afrikaners. In the instance of age the P value is smaller than 0.05 therefore indicating a statistically significant difference between some of the groups. The Annova test however did not indicate any statistical significant differences between the different genders (P value greater than 0.05) of Afrikaners.

**Table 20: Annova - Negative stereotype**

Source	DF	F Value	Pr > F
Gender	1	1.29	0.2583
Age	4	2.74	0.0328

#### Age differences:

All Afrikaner age groups are experience high levels of negative stereotyping; however the Duncan test (Table 21) provides evidence that there are statistical differences between some of the different age groups. In this case, the age group 21 – 25 experience significantly higher levels of negative stereotyping than subjects between the ages of 31 – 40. Although experiencing high levels of negative stereotyping, the age group 31 – 40 experiences the least.

**Table 21: Age differences - Negative stereotype**

<b>Means with the same letter are not significantly different.</b>					
<b>Duncan Grouping</b>		<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Age</b>
	A	4.2500	0.7453	10	21 - 25
B	A	4.0625	0.6929	18	26 - 30
B	A	3.9458	0.7703	30	41 & older
B		3.7014	0.6731	25	31 - 35
B		3.5385	0.8578	26	36 - 40

### 5.5.2 Question 2

**Are there significant differences in Personal Relevance within the Afrikaner population?**

The Anova test returned negative results for differences in personal relevance within the Afrikaner population (Table 22). In both instances the P value is greater than 0.05 therefore indicating no statistically significant difference in either gender or age.

**Table 22: Anova - Personal relevance**

<b>Source</b>	<b>DF</b>	<b>F Value</b>	<b>Pr &gt; F</b>
<b>Gender</b>	1	2.28	0.1339
<b>Age</b>	4	1.05	0.3875

### 5.5.3 Question 3

#### **Are there significant differences in In-group identification within the Afrikaner population?**

The Annova test returned negative results for differences in in-group identification within the Afrikaner population (Table 23). In both instances the P value is greater than 0.05 therefore indicating no statistically significant difference in either gender or age.

**Table 23: Annova - In-group identification**

Source	DF	F Value	Pr > F
Gender	1	0.88	0.3503
Age	4	1.10	0.3607

### 5.5.4 Question 4

#### **Are there significant differences in attitude toward policies of affirmative action within the Afrikaner population?**

The Annova indicated statistical significant differences for both gender and age. This confirms differences in both gender and age in Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action. In both instances the P value is smaller than 0.05 therefore indicating a statistically significant difference (Table 24).

**Table 24: Annova - AA policy attitude**

Source	DF	F Value	Pr > F
Gender	1	8.20	0.0051
Age	4	6.53	<.0001

**Gender differences:**

Although both Afrikaner men and woman are negative toward policies of affirmative action, the Duncan test (Table 25) confirms that Afrikaner men are more negative toward policies of affirmative action than Afrikaner woman.

**Table 25: Gender differences to AA policy**

Means with the same letter are not significantly different.				
Duncan Grouping	Mean	Std Dev	N	Gender
A	4.2902	0.7565	56	Male
B	3.9733	0.6492	53	Female

**Age differences:**

Although all Afrikaner age groups are negative toward policies of affirmative action, the Duncan test (Table 26) provides evidence that there are significant differences between some of the different age groups. In this case the age groups of 26 – 30 and 40 and older are significantly more negative than the age group consisting of respondents between the ages of 36 – 40. Although negative, the age group 36 – 40 is the least negative of all age groups.

**Table 26: Age differences to AA policy**

**Means with the same letter are not significantly different.**

Duncan Grouping		Mean	Std Dev	N	Age
	A	4.4676	0.4592	18	26 – 30
	A	4.4111	0.5448	30	41 & older
B	A	4.2750	0.6678	10	21 - 25
B	C	3.9633	0.6109	25	31 - 35
	C	3.7019	0.9037	26	36 - 40

### 5.5.5 Question 5

**Are there significant differences in attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action policies within the Afrikaner population?**

The Anova test provided a positive result for confirming different Afrikaner attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action between different age groups of Afrikaners. In the instance of age the P value is smaller than 0.05 therefore indicating a statistically significant difference. The Anova however did not indicate any statistical significant difference between the different genders (P value greater than 0.05) of Afrikaners attitude toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action.

**Table 27: Anova - attitudes toward AA beneficiaries**

Source	DF	F Value	Pr > F
Gender	1	3.50	0.0643
Age	4	4.37	0.0026

**Age differences:**

Most Afrikaner age groups are negative toward beneficiaries of affirmative action, the Duncan test (Table 28) however provides evidence that there are statistical differences between some of the different age groups. In this case, the age groups of 21 – 25 and 26 – 30 are significantly more negative than the age groups consisting of subjects between the ages of 31 - 40. Age group 36 – 40 is the least negative of all age groups of Afrikaners with a mean of 2.96.

**Table 28: Age differences in attitude toward beneficiaries of AA**

<b>Means with the same letter are not significantly different.</b>					
Duncan Grouping		Mean	Std Dev	N	Age
	A	3.7000	0.9962	10	21 – 25
	A	3.6852	0.5583	18	26 – 30
B	A	3.2833	0.8714	30	41 & older
B		3.1367	0.5989	25	31 – 35
B		2.9647	0.5682	26	36 - 40

### 5.5.6 Question 6

**What is the correlation between Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action and perceived levels of threat?**

To find the correlation between Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action and perceived levels of threat Pearson Correlation Coefficients was used. It yielded the following results.

**Table 29: Correlation between attitude toward AA policy and integrated threat**

<b>Attitude toward policies of Affirmative Action</b>	<b>Realistic Threat</b>	<b>Symbolic Threat</b>	<b>Inter-group Anxiety</b>	<b>Negative Stereotyping</b>
1.00000	0.72599	0.65458	0.36653	0.55909
	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001

The Pearson Correlation Coefficients indicates positive correlation exists between Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action policies and the following variables - P value less than 0.05 (Table 29):

- Realistic threat
- Symbolic threat
- Negative stereotyping



Although a positive and significant relationship exists between Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action and intergroup anxiety, the correlation coefficient is lower than for the other threat variables.

### 5.5.7 Question 7

**What is the correlation between Afrikaner attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action and perceived levels of threat?**

To find the correlation between Afrikaner attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action and perceived levels of threat a Pearson Correlation Coefficients test was completed. The test yielded the following results.

