The Impact of Social Change on Social Dominance Theory and Social Identity Theory

by

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Acknowledgements

Declaration

Student number: 53316401

I declare that *

The Impact of Social Change on Social Dominance Theory and Social Identity Theory is my

own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and

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Abstract

Social dominance theory (SDT) and Social identity theory (SIT) are theoretical frameworks that have been conceptualised and examined in societies that predominantly have stable intergroup relations. The present study sought to examine both theoretical frameworks in a context that is undergoing social change. Three cross-sectional studies were conducted amongst black and white students from a South African University. Results indicated that there was no difference in the desire for group-based inequality (i.e. social dominance orientation, SDO) amongst groups affected by social change, when group status was measured subjectively. Yet, when group status was determined sociologically, dominant group members had significantly higher SDO levels. Furthermore, results indicated that the perception of social change had a conditional effect on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action amongst white participants, in that when white participants perceived higher in-group status loss, higher SDO levels predicted opposition towards affirmative action. Racial in-group identification had a conditional effect on the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action amongst black participants; when black participants had higher racial in-group identification, greater perception of social change predicted support for affirmative action. Lastly, amongst black participants, hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths had a conditional effect on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. Specifically, when colourblindness or Ubuntu were endorsed, higher SDO predicted support for affirmative action. However, when these hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths were rejected, higher SDO predicted opposition towards affirmative action.

Key Terms: social dominance theory, social identity theory, social change, affirmative action, dominant and non-dominant groups, racial in-group identification.

<center>**Introduction**</center>

"The only thing that is constant is change" (Heraclitus, trans, as cited in Robinson, 1968). Societies, political systems and groups are therefore not immune to the inevitability of change. Historical accounts of change in societies are plentiful, for example, the end of apartheid in South Africa, the autumn of nations in Eastern Europe and the more recent Arab spring.

Social change can come in various forms, and changes can occur in the politics, religion, technology and economics of a society (Vaughan, 1978). Moreover, changes to these various social structures can either be pronounced or negligible (de la Sablonnière, Tougas, & Lortie-Lussier, 2009). Durrheim (2014, p. 1767) referred to social change as an occurrence which changes "...how people live…" and "…what they do…", thus can have a profound impact on how institutions operate. Tajfel (1974, p. 78) defines social change as an alteration of how groups relate to each other and interact in a society. Additionally, social change refers to the expectation of change; the fear of an impending change and the planning of social change (Tajfel, 1974, p. 78).

Prominent scholars have argued that social dominance theory (SDT) and social identity theory (SIT) are frameworks that can advance our understanding of hierarchical relations between groups when they are stable and when they undergo social change (see Reynolds, Jones, O'brien, & Subasic, 2013). Specifically, social dominance theory has emphasised how hierarchical intergroup relations are maintained by examining the dominant groups' outright support for social policies and ideologies that protect their privileged position and how non-dominant groups[1] support social policies and ideologies that are either for or against the non-dominant group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Reynolds et al., 2013). On

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[1] In the current study non-dominant group refers to groups who as a result of comparing themselves with the dominant group economically, perceive a negative comparison outcome; this would be consistent with social identity theory. On the other hand, social dominance theory would use the term subordinate group to describe groups that have less economic resources relative to the dominant group.

the other hand, social identity theory has highlighted perceptions of instability and illegitimacy of the dominant group's status position by non-dominant group members, as an antecedent in taking steps at challenging these intergroup differences (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Reynolds et al., 2013).

Although both SDT and SIT have given us an understanding of intergroup relations prior to social change, to our knowledge both theoretical approaches have not been examined thoroughly in contexts where hierarchical intergroup relations are being altered (see Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). For instance, in a context where social change is already underway Meyer (2004) reported results that are contrary to social dominance theory's assumption. Social identity theory, on the other hand, has accounted for the psychological and social condition under which social change is likely but not when it is already underway.

Therefore the primary objective of the current study is to test SDT and SIT in a context where intergroup relations are being affected by social change.

Literature Review

Social Dominance Theory

Foregrounding social dominance theory (SDT) is the argument that various theories such as social identity theory, realistic group conflict theory and system justification theory attempt to explain prejudice amongst groups, yet they fall short because they only consider one level of analysis, that is either psychological or sociological (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004; Pratto et al., 2006). This alleged shortfall in explaining prejudice amongst groups led Sidanius and Pratto (1999, p. 31) to conceptualise social dominance theory as a theoretical framework that aims to "integrate several levels of analysis into one coherent" approach. This means that social dominance theory is neither a psychological theory nor a sociological theory but a theoretical framework that aims to

integrate "individual personality and attitudes with institutional behaviour and social structure" (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 31; Pratto et al., 2006).

Specifically, SDT is not concerned with dominance that people have individually but is interested in the dominance that people acquire as a consequence of their belonging to a particular group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This idea of an individual's behaviour being contingent upon their social group is similar to that of Tajfel and Turner (1979), who argued that people behave or perceive the world as a function of belonging to a particular group. Yet, Sidanius et al. (2004, p. 846) highlighted the difference between the two approaches, by stating that SIT ultimately views prejudice or discrimination as stemming from "social construals of the self". In other words, SIT posits that people think of themselves as social beings but it neglects the broader structural factors that lead to intergroup oppression (Sidanius et al., 2004).

Consequently, social dominance theory owes its multi-level analysis to the integration of various theories into one framework, namely, authoritarian personality theory, group position theory, Rokeach's two value theory of political behaviour, marxism and neoclassic elite theories, social identity theory, modern thinking, evolutionary psychology and political opinion research (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 31).

Seminally, social dominance theory was conceptualised by Sidanius and Pratto (1999) after having observed the rigidity of group-based hierarchies across multiple societies. According to social dominance theory, all societies that produce economic surplus are organised according to group-based hierarchies, in that, they experience inequality in the distribution of resources (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 35). Economic surplus in this case is defined as producing more resources than is needed for consumption (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Accounting for different forms of group-based hierarchy; social dominance theory distinguishes between various types of hierarchical systems, namely, the age, gender and arbitrary-set systems (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 33). Specifically, the age system is described as a system of hierarchy in which adults have disproportionately more power than children (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The gender system is a hierarchical structure that is characterised by males being more dominant than females and the arbitrary-set system is a system of hierarchy that is socially constructed (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Social dominance theory attempts to account for the maintenance of inequality amongst groups at an individual, intergroup and institutional level of analysis (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2004; Pratto et al., 2006). In the current study we focused on social dominance orientation, the theory's main psychological mechanisms for explaining inequality amongst groups.

Social Dominance Orientation: Debates and controversies

Social dominance orientation (SDO) is a psychological orientation that attempts to explain the maintenance and undoing of group-based social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Specifically, social dominance orientation accounts for the maintenance and undoing of group-based hierarchies by predicting people's intergroup attitudes and support for ideologies (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998). Despite its utility in predicting a multitude of intergroup attitudes and ideologies, social dominance orientation has had various conceptualizations that have sparked various debates (Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011). For instance, Schmitt, Branscombe, and Kappen (2003) alluded to the ambivalent conceptualization of SDO, stating that there have been inconsistencies in defining social dominance orientation (see also Meyer & Finchilescu, 2006).

Initially, SDO was defined as the basic desire to have one's primary in-group as the dominant group relative to relevant out-groups (Sidanius, Pratto, & Brief, 1993). Similarly, Pratto et al. (1994, p. 742) stated that SDO is "… the extent to which one desires their in-group to dominate and be superior to out-groups" but added that SDO is a "… general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical, that is, ordered along a superior-inferior dimension". The latter conceptualization suggests that SDO is more than just a desire for one's in-group to be dominant but also considers people's general desire towards group-based inequality. Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, and Federico (1998) echoed this sentiment when they argued that SDO is a global drive for group domination; hence it is irrelevant whether an individual's in-group is dominant or sub-ordinate. In their seminal text, Sidanius and Pratto (1999, p. 61) defined SDO as "… a very general individual difference orientation expressing the value which people place on non-egalitarian and hierarchically structured relationships amongst social groups". In other words, SDO is the degree to which an individual expresses support or disapproval for group-based hierarchies in a particular society. More recently, Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin (2006, p. 282) defined SDO as measuring "… a generalized orientation towards and desire for unequal and dominant/subordinate relations among salient social groups, regardless of whether this implies in-group domination or subordination".

Criticisms of social dominance orientation

In all likelihood, the ambivalence in conceptualising SDO may also have led to more serious critiques, such as the contention that SDO is reflective of certain types of prejudice and discrimination (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2003; Turner & Reynolds, 2003; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2003; Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007). It is contended that SDO does not necessarily predict prejudice, discrimination, intergroup attitudes etc. as is claimed (see

Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Levin et al., 1998; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), but merely reflects these intergroup attitudes when they are salient.

Schmitt et al. (2003) illustrated this point, by asking participants to detail the identities that came to mind when they were completing an abbreviated version of the social dominance orientation scale. Results from this study indicated that the more time participants spent thinking about race while completing the SDO measure the higher their SDO levels were. Additionally, eight weeks prior to administering the abbreviated SDO scale and the questionnaire on the salient social groups, Schmitt et al. (2003) measured participants on modern racism. The modern racism scores were correlated to the amount of times people thought about race when they filled out the SDO scale and the results indicated that there was no significant relationship between modern racism and racism that came to mind prior to SDO administration (Schmitt et al., 2003). This analysis was done to control for racial prejudice (Schmitt et al., 2003). Upon further analysis it was also reported that the relationship between SDO and racism was weaker when participants thought less about racism while completing the SDO scale, suggesting that SDO was not the cause of people endorsing racist attitudes but rather the salience of race in that context (Schmitt et al., 2003). Therefore, the relationship between modern racism and SDO depended on the amount of times participants thought about racism, casting a doubt on the idea that SDO is a general predictor of prejudice (Schmitt et al., 2003).

Lehmiller and Schmitt (2007) supported this view, stating that how people feel about specific forms of inequality may have a causal effect on SDO, while Turner and Reynolds (2003, p. 200) added that "SDO is a product of social life rather than an underlying cause". Lehmiller and Schmitt (2007) demonstrated experimentally that SDO is a reflection of salient intergroup attitudes by examining the relationship between SDO and support for war against Iraq in three different conditions. Utilising students from the United States of America,

participants in the first experimental condition were presented with an article reporting on the US led invasion of Iraq (US-led aggression condition); in the second experimental condition participants were presented with an article of Saddam Hussein's oppressive treatment of Iraqi civilians (Saddam-led aggression); and in the control condition participants had to read an article about efforts to prevent a particular species of turtles from becoming extinct (Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007). Results indicated a positive significant relationship between SDO and support for the war with Iraq in the "US led invasion of Iraq" condition, whereas no significant relationship was found between SDO and support for the war against Iraq in the "Saddam Hussein's oppressive treatment of Iraqi citizens" condition (Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007). As a result of this outcome, it was concluded that SDO is not a general orientation towards hierarchy because it did not lead to support for oppressive measures in conditions where a different type of oppression was made salient (Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007).

Contributing to this debate, Huang and Liu (2005) argued that when one form of intergroup hierarchy is made salient, assumptions made about another type of group-based hierarchy should still be confirmed, even if it is not made salient. For instance, when race is made salient, the assumption that men will have a higher SDO than women should be confirmed (Huang & Liu, 2005). Similarly, when the gender-based hierarchies are made salient the assumption that the dominant race group will have a higher SDO should be confirmed (Huang & Liu, 2005). Huang and Liu's (2005) argument is based on key assumptions within social dominance theory, which stipulate that men will have a higher SDO than women because they are more dominant (also known as the invariance hypothesis) and dominant groups within the arbitrary-set system (e.g. race, ethnicity) will have a higher SDO (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

To test their premise, Huang and Liu (2005) administered two surveys to Taiwanese students. In the first survey, the gender system was made salient amongst the three main

arbitrary-set groups in Taiwan; namely Mingnan Taiwanese, Outside province Taiwanese and

Hakka Taiwanese (Huang & Liu, 2005). They reasoned that even if gender was made salient,

Mingnan Taiwanese being the most dominant group should have a higher SDO relative to

Outside province Taiwanese and Hakka Taiwanese (Huang & Liu, 2005). Results indicated

that Mingnan Taiwanese did not score significantly higher on SDO relative to Outside

province and Hakka Taiwanese, whereas men scored significantly higher on SDO relative to

women (Huang & Liu, 2005, Study 1). In a follow up survey, Huang and Liu (2005, Study 2)

inverted what was made salient in the first study, this time making the arbitrary-set group

hierarchy between Mingnan Taiwanese, Hakka Taiwanese and Outside province Taiwanese

salient. What Huang and Liu (2005) sought to ascertain was whether the invariance

hypothesis, which implicates power differentials between genders, would be supported when

not made salient. Results demonstrated that the invariance hypothesis was not supported, as

there was no significant difference in SDO scores between males and females (Huang & Liu,

2005, Study 2). However, in line with SDT, Mingnan Taiwanese had significantly higher

SDO scores when compared to Hakka Taiwanese and Outside province Taiwanese (Huang &

Liu, 2005, Study 2). These results cast doubt on the assumption that SDO is a global desire

for group-based inequality because assumptions related to non-salient intergroup hierarchies

were not confirmed.