**Table 30: Correlation between attitude toward beneficiaries of AA and integrated threat**

<b>Attitude toward beneficiaries of Affirmative Action</b>	<b>Realistic Threat</b>	<b>Symbolic Threat</b>	<b>Inter-group Anxiety</b>	<b>Negative Stereotyping</b>
1.00000	0.58657	0.56108	0.64270	0.62330
	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001	<.0001

The Pearson Correlation Coefficients test results provides evidence that a positive correlation exists between Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action policies and the following variables – P value less than 0.05 (Table 30):



## Results

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- Realistic threat
- Symbolic threat
- Inter-group anxiety
- Negative stereotyping

## 6 Discussion of results

### 6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher will discuss the results presented in Chapter 5 in terms of the six research questions. The researcher will present a holistic view of the interrelatedness of the results, and identify whether this is consistent with the literature presented in Chapter 2, and whether the research objectives have been met.

### 6.2 Question 1 discussion

The data in Chapter 5 has provided evidence that Afrikaners vary in how they perceive threat. As indicated by the literature in Chapter 2, the level of integrated threat experienced holds direct correlation to the negative attitudes toward affirmative action policies and the beneficiaries of these policies (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006).

The study does not indicate why Afrikaners perceive threat differently, but rather the differences that exist within the group. Each type of threat will now be discussed individually.

### **Realistic Threat**

The data in Chapter 5 confirms that Afrikaners experience high levels of realistic threat. Afrikaners believe that their physical and economic well-being is under threat because of affirmative action policies and the beneficiaries of these policies. This promotes the view of Sherif & Sherif (1969), stating that when two groups are in competition for scarce resources, the potential success of one group threatens the well-being of the other, resulting in negative out-group attitudes.

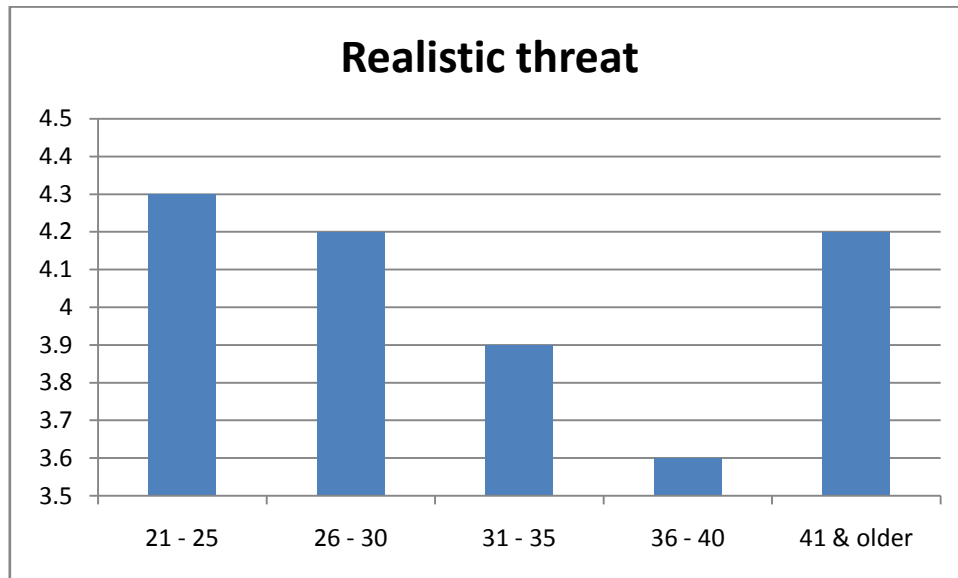
The data in Chapter 5 clearly indicates that Afrikaner males experience higher levels of realistic threat than Afrikaner females. This study did not explore why Afrikaner men felt more threatened.

A possible reason for the increased levels of threat by Afrikaner men may lie in the literature of Wocke & Sutherland (2008), confirming that white males have their own separate identity within the workplace. Afrikaner males may therefore feel psychologically more responsible as they are viewed as leaders and breadwinners within the Afrikaner community, and any threat to this norm may elicit greater fear from Afrikaner men than that which would be generated by Afrikaner woman.

The level of realistic threat experienced by Afrikaners is also statistically significantly different across different age groups. From the graph below it was interesting to find that the younger and oldest age groups experience

higher levels of realistic threat than the groups between age 31 to 40 (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: Realistic Threat**



The answer to Question 1 is therefore that there are significant differences between the levels of realistic threat experienced among Afrikaners.

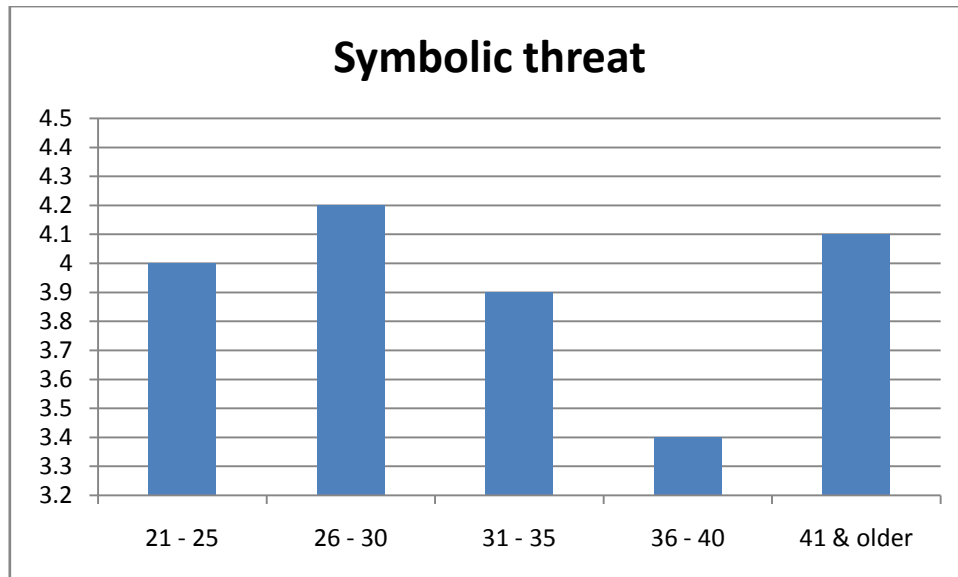
### **Symbolic Threat**

Afrikaners experience high levels of symbolic threat. Afrikaners believe that their values, norms and culture are under threat because of affirmative action policies and the beneficiaries of these policies. The data indicates that similarly to white Americans (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006), many Afrikaners may also believe that prejudice and discrimination is still prevalent, and therefore see affirmative action as violating their equity value by giving beneficiaries of affirmative action an unfair advantage.