SDO: Response to Criticisms

Responding to the criticism, SDT theorists argued that it is possible that people access

specific examples of group hierarchies when completing the SDO scale but this does not

mean that SDO is not chronic across situations and over time (Huang & Liu, 2005; Sibley &

Liu, 2010; Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011; Kteily, Ho & Sidanius, 2012; Pratto et al., 2006).

Put more concisely, Pratto et al. (2006, p. 293) stated that "… while the absolute levels might

go up and down as a result of situational influences (e.g., threat to one's group status or the salience of group identities) everything else being equal, those with relatively high SDO levels in one situation, will have high SDO levels in another situation".

Kteily et al. (2011) demonstrated the stability of SDO over a five year period amongst undergraduate students in the United States of America. Results indicated that SDO scores taken in 1996 predicted prejudice in the year 2000. Further evidence also suggested that situation specific-SDO scores in the form of race, gender and age were significantly correlated to general-SDO – supporting the claim that SDO is a general desire for group-based inequality (Sibley & Liu, 2010; Kteily et al., 2012).

In a response to the criticism that SDO merely reflects certain underlying intergroup attitudes, Kteily et al. (2012) countered by stating that making specific group categories salient when measuring SDO, as Schmitt et al. (2003) and Lehmiller and Schmitt (2007) had done in their studies changes the meaning of SDO. Frederico (1999) alluded to this, stating that items on the SDO scale are investigating individuals' general desire towards group-based hierarchies and not individual orientations towards specific intergroup hierarchies.

In an attempt to counter the view that SDO reflects context-specific intergroup attitudes, Sibley and Lui (2010) recommended that SDO measures should be accompanied by a general instruction that asks participants to think about groups in general before the SDO scale is administered. Subsequently, Kteily et al. (2012) tested whether an instruction given prior to the SDO scale being completed had an effect on participants' general orientation towards inequality amongst groups. Participants were exposed to an experimental condition where they were presented with instructions that asked them to think of groups in general before filling in the SDO scale, while in the control condition standard instructions were presented to participants (Kteily et al., 2012). These standard instructions did not instruct participants to think about groups in general before the SDO scale was presented (Kteily et

al., 2012). Results indicated that there was no significant difference in SDO's ability to predict intergroup attitudes in the experimental and control condition (Kteily et al., 2012). The implication of this finding is that it is not necessary to instruct participants to think about groups in general when administering the SDO scale and that the standard instruction that has been used previously will suffice (Kteily et al., 2012). Moreover, this result indicates that SDO as a global orientation does not need to be made salient as people will in any event make reference to a general desire for inequality amongst groups.

Conclusion

There are various competing definitions that account for SDO. One definition argues that SDO is a "globalised" or "general" view of group dominance, while the other competing definition acknowledges the "global" perspective but extends SDO's conceptualisation as a construct that is sensitive to specific intergroup contexts (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 742; Levin et al., 1998). Closely related to this ambivalent conceptualisation of SDO, more nuanced debates have taken place. Researchers who come from a social identity tradition allege that social dominance orientation merely reflects intergroup attitudes that are salient in a particular context (see Schmitt et al., 2003; Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007).

However, social dominance theorists have offered rebuttals, first arguing that when specific groups are made salient the purpose of the SDO is altered, that is, people's desire for inequality for the salient intergroup hierarchy is being assessed (Kteily et al., 2012). Secondly, social dominance theorists demonstrated SDO's stability over time by providing evidence that it predicts prejudice longitudinally (Kteily et al., 2011).

Considering the aforementioned debates, in the current study, we conceptualised SDO as a general orientation towards inequality amongst groups, even though we

acknowledge the importance of the social contexts which may make specific group-based hierarchies salient.

Introduction to group status, social policies and legitimising myths

Group Status

One of the central assumptions made by social dominance theory is that large social systems are comprised of dominant and non-dominant groups, in which the dominant group enjoys greater power, prestige and privilege (Federico, 1999). This unequal distribution of resources is thought of as positive or negative social value, meaning that the dominant group has excessive positive social value in the form of the material and symbolic resources such as money, power, health care and education, whereas the non-dominant group possess excessively less material and symbolic resources (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Consequently, differences in the distribution of symbolic and material resources lead to dominant or high status group members showing greater support for group-based inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 77). Sidanius and Pratto (1999, p. 78) provided empirical data to support this claim, when they reported that SDO corresponded with the group's position on the intergroup hierarchy. Using an Israeli sample, they demonstrated that Ashkenazi Jews who are regarded as the most dominant group had the highest desire for group-based dominance relative to Shepardic Jews who have intermediate dominance and Palestine Jews who have the least dominance (see also Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000). Additionally, other studies have indicated that men have a greater desire for group-based dominance relative to women because of disproportionate allocation of power between men and women (see Sidanius; Pratto, & Rabinowitz, 1994; Pratto, Stallworth, & Sidanius, 1997; Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Bachrach, & Hegarty, 2000).

Social policies

Higher SDO levels should then predict greater support for social policies that maintain the dominant group's position or opposition towards policies that aid the non-dominant group (Levin et al., 1998, p. 377; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 89). This was illustrated by Pratto et al. (1994) who demonstrated that higher SDO levels led to lower support for welfare programs, policies that favour homosexuals and racial policies (see also Haley & Sidanius, 2008).

Reasonably, because dominant groups are expected to have a greater desire for group-based inequality, it follows that they will also outrightly oppose social policies that aid non-dominant group members (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Whereas, non-dominant groups may either support social policies which undo inequality or oppose them (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In the instance where dominant group members oppose social policies that aid non-dominant groups and non-dominant group members also oppose social policies that are to the betterment of their in-group – this phenomena is referred to as *behavioural asymmetry* (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 227). Crucially, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) alluded to the fact that *behavioural asymmetry* occurs at varying degrees across different societies, that is to say, in societies where the intergroup hierarchy is stable, it is more likely that we find dominant and non-dominant group members opposing social policies that serve non-dominant groups. Moreover, the degree to which non-dominant groups endorse policies that favour the in-group depends on the whether the intergroup hierarchy is perceived as being legitimate or illegitimate (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 235).

Legitimising myths

Social dominance theory also contends that hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths account for the maintenance and disruption of group-based social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 38). Pratto et al. (1994, p. 742) mentioned that "…[a]ny potent ideology that describes groups as unequal and has policy implications is a legitimizing myth". This would mean that legitimising myths are beliefs, values, ideologies, causal attributions etc. that are shared by members of a particular group in society (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). For example, the belief in the superiority of a nation, race or religion that is shared socially could represent a hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myth. Crucially, legitimising myths provide "…moral and intellectual justification for social practices", thus they either promote equality or inequality amongst social groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 104). As such, they are given power not as a result of their objective "falseness" or "truth" but by their acceptance by dominant and non-dominant groups as being true or false (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 104). Moreover, hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths are used to persuade powerful and non-dominant group members of the fairness of group-based hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 103; Pratto et al., 2006, p. 276). As such the strength of legitimizing myths is determined by the degree to which dominant and non-dominant group members share these beliefs (Pratto et al., 2006).

Conclusion

From the abovementioned evidence, it seems reasonable to suggest that dominant groups will hold views and act in ways that maintain their dominant group position, whereas non-dominant group members either endorse the prevailing intergroup inequality or challenge it (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, despite SDT's vast amount of literature on how intergroup hierarchies are maintained, to our knowledge very little of it has considered SDT's

implications in contexts where social change is already taking place**.** Pratto et al. (2006) attested to this stating that SDT's assumptions are yet to be tested in societies that have emerging dominant groups; i.e., societies that are undergoing social change.

Therefore, having considered SDT's key assumptions, we posed the following questions; first, what effect does social change have on dominant and non-dominant group members' desire for inequality amongst groups? Secondly, what are the implications of social change on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action? And lastly, what impact do legitimising myths have on the relationship between social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action in a context where social change is taking place?

Overview of hypotheses based on SDT

SDO amongst dominant and non-dominant group

As mentioned earlier, SDT argues that dominant group members show greater support for inequality amongst groups relative to non-dominant group members. However, we argue that for groups affected by social change, determining the in-group's and out-group's status position is not straightforward. For instance, de la Sablonnière et al. (2009) demonstrated that when social change is taking place, groups are more likely to determine whether the in-group or relevant out-group is dominant or non-dominant by making comparisons over time – which has been described as temporal intergroup comparisons. Temporal intergroup comparisons are a result of the uncertainty that social change brings, that is, groups do not have a reference point for their in-group's status position and relevant out-group's status position when social change is taking place (de la Sablonnière et al., 2009, p. 101). From this account one could reason that in societies where intergroup hierarchies are stable the construal of the in-group

and out-group's status over time is not relevant, yet in contexts where social change is taking place status comparisons over time are important in determining status position.

Based on this understanding, one could propose that how SDO functions in contexts where social change is taking place is determined by temporal intergroup comparisons. For example, in a context where social change is already underway, Meyer's (2004) counterintuitive finding may have attested to the fact that groups affected by social change make temporal intergroup comparisons. The study reported that black South African participants had a greater desire for inequality amongst groups even though they were perceived by white South African participants as belonging to the non-dominant group (Meyer, 2004). Specifically, black South African participants were of the perception that their in-group has been gaining status and the out-group (white South Africans) has been losing and will continue losing status (Meyer, 2004). White South African participants were of the view that their in-group will continue losing status and the out-group (black South Africans) will continue gaining status (Meyer, 2004). This finding illustrates the crucial role that temporal intergroup comparisons may play in a context where social change is taking place. That is, black participants may have had a higher SDO levels because they were of the perception that their in-group has been gaining status. Despite this, Meyer (2004) did not consider that perceptions of social change may have led to this counterintuitive finding. Yet, prior to this study, Heaven, Greene, Stones, and Caputi (2000) indicated that white South African participants had higher SDO levels than black South African participants. This finding could be attributed to the following: first, the fact that in the sample, black South Africans could have been perceived as the non-dominant group and white South Africans as the dominant group. Secondly, Heaven et al. (2000) considered intergroup status from an objective sociological perspective and may inadvertently not have made social change salient psychologically as Meyer (2004) probably did. Thus, Heaven et al.'s (2000) finding is aligned

with the assertion that SDO is reflective of the objective hierarchical structure (see Pratto et al. 2006; Sibley & Liu, 2010; Kteily et al., 2012). Therefore, we maintain that dominant group members will have a greater desire for group-based inequality even when social change is underway (Hypothesis 1).

SDO and affirmative action

Social policies within the social dominance theory framework can either maintain or undo inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p.89). That is, social policies that are in favour of inequality are conceptualised as hierarchy-enhancing policies, whereas policies that pursue equality are considered hierarchy-attenuating policies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) – it then follows that affirmative action can be considered a hierarchy-attenuating policy because it is a policy measure that aids non-dominant groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 89).

As mentioned earlier, it is expected that people who score high on SDO would go on to oppose social policies that show favouritism towards non-dominant groups such as affirmative action (Sidanius &Pratto, 1999, p. 89). For example, Sidanius, Bobo, and Pratto (1996) reported a negative correlation between SDO and affirmative action attitudes amongst European Americans (also see Haley & Sidanius, 2008). However, the negative relationship between SDO and support for hierarchy-attenuating policies does not apply uniformly to non-dominant groups as it does to dominant groups (Levin, Federico, Sidanius, & Rabinowitz, 2002). In other words, dominant group members with a higher SDO outrightly reject hierarchy-attenuating policies whereas for non-dominant group members certain conditions need to be met for a higher SDO to predict opposition towards hierarchy-attenuating polices (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

As a result, studies have considered the perceptions of stability and legitimacy of intergroup hierarchies as crucial in moderating the relationship between SDO and support for

hierarchy-attenuating policies amongst dominant and non-dominant groups (see Federico, 1999; Rabinowitz, 1999; Levin et al., 2002). For instance, Federico (1999) demonstrated that when the intergroup hierarchy was seen as stable, SDO positively predicted opposition towards policies that aid non-dominant groups. This was demonstrated amongst dominant (European Americans) and non-dominant (African-Americans) groups (Federico, 1999). Crucially, when the intergroup hierarchy was considered unstable the positive relationship between SDO and opposition towards policies that aid the non-dominant groups was only statistically significant for dominant group members (Federico, 1999). From this study it is evident that amongst dominant group members the relationship between social dominance orientation and opposition towards policies that aid non-dominant group members is significant when they perceive high and low stability (Federico, 1999). This could be attributed to a strong desire to maintain inequality amongst groups because inequality serves the in-group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