As with realistic threat, the data in Chapter 5 clearly indicates that Afrikaner males experience higher levels of symbolic threat than Afrikaner females.

The level of symbolic threat experienced by Afrikaners is also significantly different across different age groups. From the graph below it was interesting to find that the younger and oldest age groups again experience higher levels of symbolic threat than the groups between age 31 to 40 (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Symbolic threat**



It is important to note that the age group 21 – 25 consisted mostly of woman. The score for symbolic threat may have been higher if a larger proportion of men were present in this group, as Afrikaner men were shown

to experience significantly higher levels of symbolic threat than Afrikaner woman.

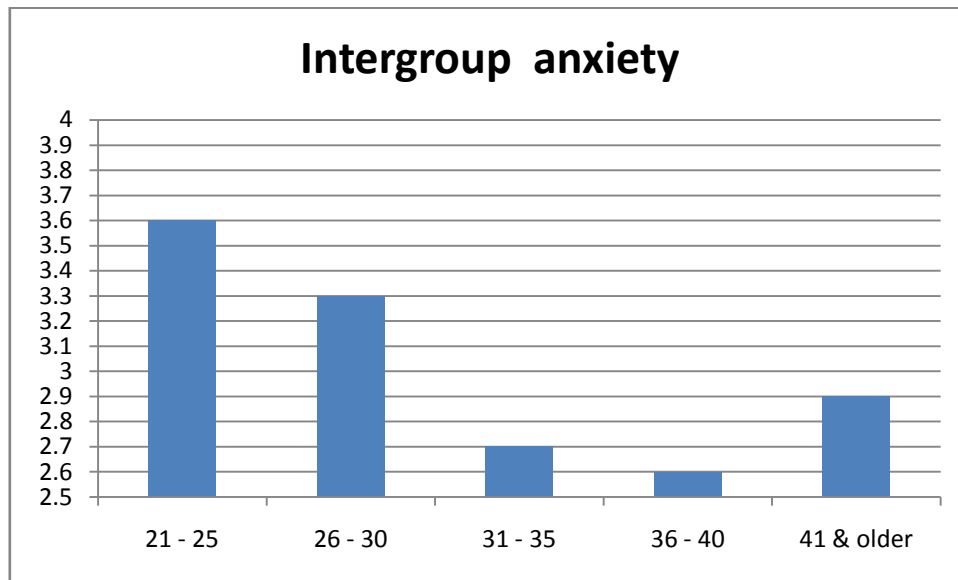
### **Inter-group anxiety**

Blake, Mania & Gaertner (2006) are of the view that as inter-group anxiety increases, so does hostility and the desire to avoid contact with out-group members. The data in Chapter 5 suggests that Afrikaners experience relatively low levels of intergroup anxiety. Afrikaners experience low levels of uneasiness and awkwardness in the presence of beneficiaries of affirmative action. Afrikaners are also certain as to how to behave toward and in the presence of beneficiaries of affirmative action.

It is particularly interesting that the level of intergroup anxiety experienced by Afrikaners is significantly lower than both realistic and symbolic threat. The hostility therefore seems to be towards the policy of affirmative action rather than the people who benefit from such policies.

The level of intergroup anxiety experienced by Afrikaners is also significantly different across different age groups. From the graph below it was interesting to find again that the younger and older group of Afrikaners experience higher levels of intergroup anxiety than the groups between age 31 to 40 (Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Intergroup anxiety**



**Negative stereotyping**

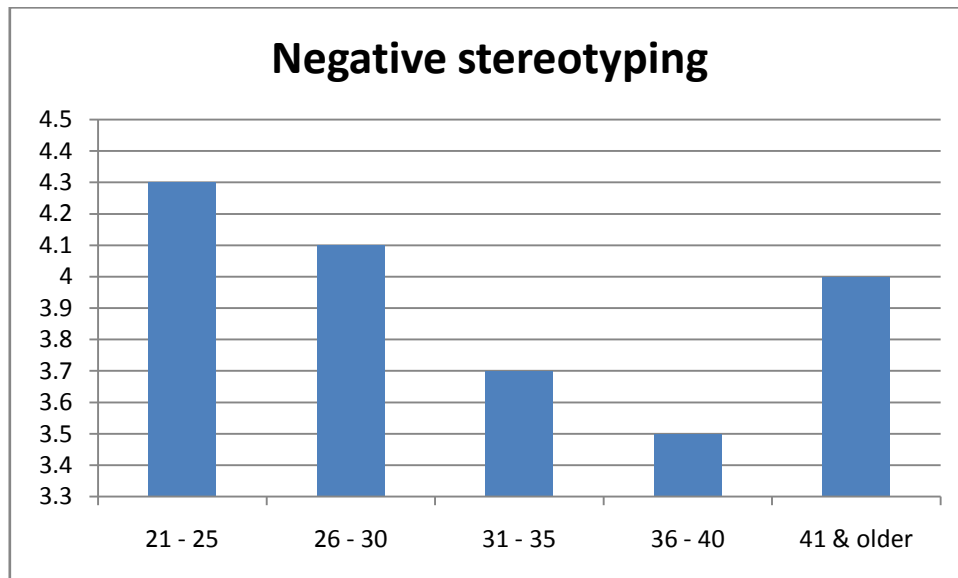
W. G. Stephan and Stephan (1996) said that because negative stereotypes represent negative expectations about out-groups, negative stereotypes occur in conjunction with negative emotions (e.g., fear, anger) toward the out-group, which intensify negative out-group attitudes (Blake, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). The data in Chapter 5 confirms that Afrikaners experience high levels of negative stereotyping. Afrikaners therefore generate threat by creating negative expectations and attitudes concerning the behaviour of beneficiaries of affirmative action.

The level of negative stereotyping by Afrikaners is also significantly different across different age groups. From the graph below it is interesting to again find that the younger and older age groups stereotype beneficiaries of



affirmative action more negatively than the groups between age 31 to 40 (Figure 4).

**Figure 4: Negative stereotyping**



**Question 1 summary:**

A number of key observations can be made from the analysis of the four different threat variables.