In contrast, amongst non-dominant group members, there was a positive relationship between SDO and opposition towards policies that aid the non-dominant groups only when the intergroup hierarchy was perceived as being stable (Federico, 1999). Similarly, Levin, Federico, Sidanius, and Rabinowitz (2002, Study 2) reported a positive relationship between SDO and opposition to redistributive racial policies amongst non-dominant group members when the intergroup hierarchy was considered legitimate. However, this relationship was not statistically significant at low levels of perceived legitimacy (Levin et al., 2002).

Based on this evidence, the conclusion could be drawn that the perception of stability is crucial to the relationship between SDO and hierarchy-attenuating social policies. However, the perception of stability in the aforementioned studies had been examined prior to actual social change taking place amongst dominant and non-dominant groups. When socio-political change is already underway, it is the degree to which this change is perceived that

can be crucial to the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (de la Sablonnière, Auger, Taylor, Crush, & McDonald, 2013). Consequently, we expect that the perception of social change will moderate the relationship between SDO and a hierarchy-attenuating policy amongst dominant and non-dominant groups. Specifically, we expect that the perception of high in-group status gain as a result of social change will lead to a stronger positive relationship between social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 2a). We suppose that this may be because the perception that their in-group has gained and will continue to gain status leads to greater identification with the in-group and subsequent support for a policy that benefits the in-group. Also, we expect that the perception of high in-group status loss as a result of social change, will lead to a stronger negative relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 2b), as the group that perceives in-group status loss would oppose a policy that continuously threatens their in-group's status position.

SDO and Legitimising myths

Societies that have stable intergroup hierarchies are characterized by greater consensual support for hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 107; Pratto et al, 2006, p. 276). However, when there is disagreement ideologically between dominant and non-dominant groups regarding hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths then intergroup conflict is likely (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 108). As a result, one could reason that ideological disagreements could be a catalyst for social change because non-dominant group members are not complicit in their own subordination. Following this line of thinking, it could be put forward that when social change is already underway, non-dominant group members will show support for hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myths because this will ensure that the process of social change continues. Crucially, for hierarchy-attenuating

legitimising myths to drive social change their content needs to be central to the values of a culture (Pratto et al., 2000, p. 374)

Literature examining legitimising myths has indicated that for an ideology to be considered a hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myth it has to be negatively correlated with people's desire for group-based inequality (see Pratto et al., 1994; Pratto et al., 2000). For instance, Pratto et al. (1994) demonstrated that noblesse oblige was negatively related to SDO. Noblesse oblige was described as a cultural value that encourages the rich to share their wealth with the poor (Pratto et al., 1994). Furthermore, it has been argued that people who have a low desire for group-based inequality support ideologies such as multiculturalism and colourblindness (Pratto, Stewart, & Bou Zeineddine, 2013). Empirical evidence has supported this claim, indicating that SDO is negatively related to colourblindness and multiculturalism (see Levin et al., 2012). Berry (2011) conceptualised multiculturalism as the view that cultural diversity is good for society and that all cultural sub-groups should be considered equal. Colourblindness has been described as the view that people should not be judged on the basis of their affiliation to a particular group but should be treated as individuals (Levin et al., 2012). Pratto et al. (1994, p. 755) also mentioned that people who are highly empathetic and highly communal prefer egalitarian relationships amongst groups, as such one would expect the relationship between this ideology and SDO to be negative. Within the South African context this communal orientation may be best represented by the concept of Ubuntu (Sigger & Polak, 2010).

Furthermore, in order for a belief, ideology or value to be considered a legitimising myth it has to mediate the relationship between social SDO and support for hierarchy-attenuating social policies or intergroup attitudes (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al., 2000). For instance, Sibley and Duckitt (2010) investigated whether equality-meritocracy would mediate the relationship between SDO and attitudes towards social policies aimed at

promoting equality amongst high status New Zealand Europeans. Subsequent findings

indicated that equality-meritocracy mediated the relationship between SDO and social

policies that sought to bring about equality (Sibley & Duckitt, 2010). In this case equality-

meritocracy functioned as a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myth. Other studies have

demonstrated that colourblindness and multiculturalism mediate the relationship between the

SDO and prejudice amongst white America students (see Levin et al., 2012).

Despite all of this evidence, very few studies have considered the role of hierarchy-

attenuating legitimising myths as moderators. Levin et al. (2012) investigated the moderating

function of hierarchy-attenuating and hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths amongst white

Americans (dominant group). Levin et al. (2012) argued that the perception that

multiculturalism, colourblindness and assimilation are a norm in society would moderate the

relationship between SDO and prejudice. To test this assumption, participants were assigned

to three different conditions, in which multiculturalism, colourblindness and assimilation

were made normative. Assimilation was conceptualized as a hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing

myth whereas multiculturalism and colourblindness were conceptualised as hierarchy-

attenuating legitimizing myths (Levin et al., 2012). Results indicated that the relationship

between SDO and prejudice was not significant when participants were in the

multiculturalism and colourblindness normative condition, however when participants were

in the assimilation condition there was a significant positive relationship between SDO and

prejudice (Levin et al., 2012). Critically, Levin et al.'s (2012) study was conducted amongst

dominant group members in a social context that has stable intergroup hierarchies.

In an attempt to address this gap in literature, the current study also investigated the

moderation function of hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths on the relationship between

SDO and support for affirmative action. Specifically, we considered the personal

endorsement of hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths amongst black participants. Due to

the fact that the present study is exploratory in nature, we sought to establish whether multiculturalism, colourblindness, noblesse oblige and Ubuntu respectively, would have a conditional effect on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 3).

As mentioned in the introduction, social identity theory is one of the theories that accounts for intergroup behaviour that makes social change likely. Therefore, as one of our primary objectives, we sought to test the social identity model in a context where social change is already underway.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory's (SIT) main assumption is that people are motivated to maintain and enhance their positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, SIT suggests that groups comparing themselves to relevant out-groups can lead to a positive or negative evaluation of their in-group; i.e., a positive or negative comparison outcome (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Reasonably, the theory explains the process of maintaining or striving for a positive social identity, by arguing that the ramifications of a negative comparison outcome with a relevant out-group lead to the utilisation of various identity management strategies (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Specifically, non-dominant group members are more likely to strive for a positive social identity as a result of their "subjective" low status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 43). Consequently, non-dominant group members will employ various identity management strategies to achieve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The type of identity management strategy employed is determined by non-dominant group members' perceptions of the legitimacy, stability and permeability of the intergroup context, these factors are known as socio-structural variables (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Identity management strategies

Three primary identity management strategies have been conceptualised within the SIT framework, namely individual mobility, social creativity and social competition. As previously stated, the type of identity management strategy utilised will be determined by the perception of socio-structural variables (Tajfel, 1974). Therefore, identity management strategies are useful for non-dominant group members in striving for a positive comparison outcome and for dominant group members in maintaining a positive comparison outcome (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

One of the strategies that can be used by non-dominant group members is individual mobility. Turner and Brown (1978, p. 204) stated that individual mobility arises when "…an individual leaves or disassociates himself from his erstwhile group". Said differently, it is when a person disassociates psychologically from their in-group as a consequence of a negative comparison outcome and joins, or tries to join the dominant group to fulfil their need for positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Generally, for individual mobility to be possible there has to be permeable intergroup boundaries and the perception that the prevailing intergroup hierarchy is legitimate and stable (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Under conditions where intergroup boundaries are not permeable SIT predicts that members of a non-dominant group may employ social creativity or social competition as identity management strategies (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Social creativity is an identity management strategy that comes in various forms. Turner and Brown (1978) mentioned that non-dominant group members could, in order to achieve a positive social identity, compare themselves to the relevant dominant out-group on *new comparison dimensions.* For example, black South Africans may prefer to compare their in-group to white South Africans (out-group) in terms of political status rather than economic status – to achieve positive distinctiveness. An alternative within social creativity is changing

the *negative connotation* of a particular characteristic attributed to the in-group. Turner and Brown (1978) added that this change in a person's values regarding intergroup comparisons happens when a group characteristic which was previously made negative is made positive. An example of this is a black person asserting that Black is beautiful. Another variation of social creativity is avoiding comparison with dominant groups in favour of intra-group comparisons or comparisons with other non-dominant out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Brown, 1978).

What is common between individual mobility and social creativity is that the intergroup status relations remain the same. That is, the status might change for an individual when s/he employs individual mobility but the intergroup status relations remain the same (Tajfel, 1974). Similarly, when social creativity is utilised, people change the comparison dimension, comparison group or change their values, yet the intergroup hierarchy remains unaltered (Becker, 2012). Consequently, the only identity management strategy that aims to directly change the intergroup status relations is social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Becker, 2012).

Social competition occurs when in-group members seek positive distinctiveness through "direct competition with the out-group" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 44). This strategy is said to generate intergroup conflict between dominant and non-dominant groups, as the non-dominant group members may attempt to dislodge the dominant group from their status position (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Brown, 1978). Moreover, social competition is utilised when the current status quo between the dominant and non-dominant groups is considered illegitimate and unstable – and when intergroup boundaries are impermeable. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Ellemers, Wilke, & Knippenberg, 1993). Tajfel (1974, p. 79) referred to illegitimate intergroup inequalities as the dominant group's position being based on "unfair advantages", "various other forms of injustices" , "exploitation" and the "illegitimate use of

force", which is questioned by dominant or non-dominant group members. On the other hand, instability is concerned with the extent to which the dominant group's position is seen as being mutable or under threat (Tajfel, 1974, p. 76).

Consequently, it could be argued that social competition is crucial in facilitating social change because non-dominant group members utilise social competition to challenge the dominant group's status position (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Brown, 1978), whereas dominant group members may utilise social competition to maintain existing intergroup relations (Dumont & van Lill, 2009). Moreover, one could reason that support for affirmative action is a proxy for social competition because it is a mechanism that seeks to aid non-dominant group members in gaining more economic resources.

Having mentioned that stability, legitimacy and permeability are important to the selection of identity management strategies, the extent to which dominant and non-dominant group members identify with the in-group is also crucial in determining whether they utilise social competition (Ellemers et al., 1993; Turner, 1999). As a result, the relationship between in-group identification and a support for affirmative action amongst dominant and non-dominant groups is also crucial.

In-group identification: social competition and support for affirmative action

Tajfel (1974, p. 82) alluded to the importance of in-group identification when group behaviour is considered (see also Tajfel & Turner 1979; Ellemers & Barreto, 2003). Specifically, the extent to which people identify with their in-group is important in determining whether non-dominant group members engage in social competition (Turner, 1999). For instance, Tajfel and Turner (1979) stated that non-dominant group members who utilise individual mobility will show less identification with their in-group.

Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, and Mielke (1999b) argued that in-group identification mediates the relationship between the perceptions of socio-structural variables and identity management strategies (see also Tajfel & Turner 1979, p. 43). Ellemers et al. (1993) demonstrated experimentally that when the assignment of non-dominant status is perceived as illegitimate in-group identification increases. Crucially, Ellemers et al. (1993) also investigated the conditions under which non-dominant group members will engage in social competition and results indicated that when participants perceived the intergroup hierarchy as unstable and illegitimate they engaged in social competition.

Studies that have examined the interaction between in-group identification and attitudes towards affirmative action suggest that opposition to affirmative action amongst dominant group members is related to high in-group identification (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006) whereas, high in-group identification amongst non-dominant group members is related to support for affirmative action (Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011).

Specifically, Lowery et al. (2006) postulated that White Americans' opposition to affirmative action is a function of their concern for their in-group independent of the out-group's outcome. Consequently, White Americans' perception of affirmative action will be determined by whether they see this policy as detrimental to their in-group. To test this assumption, Lowery et al. (2006) assigned white participants to conditions where either affirmative action was presented as disadvantageous to white people and to a second condition where affirmative action was presented as not harming white people's interests. Subsequently, Lowery et al. (2006) measured white racial identity and support for affirmative action in each condition. Results indicated that in the "white disadvantage" condition white racial identity was negatively correlated with support for affirmative action and in the "white no effect" condition the relationship between white racial identity and affirmative action was

not significant. This suggests that in-group identification only drives opposition towards affirmative action when the policy is perceived as a threat to the in-group. Subsequently, in a cross-sectional study, Cakal et al. (2011) demonstrated that high in-group identification amongst black South African students (non-dominant group members) is related to support for policies that favour their in-group.