It is evident that Afrikaners experience realistic threat, symbolic threat and negative stereotyping to a far greater extent than intergroup anxiety. Although Afrikaners hold high levels of negative stereotyping, the low levels of intergroup anxiety suggest that Afrikaners are comfortable interacting with the beneficiaries of affirmative action. As noted in the results of the SA

Reconciliation Barometer (2009), relations between different groups of South Africans are deteriorating, this study is not able to confirm this statement, but does provide evidence that race relations may be in a bad state. The age profile seems to support this, with the younger groups of Afrikaners feeling the most threatened.

The high level of threat experienced by Afrikaners promotes the view of Sherif & Sherif (1969), that conflict and threat will increase in-group solidarity and this in turn will increase intergroup hostility.

Afrikaner men are also noticeably more threatened than Afrikaner women. Booysen (2007) indicated that white males held power at all levels of society prior to 1994. White woman held some power as they were associated with the dominant group. The power shifts that have resulted post 1994 have resulted in white males (Afrikaner males) losing political and social power. The affirmative action policies however tend to promote an even greater power shift, thereby removing the last remaining management and economic power still held by the Afrikaner male (Booyesen, 2007). The increased threat experienced by Afrikaner males is therefore understandable and the data therefore accurately reflects the threat experienced by Afrikaner males.

Another noticeable trend also appeared on inspecting the data. It is evident that the two younger groups of Afrikaners, together with the oldest group, experience the highest levels of threat amongst all Afrikaners. The two

younger age groups consistently experience the highest level of threat with the oldest group being next.

However, the results prove to be in opposition to earlier research conducted by Werner, van Doorn, & Klandermans (2008), who reported that young Afrikaners exhibited a strong form of “Collective Guilt” about apartheid, and that these were accompanied by positive attitudes toward affirmative action.

Although “Collective Guilt” was not measured as part of this study, the high levels of threat experienced by young Afrikaners indicate that this group may also have highly negative attitudes toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries.

It is also evident that the age groups 31 – 35 and 36 – 40 consistently scored second lowest and lowest respectively for all four threat variables tested. This trend was unexpected. Visser (2004) stated that many young South Africans from 1992 -1994 were delighted to be rid of the stifling cultural conformity of Afrikaner society, and the anxieties about security in the final decades of apartheid. It is important to note that the groups now aged between 31- 40, would be considered part of this young group of Afrikaners in the early 1990's to which Visser was referring.

The researcher expected the oldest group of Afrikaners to feel the most threatened, as this group of Afrikaners experienced the greatest amount of change since 1994. The researcher also expected the level of threat to

gradually become less when moving from old to young, with the youngest group being the least threatened. The researcher expected that as the younger groups of Afrikaners had spent the majority of their young lives in a democratic South Africa, there would be lower levels of threat.

The results in Chapter 5 are consistent with the literature reviewed, which suggests that the following should hold true regarding Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies:

- **Personal relevance** - as high levels of threat are experienced by Afrikaners, high levels of personal relevance is expected regarding the area of affirmative action
- **In-group identification** - as affirmative action will hold a high level of personal relevance within the Afrikaner group, we would expect high levels of in-group identification amongst Afrikaners
- **Attitude toward affirmative action** - as realistic and symbolic threat are said to be significant predictors of being in opposition to affirmative action (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006), we would expect Afrikaners, especially the two youngest and oldest groups to be most opposed to policies of affirmative action. We would also expect age groups 31- 40 to be opposed to affirmative action policies, but the least within the Afrikaner group
- **Attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action** - as intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping are said to be significant indicators

of attitude toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006), we would expect Afrikaner attitude to be negative toward beneficiaries if affirmative action, but not as negative as their attitude toward policies of affirmative action. We would expect Afrikaners, especially the two youngest and oldest groups to be most negative toward beneficiaries of affirmative action and expect age groups 31- 40 least negative within the Afrikaner group

With further discussion regarding the specific research questions set, we will be able to verify whether the literature holds true within an Afrikaner context.

### **6.3 Question 2 discussion**

Data in Chapter 5 confirms that there are no significant differences regarding personal relevance within the Afrikaner group. The personal relevance score of 4.6 was the highest of all tests conducted on the group. This indicates that Afrikaners feel that affirmative action is extremely relevant to them.

#### **Question 2 summary:**

The data confirms that affirmative action plays a major role for all groups of Afrikaners. One may have expected results consistent with the earlier results of that of the levels of threat experienced, but the high level of personal relevance across all groups indicate that strong in-group identity exists amongst Afrikaners. Although some groups of Afrikaners experience higher

threat levels than others, they all feel that affirmative action is highly relevant to the Afrikaner group.

Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason (2006) suggest that in-groups who believe that the policy of affirmative action may have detrimental effects on them or on people close to them (high personal relevance), feel threatened by and directly focus their hostility on the policy of affirmative action, not on the beneficiaries. This statement has been somewhat confirmed by data collected for Question 1 where intergroup anxiety was significantly lower than all other types of threat.

We would therefore expect that Afrikaner attitudes be significantly more negative toward policies of affirmative action, rather than the beneficiaries of these policies.

#### **6.4 Question 3 discussion**

The data in Chapter 5 confirms that there are no statistically significant differences regarding the level of in-group identification amongst the different groups of Afrikaners. The in-group identification score of 4.2 was the second highest of all tests conducted on the group. This indicates strong in-group identification amongst Afrikaners.

**Question 3 summary:**

The data confirms that Afrikaners hold a high level of in-group identification. As Werner, van Doorn & Klandermans (2008) suggested, we can assume that Afrikaners feel proud of the group to which they belong, and that being an Afrikaner is an important part of who they are.

Although Shrivastava & Gregory (2009) state that attitudes may vary depending on how strongly an individual identifies with the in-group, no significant differences in in-group identification could be found amongst Afrikaners. The high level of in-group identification supports the theory presented by Ashforth & Humphrey (1995) that many Afrikaners will act in a manner that will support the in-group, even though they may have acted differently or more independently in a different situation.

The high levels of realistic threat experienced by Afrikaners specifically revolve around the possible loss of economic resources and power. Burke (1997) stated that the meaningful activity of a group revolves around the control of resources. Any threat to these resources will result in high levels of in-group identification among the affected group.

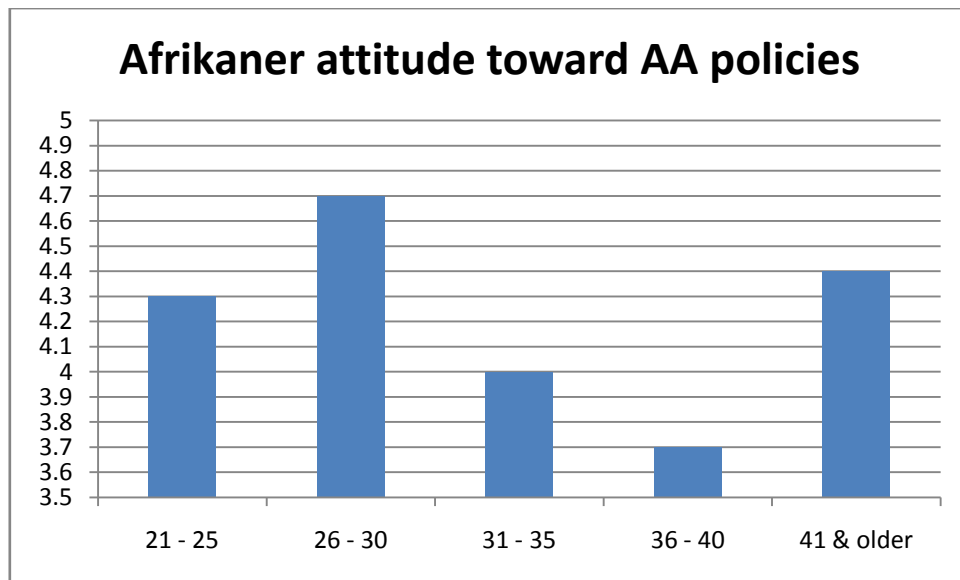
### 6.5 Question 4 discussion

The Afrikaner perceives policies of affirmative action very negatively. The data in Chapter 5 confirms that significant differences do exist as to the level of resistance within the Afrikaner population, with regards to gender and age.

Afrikaner males are more resistant toward affirmative action policies than Afrikaner females.

Afrikaner resistance to affirmative action is also significantly different across different age groups. From the graph below it was interesting to find that again the younger and oldest age groups were more resistant to affirmative action policies than the groups between age 31 to 40 (Figure 5).

**Figure 5: Afrikaner attitude toward AA policies**





It is important to note that the age group 21 – 25 consisted mostly of woman. The score for this group may have been higher if a larger proportion of men were present in this group, as Afrikaner men were shown to be more negative toward policies of affirmative action than woman.

#### **Question 4 summary:**

The results in chapter five are consistent with the theory highlighted by Beaton & Tougas (2001) that racially based affirmative action programs are highly resisted. The perception held by the South African Department of Labour (2010) that most Afrikaners are anti-affirmative action is indeed correct.

Afrikaner males are specifically targeted in affirmative action policies, and they experience higher levels of threat than their female counterparts. Afrikaner males have experienced larger power shifts due to the implementation of affirmative action policies, therefore the increased negativity presented by Afrikaner males is understandable and expected.

The results are also consistent with that of the level of threat experienced by Afrikaners. In both cases the two youngest groups together with the oldest group of Afrikaners are most threatened, and most negative toward policies of affirmative action. We again see the same trend as with integrated threat theory, that the age groups 31 - 40, although negative toward policies of affirmative action, are again the groups that show the least opposition. This

trend supports the findings of Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle & Clack (2009) where the younger generation of white South Africans feel that they are unfairly prejudiced by affirmative action, and therefore the most negative toward these policies.

As discussed in Question 1, the highest levels of threat were consistently experienced by the two youngest and oldest groups of Afrikaners. The trend continued when measuring Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action policies. The data is in clear opposition to the findings of Werner, van Doorn, & Klandermans (2008), who stated that young Afrikaners have positive attitudes toward policies of affirmative action. There is no indication in this study as to why this difference arose; this is a potential area for future research.

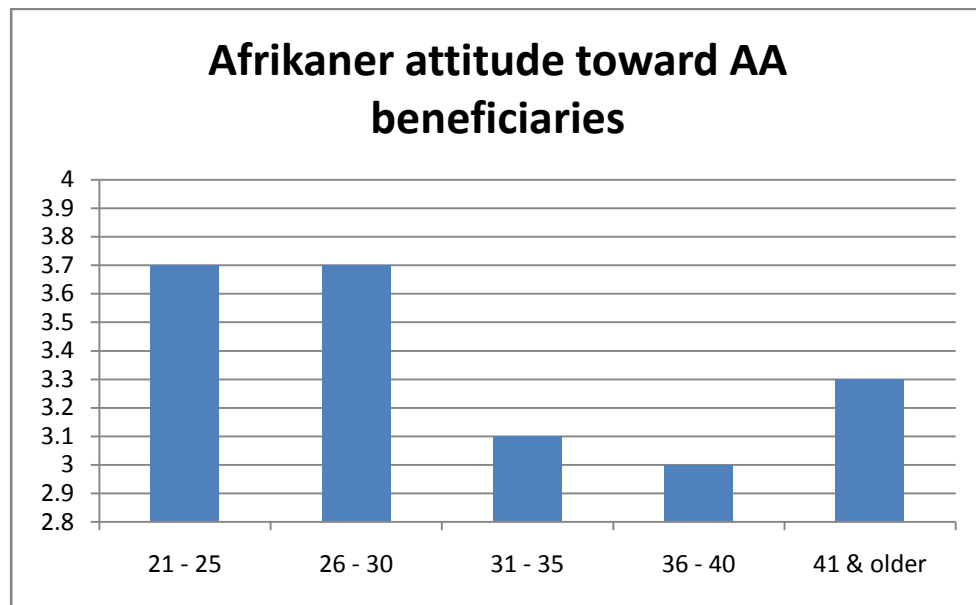
## 6.6 Question 5 discussion

The Afrikaner perceives the beneficiaries of affirmative action negatively, but not as negatively as the policies of affirmative action. This confirms the theory of Renfro et al (2006) which suggests that attitudes will be less negative toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action policies that toward the actual policies if the in-group feels a high level of personal relevance.

The data in chapter five confirms that significant differences in attitude do exist in terms of different age groups, but not between different genders of Afrikaners.