Theoretically, one could also argue that support or opposition towards affirmative action amongst dominant and non-dominant members represents a form of in-group favouritism. For instance, Ellemers and Barreto (2003) alluded to this by stating that in-group favouritism leads to allocating more rewards to the in-group rather than the out-group. With Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, and Manstead (2006) adding that in-group favouritism can be used to facilitate social competition.

Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, and Hume (2001) reported in their meta-analysis that when the intergroup stratification was seen as stable, dominant groups showed more in-group favouritism when compared to non-dominant group members. Yet, when the intergroup stratification was seen as unstable, dominant and non-dominant groups had similar levels of in-group bias (Bettencourt et al., 2001). This finding suggests that when non-dominant group members are of the perception that the relations between them and the dominant group are set to change they also show greater favouritism towards their in-group, thus they are more likely to pursue social competition. Earlier, Ellemers, van Knippenberg, and Wilke (1990) confirmed that unstable intergroup hierarchies lead to the preference of social competition, that is, non-dominant group members who were in the unstable intergroup hierarchy condition showed a greater desire to improve the in-group's status. Dumont and van Lill (2009) corroborated this pattern when they reported that black South Africans (non-dominant group) who perceived that the intergroup hierarchy was legitimate, showed greater out-group favouritism, in the form of support for white South Africans.

In sum, previous studies have considered how in-group identification mediates the relationship between group status and identity management strategies (Mummendey et al.,1999b; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 43). Other studies suggest that in-group identification is related to support for affirmative action amongst dominant and non-dominant group members (Lowery et al., 2006; Cakal et al., 2011). Furthermore, we have suggested that support for affirmative action is a proxy for in-group favouritism and that non-dominant group members show more favouritism for the in-group when they perceive the intergroup hierarchy as unstable, whereas dominant group members show more in-group favouritism when the intergroup hierarchy is stable (Bettencourt et al., 2001).

However, a key question that arises is what are the implications of on-going social change on these variables?

Overview of hypotheses based on SIT

Social identity theory in a context of social change

Social identity theory has already elucidated upon the conditions that are necessary for non-dominant group members to purse social change and dominant group members to maintain their status position (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Ellemers et al., 1993), but has not accounted for contexts were social change is already taking place. For instance, in South Africa, social change is already taking place and is driven by various social institutions through the implementation of various affirmative action policies targeted at black South Africans (Dumont & Waldzus, 2015).

Although, in a context where social change is taking place de la Sablonnière et al. (2013) demonstrated amongst white and black South African participants, that in-group identification is related to the perception of social change. Specifically, it was demonstrated that black and white South African participants with high in-group identification were more

sensitive to their in-group's change in status (de la Sablonnière et al., 2013). Furthermore, Dumont and van Lill (2009) reported that non-dominant group members who perceived the intergroup hierarchy as illegitimate had a strong in-group identification whereas dominant group members had strong in-group identification when they considered the intergroup hierarchy as legitimate. However, in line with our main critique these studies have not considered the perception of social change in relation to support for affirmative action.

Consequently, because of the desire for a positive comparison outcome one could argue that group members who are gaining status due to social change will show greater support for policies that are contributing to the elevation of the in-group on the intergroup hierarchy. On the other hand, group members who are losing status as a result of social change will oppose policies that do not contribute positively to their in-group's status.

Therefore we expected that racial in-group identification will moderate the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action amongst group members who are beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of affirmative action. Specifically, we argued that the perception of social change will predict support for affirmative action amongst beneficiaries, when they show strong racial in-group identification (Hypothesis 4a). We also argued that the perception of social change will predict opposition towards affirmative action amongst non-beneficiaries, when they show strong racial in-group identification (Hypothesis 4b).

South Africa a context a context of Social Change

South Africa is an ideal social context to examine social change because based on its history and current developments it is undergoing social change. The most noticeable of these developments is that of Black[2] South Africans who under apartheid had no political power, currently owning the majority of political power (Meyer, 2004; Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). Southall (2007) also alluded to this fact, stating that negotiations that led to the dissolution of apartheid in South Africa meant that white South Africans informally conceded political power to Black South Africans while they kept the majority of economic power. This split in power was formally negotiated prior to South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998).

As such, post the 1994 elections, South Africa has undergone major social changes and with the abolishment of apartheid laws came a degree of social transformation. Restrictions that Black people faced in education, health, employment etc. gave way to human rights laws and policies that have catalysed their economic advancement. These policies and laws have come in the form of affirmative action measures that have been promulgated to redress mainly racial inequalities entrenched by apartheid (Thaver, 2006). Policies like the Employment Equity Act No 55 of 1998, Broad Based Black Economic empowerment Act No 53 of 2003 and the Preferential Procurement Act No 5 of 2000 have been implemented to drive economic change in favour of Black South Africans in various economic sectors. To this end, post 1994 South Africa has seen the emergence of a Black middle class, which has benefited from access to employment opportunities, while poor Black South Africans have seen an improvement in living conditions (Mattes, 2002).

Studies that have considered social change from an intergroup perspective within the South African context reflect these socio-political changes. Results have consistently

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[2] In the current study "Black" with a capital "B" refers to Africans, Coloureds and Indian whereas "black" refers to South Africans of African descent.

indicated that white South African participants perceive in-group status loss and out-group status gain whereas Black South African participants perceive out-group status loss and in-group status gain (see Duckitt & Maphuthing, 1998; Dumont & van Lill, 2009; Dumont & Waldzus, 2014). Evidence of this pattern was also found by Dumont and Waldzus (2015) when they reported that black adolescents anticipated a rise in in-group status in future, while white adolescents expected future group status to decline. Dumont and van Lill (2009) found similar results, when they asked University students which race group they thought was dominant socio-economically. Results indicated that although white students saw themselves as the dominant group currently, they did however perceive in-group status loss overtime (past, present and future). With this backdrop in mind the current study considered the following hypotheses.

Summary of proposed hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Dominant group members will have a greater desire for group-based inequality relative to non-dominant group members.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action will be moderated by the perceptions of social change. More specifically, it is hypothesised that amongst group members who perceive high in-group status gain because of social change, a higher SDO should lead to greater support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 2a); whereas among group members who perceive high in-group status loss due to social change, a higher SDO should lead to lower support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 2b).