From the graph below it was again interesting to find that the younger and oldest age groups were more negative toward beneficiaries of affirmative action than the groups between age 31 to 40 (Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Afrikaner attitude toward AA beneficiaries**



The answer to Question 5 is therefore that there are significant differences between various groups of Afrikaners attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action.

**Question 5 summary:**

Integrated threat theory has been used successfully to predict attitudes between different groups. Attitudes have been measured successfully between Mexicans and Americans (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, Intergrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States, 2000), and also between men and woman (Stephan C. W., Stephan, Demitrakis, Yamada, & Clason, 2000). The results from this test is consistent with earlier findings regarding the level of threat experienced by Afrikaners, the level of personal relevance, and also the Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action. The data is also consistent across the different age groups.

The data also confirms Krumm & Corning (2008) theory that in-groups will judge out-group members more harshly if they feel that they do not share common goals or are threatened by them.

As with the different types of threat and Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action, the two youngest groups are again amongst the most negative toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action.

## 6.7 Question 6 discussion

The data in chapter 5 indicates that there is a significant positive correlation between integrated threat theory and Afrikaner attitude toward policies of affirmative action.

### Question 6 summary:

It is evident that realistic threat and symbolic threat are stronger predictors of attitude toward affirmative action policy than intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping. This is consistent with the theory presented by Renfro et al (2006), stating that both realistic threat and symbolic threat are significant predictors of opposition to policies of affirmative action and attitudes toward its beneficiaries.

## 6.8 Question 7 discussion

The data in chapter 5 indicates that there is a statistically significant positive correlation between integrated threat theory and Afrikaner attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action.

### Question 7 summary:

It is also evident that inter-group anxiety and negative stereotyping are significant predictors of attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action

policy. This is consistent with the theory presented by Renfro et al (2006), stating that both realistic threat and symbolic threat are significant predictors of attitude toward beneficiaries of affirmative action, but not as significant predictors of attitude toward policies of affirmative action.

## 6.9 Cause for concern

It was expected that Afrikaners would have negative attitudes toward policies of affirmative action and also its beneficiaries, the fact that young Afrikaners aged 20 – 30 consistently feel the most threatened and have of the most negative attitudes is worrying. It is even more concerning as these results are in direct contradiction to results obtained in previous studies, claiming that young Afrikaners had positive attitudes toward policies of affirmative action.

As the study presents only a snapshot in time, the researcher would like to provide possible reasons as to why the younger generation is experiencing these high levels of threat and are so negative. Possible explanations could be:

**Current environment** – as indicated in Chapter 1, affirmative action is a topic receiving large media attention. Young Afrikaners are therefore constantly presented with messages that increase the levels of threat, and influence their attitude toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries. Young Afrikaners may therefore form opinions about the out-group different to those

they may have created by interacting with the beneficiaries of affirmative action policies.

**Entering the workplace** – young people who are entering the workplace may find it more difficult to get jobs due to policies of affirmative action than those Afrikaners who have already established themselves and already have employment. This may result in them finding that affirmative action affects them more personally and their attitudes being more negative.

**Responsibility** - Young Afrikaners may feel less responsible for apartheid and therefore less guilty about the injustices of the past. Young Afrikaners may therefore feel increased negativity toward affirmative action and its beneficiaries as they are being held responsible for something over which they had no control.

It is the researcher's opinion that the results of this data are reflective and accurate of all Afrikaners living in South Africa, and not only for the Afrikaners represented in this sample.

## 6.10 Chapter summary

Afrikaner attitudes toward both the policy of affirmative action and the beneficiaries of affirmative action were related to the perception of threats to the in-group as a whole. The researcher is now in a position to see if all objectives have been met.

Overall the findings are consistent with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, with the exception that young Afrikaners are highly threatened and experience highly negative attitudes toward policies of affirmative action and the beneficiaries of these policies. The next chapter will offer recommendations.



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## 7 Conclusion

### 7.1 Findings highlights

The research made use of Integrated Threat Theory and Social Identity Theory to accurately measure the level of threat experienced by Afrikaners, and their attitude toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries. The combination of the two theories established reliability of the results and also allowed for the research objectives to be met.

We now have a clearer understanding of Afrikaner attitudes toward affirmative action and its beneficiaries, and also understand where differences lie within the group.

Key findings shown by the research will be discussed below.

#### **Personal relevance & in-group identification**

The research shows that Afrikaners find policies of affirmative action as being extremely relevant to themselves within the current South African context. Afrikaners hold a strong sense of in-group identification and also experience high levels of threat by both the policies of affirmative action, and to a lesser extent to its beneficiaries. Research has proved that there are no significant

differences experienced by Afrikaners regarding the level of personal relevance or in-group identification.

### **Threat**

Although high levels of threat are experienced by Afrikaners, research results have shown that Afrikaners experience threat differently from one another. The level of threat experienced correlated well with the attitude toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries.

### **Afrikaner attitude toward AA and its beneficiaries**

Afrikaners attitudes are significantly more negative toward policies of affirmative action than toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action. Afrikaner attitudes toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries also differ across different groups.

### **Age & gender**

It was the researcher's opinion that threat levels will decline and attitudes toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries will improve as we moved from the older to younger generation of Afrikaner. This was proved incorrect by the research.

The results indicate that the younger generation Afrikaners together with Afrikaner males are more negative toward policies of affirmative action than to the beneficiaries of affirmative action.

Below the researcher provides some recommendations.

## 7.2 Policy recommendations

The results of these studies have important implications for people who wish to change public opinion with respect to affirmative action. Although attitudes toward the policy of affirmative action and attitudes toward the beneficiaries of affirmative action were correlated, it should be noted that the factors predicting these two types of attitudes were not identical.

The data confirms previous research indicating that when a public policy is perceived as detrimentally affecting one's own personal interests or the interests of one's group that policy will be viewed negatively (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006). It is evident from the data that Afrikaners perceive the threat of affirmative action to be immediate and this could create the strong links between personal relevance, realistic and symbolic threats.

It is of utmost importance that South Africa educate people and institutions as to the actual implementation of the policy of affirmative action and phrasing the policy in nonthreatening terms. As Afrikaners experience high levels of threat, it is important to focus on lowering the perceived symbolic and realistic threats, and reducing concerns about personal relevance. This should result

in decreases in opposition to affirmative action as well as decrease the level of threat experienced.

Sadly the opposite also holds, if Afrikaners were to focus their attempts on increasing the perceived threats, providing a threatening definition of affirmative action, and increasing the salience of personal relevance, they probably would be able to increase opposition to affirmative action.

South African policymakers should definitely take Afrikaner perceptions on threat into consideration when making and presenting policy issues to the public. For example, Veilleux and Tougas (1989) found that when the policy was defined in terms of its benefits, it was rated more favorably than when the policy was defined in terms of preferential treatment.

### **7.3 Future research**

We have established that significant differences lie among the Afrikaner group regarding the level of threat experienced and their attitude toward policies of affirmative action and its beneficiaries. It is important that we understand these differences better. Research limitations were discussed earlier in Chapter 4.

#### **7.3.1 Wider demographics**

In order to further investigate the differences in Afrikaner attitude toward affirmative action policies and its beneficiaries a number of variables could

be investigated to provide greater insight to the differences we have already identified.

**Level of education** – it would be beneficial to understand the level of education of the various respondents and whether differences in threat and attitude exist based on different levels of education. The assumption is made that an educated person would be more informed as to why these policies are being implemented and would therefore have more consideration as to their implementation.

**Employment and income** – the level of a respondent's employment, their income and whether or not they have been personally affected by affirmative action may influence the level of threat and attitude of the respondent. It would be beneficial to find if any correlation exists between these variables and whether further sub-groups will exist amongst Afrikaners.

**Level of intergroup interaction** – the study tested threat levels based on inter-group interaction but did not measure the level of intergroup interaction between Afrikaners and other groups. It would be beneficial to understand if the level of interaction with beneficiaries of affirmative action will influence the level of threat and attitude of Afrikaners.

**Political affiliation** – as policies of affirmative action are implemented mainly by the governing ANC party, it would be interesting to find whether

the level of threat experienced and negative attitude toward these policies by Afrikaners are influenced by the political affiliation of the individual.

### **7.3.2 Increased sample**

It would be beneficial to increase the sample size and insure that a representative group of males and females are part of all age groups. We found that the age group 21 -25 consisting primarily out of females and this may have resulted in scores indicating lower levels of threat and attitudes being less negative than if more males were included. It would also be important to test the attitudes of Afrikaners aged 16 - 20 and allow for specific group for 41 and older.

### **7.3.3 Longitudinal study**

It is important to remember that this study represents a snapshot in time. Afrikaner attitudes may change due to a number of variables. It is important to measure the level of threat and attitude of this group in order to identify any possible trends over time. The results will inform us whether the group is becoming more accepting of the affirmative action policies and its beneficiaries.

#### **7.3.4 White English speaking South Africans**

Although this study focuses on the differences within the Afrikaner group only, it is important to identify whether white English speaking white South Africans experience the same level of threat and have the same level of attitudes toward affirmative action and its beneficiaries.

#### **7.4 Conclusion**

Although more variables could have been added to the investigation, the research objectives were met. Various recommendations have been made. Many future research ideas have been tabled. On a personal level the research project has been an amazing journey, which has allowed for many growth opportunities.

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## 9 Appendix

### Research questionnaire

#### Voorbeeld Instruksies vir die Deelnemers

##### Agtergrond:

Die volgende navorsing vorm deel van die voltooiing van 'n MBA-program by die Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS).

Die vraelys vra jou mening oor Regstellende Aksie en die begunstigdes van hierdie beleid. Ons is geïnteresseerd om te leer oor die huidige Afrikaner-sentiment, sestien jaar na die eerste demokratiese verkiesing in 1994. Die meeste navorsing wat uitgevoer is oor Regstellende Aksie is in ander lande gedoen. In Suid-Afrika is toestande egter anders in vele opsigte.

Hierdie navorsing kyk na hoe mense wat voorheen bevoordeel was nou reageer op Regstellende Aksie en die begunstigdes daarvan.

Die bevindinge van hierdie navorsing sal help met die ontwikkeling van beleid en implementering van strategieë, wat toegang tot gelyke ekonomiese geleenthede vir almal aan moedig.

##### Instruksies:

Die vraelys bestaan uit nege afdelings. Voltooi asseblief elke vraag in elke afdeling.

Daar is geen regte of verkeerde antwoord nie. Ons wil net hê dat u die vrae openhartig en eerlik antwoord.

Hierdie vraelys moet slegs deur blanke Afrikaners wat Afrikaans as hul moedertaal praat ingevul word.

**Anonimiteit:**

- **Moet asseblief nie jou naam op die vraelys of die antwoordblad plaas nie**
- **Data sal gestoor word sonder merktekens wat die deelnemer kan identifiseer**
- **Slegs gesommeerde inligting sal verskaf word in die navorsing**

**Toestemming:**

Deur hierdie vraelys in te vul gee ek toestemming dat my anonieme antwoorde gebruik mag word vir hierdie projek soos hierbo bespreek. Ek is ook bewus daarvan dat die resultate van hierdie navorsing gepubliseer mag word in verskillende vorme van media. Ek verstaan dat ek ter enige tyd kan onttrek van hierdie navorsing.

## Vraelys

### Deel I

**Instruksies:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke vraag om die stelling te merk waarmee jy die meeste saamstem. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

1. My algemene houding teenoor regstellende aksie is negatief.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

2. Regstellende aksie moet uitgebrei word in meer dele van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing.

Verskil Sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

3. Regstellende aksie het te ver gegaan.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

4. Ek ondersteun regstellende aksie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

5. Regstellende aksie moet so gou as moontlik einde kry.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

6. Regstellende aksie het sy doelwitte bereik en kan dus beëindig word.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

7. Regstellende aksie is nie die beste oplossing vir die probleme van ongelikheid in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

8. Regstellende aksie moet meer kragtig afgedwing word.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

9. Rassisme is in die verlede, so regstellende aksie is nie meer nodig nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

10. Regstellende aksie is nog steeds nodig omdat die werk nog nie klaar is nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

11. Regstellende aksie moet nie toegelaat word om vir ewig aan te gaan nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

12. Regstellende aksie is verkeerd want kwotas is onregverdig.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

## Deel II

**Instruksies:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke vraag om die stelling te merk waarmee jy die meeste saamstem. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

-----

-----

1. Regstellende aksie lei tot duur regsgedinge wat maatskappye, wat deur Afrikaners besit word, finansiëel seer maak.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

2. Regstellende aksie bevorder vyandigheid en geweld teenoor Afrikaners.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

3. Regstellende aksie verhoog Suid-Afrika se vermoë om suksesvol in die wêreld ekonomie mee te ding.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

4. Regstellende aksie is 'n vermorsing van die regering se geld.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

5. Die regering se fokus op regstellende aksie het daartoe gelei dat belangrike politieke kwessies en ekonomiese probleme geïgnoreer word.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam





Appendix

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6. Die begunstigdes van regstellende aksie ontvang ekonomiese voordele wat aan ander geweier word.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

### Deel III

**Instruksies:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke vraag om die stelling te merk waarmee jy die meeste saamstem. Gebruik 'n X om jou keuse aan te dui.

1. Regstellende aksie hou geen bedreiging vir die kulturele praktyke van die meerderheid van Afrikaners in nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

2. Die soort mense wat voordeel trek uit regstellende aksie het dieselfde werk etiek as die meerderheid Afrikaners.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

3. Regstellende aksie is moreel verkeerd.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

4. Regstellende aksie hou min of geen bedreiging in vir die morele waardes van meeste Afrikaners nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

5. Regstellende Aksie hou min of geen bedreiging in vir die hoop en aspirasies/ambisie van die Afrikaner nie.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam



Appendix

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6. Die soort mense wat voordeel trek uit regstellende aksie het dieselfde basiese waardes as die meeste Afrikaners.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

### Deel IV

**Instruksies:** Vir elk van die items wat hieronder gelys word, dui aan hoe jy sou voel gedurende interaksie met die begunstigdes van die regstellende aksie beleid. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

-----

**Ek voel .... wanneer ek met 'n Begunstigde van Regstellende Aksie te doen het:**

1.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Glad nie			Uiters	
	Gemaklik nie			Gemaklik	

2.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Glad nie			Uiters	
	Onseker nie			Onseker	

3.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Glad nie			Uiters	
	met Selfvertroue nie			Selfvertroue	

4.

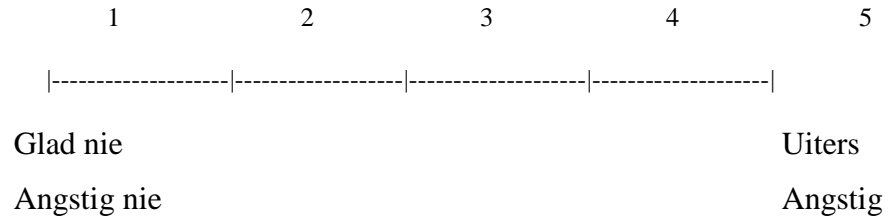
	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Glad nie			Uiters	
	Ongemaklik nie			Ongemaklik	



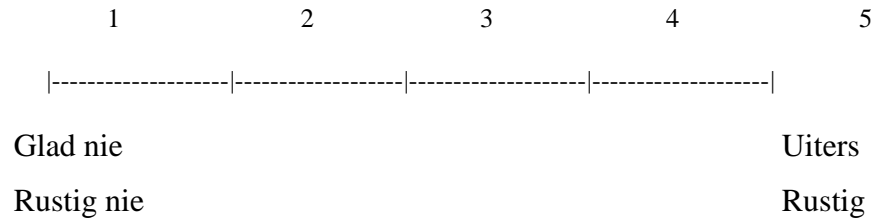
Appendix

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5.



6.



## Deel V

**Instruksies:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke vraag om die stelling te merk waarmee jy die meeste saamstem. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

-----

### Die meerderheid Begunstigdes van Regstellende Aksie is:

#### 1. Hardwerkend

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

#### 2. Intelligent

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

#### 3. Onvriendelik

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

#### 4. Bevoegd

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

#### 5. Volhardend

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

## 6. Deernisvol

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

## 7. Arrogant

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

## 8. Onbetroubaar

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

## Deel VI

**Instruksies:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke vraag om die stelling te merk waarmee jy die meeste saamstem. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

-----

1. Om 'n Afrikaner te wees is onbelangrik in verband met my gevoel oor watter soort persoon ek is.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

2. In die algemeen, is die feit dat ek 'n Afrikaner is, 'n belangrike deel van my selfbeeld.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

3. Om Afrikaans te praat is 'n belangrike deel van wie ek is.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

4. Ek is trots op wat die Afrikaner volk bereik het in Suid-Afrika.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam



## Deel VII

**Instruksies:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke vraag om die stelling te merk waarmee jy die meeste saamstem. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

-----

1. Regstellende aksie verminder my kans om werk te kry vir beroepe waarvoor ek gekwalifiseerd is.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

2. Regstellende aksie verminder my familie se kans om werk te kry vir beroepe waarvoor hulle gekwalifiseerd is.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

3. Regstellende aksie verminder party van my vriende se kans om werk te kry vir beroepe waarvoor hulle gekwalifiseerd is.

Verskil sterk	Verskil Matig	Verdeeld	Stem Gematig Saam	Stem Volkome Saam

## Deel VIII

**Instructions:** Maak gebruik van die skaal onder elke item om aan te dui in hoe 'n mate jy saamstem met die stellings. Gebruik 'n **X** om jou keuse aan te dui.

-----

**My houding teenoor die Begunstigdes van Regstellende Aksie is:**

1.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Geen Afkeur			Uiterse	
	Nie			Afkeur	

2.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Geen Bewondering			Uiterse	
	Nie			Bewondering	

3.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Geen Vyandigheid			Uiterse	
	Nie			Vyandigheid	

4.

	1	2	3	4	5
	----- ----- ----- -----				
	Geen Aangetrokkenheid			Uiterse	
	Nie			Aangetrokkenheid	



Appendix

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5.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Wrok

Erge

Nie

Wrok

6.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Waardering

Uiterse

Nie

Waardering

7.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Minagting

Uiterse

Nie

Minagting

8.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Respek

Baie

Nie

Respek

9.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Haat

Erge

Nie

Haat



Appendix

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10.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Vriendelikheid

Uiterse

Nie

Vriendelikheid

11.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Afgryse

Uiterse

Nie

Afgryse

12.

1 2 3 4 5

-----|-----|-----|-----|

Geen Warmte

Uiterse

Nie

Warmte

---

## Deel IX: Demografiese Inligting

### 1. Geslag:

A = vroulik    B = manlik

### 2. Ouderdom:

A = 16-20    B = 21-25    C = 26-30    D = 31-35    E = 36-40

F = 41-45    G = 46 en ouer