Hypothesis 3: In line with social dominance theory, we sought to establish whether hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths would moderate the relationship between social dominance

orientation and support for affirmative action amongst group members who are gaining status as a consequence of social change.

Hypothesis 4: Alternatively, in line with social identity theory we predicted that the perception of social change will lead to support for affirmative action, amongst beneficiaries when there is strong racial in-group identification (Hypothesis 4a). Whereas, amongst non-beneficiaries, the perception of social change should predict opposition towards affirmative action when there is strong racial in-group identification (Hypothesis 4b).

To test these hypotheses we conducted three studies. In the first study we tested hypotheses 1, 2 and 4. Following that, in Study 2 we re-tested hypothesis 1. The third study was an exploratory study, in which hypothesis 3 was tested.

Study 1

The primary objective of the first study was to examine dominant and non-dominant group's desire for group-based inequality (SDO) and attitudes towards affirmative action in a context of social change. We argued that perceived social change will have implications for social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action. As a secondary objective we sought to examine the moderation function of racial in-group identification on the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action.

Sample

Ten thousand nine hundred and sixty emails were sent to students registered with the University of South Africa. Six hundred and sixty six commenced with the study, which indicates a six percent response rate. From the group that started the survey, a total of 396 completed it. Of the 396 participants 108 identified themselves black, 201 identified themselves as white, 22 as coloured, 19 as Indian and 46 as other.

For our analysis we utilised black and white participants and excluded coloured and Indian participants from further analysis because we would have not been able to test group differences because of their small samples sizes. Therefore, our final sample comprised of 312 participants.

The mean age of participants was 31.91 years (SD = 9.389) ranging from 19 to 65. Specifically, the black sample had a mean age of 30.40 years (SD = 6.663) and the white sample had a mean age of 32.70 years (SD = 10.480), which were significantly different, $t(296.937) = -2.350$, $p < .05$. The majority of participants were females (n = 215; males = 93), while four participants did not indicate their gender. One-hundred and twenty five participants indicated that they are studying in the field of accounting, whereas 133 indicated that they were registered in the social sciences. A total of 30 came from the field of industrial/organisational psychology and the remaining participants reported that they are registered in the economics, education, human resource, supply chain management and natural sciences courses.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the University of South Africa. In order to conduct the study ethical clearance was granted by the UNISA Senate Research and Innovation and Higher Degrees Committee. Following this approval, participants were sent emails to their university email address. The contents of the email provided a brief introduction to the study and asked participants to click on a link if they wanted to continue on to the questionnaire. In the questionnaire, participants were presented with an introductory page, which contained general information such as the aim of the study, estimated duration of the questionnaire, their right to withdraw from the study at any point and an indication of how the results will be disseminated. Additionally, participants were informed that upon full completion of the

survey they would be entered into a lucky draw were they would stand a chance to win one thousand rand in cash. Participants were asked to click "next" to go on to the questionnaire items; by clicking next participants were consenting to taking part in the study.

In the first section participants were presented with the intergroup perception ladder to indicate economic status for black and white South Africans, respectively. Following this, participants were presented with two items to indicate the extent of economical social change for black South Africans and items that measured secure social change (legitimacy and stability). Participants were then presented with the 16-item social dominance orientation scale and the support for racial policy attitudes scale. The latter was used to assess support for affirmative action. Subsequently, participants were asked to indicate the race group that they belong to. After that question participants were then presented with a measurement assessing how much they identify with this particular race group. In the following section of the questionnaire participants were presented with a measurement assessing the extent to which they identify with being South African. The identity measures were followed by a section on demographical information such as gender, age, field of study, the country they live in, nationality, the average monthly income and their personal economic position. In the final section participants were informed about the aim of the study and assured that results will be analysed and reported on at a group level for scientific publication. Following that, they were invited to provide either their email address or cell phone number in order to participate in the lucky draw. Finally, participants were informed that their personal information will not be stored. Appendix A details the scale measures used in Study 1.

Measures

   Economic Social Change was measured using an adapted version of Cantril's Self Anchoring Scale (Finchilescu & De la Rey, 1991, Dumont & van Lill, 2009). Participants

were asked to account for their perceptions of economic change by indicating the extent to which the in-group's economic position, relative to the out-group has changed over time (past, present, future). As such, participants were presented with a twelve step ladder ranging from zero to eleven. Eleven represents the highest economic position, while zero represents the lowest. Participants were required to rate the in-group's and out-group's economic status using the ladder thus indicating the in-group's position relative to the out-group's at various points in time. Specifically, they had to indicate the in-group's position relative to the out-group, thirty years ago, ten years ago, today, in ten years' time and in an ideal society.

From Cantril's Self Anchoring Scale to assess economic social change we created linear contrast variables to account for economic in-group and out-group status change. Linear contrast variables were computed separately for white and black participants. Positive values indicated in-group or out-group status gain and negative values indicated in-group or out-group status loss. In-group status change describes economic status change as perceived for the in-group, whereas out-group social change described social change as perceived for the out-group.

Additionally we created two variables to indicate the average economic status position over time (30 years ago, 10 years ago, currently, 10 years in the future). These variables were named *in-group status* and *out-group status*. In-group status is an indication of the average status position that the in-group occupies and out-group status indicates the average status position that the out-group occupies.

Economic Social Change was also measured using an adapted scale from Pettigrew et al. (2008) which examines perceptions of change in economic status amongst groups. Participants were randomly presented with two of the following items: "Would you say that over the last 30 years blacks in South Africa have been economically better off, the same, worse off or a lot worse off than most white South Africans?" and "Would you say in the

coming 15 years blacks in South Africa will be economically a lot better off, the same, worse off, or a lot worse off than most white South Africans?" Participants were asked to indicate their opinion on a five point Likert scale (ranging from 5 - *much better off*, 4 - *better off*, 3 - *the same*, 2 - *worse off*, to 1- *a lot worse off*). The two items utilised to measure economic social change were significantly correlated ($r = .28$, $p < .001$, n = 312).

Secure Social Change was measured using four items which were developed for the present study in accordance to items used by Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz (1999a). The scale was made up of two sub-dimensions, which accounted for the legitimacy and stability of social change. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree/disagree with the statements on a five point Likert scale (ranging from 1 - *strongly disagree* to 5- *strongly agree*). To measure legitimacy of social change the following items were presented: "It is fair that black South Africans are gaining more economic resources" and "It is just that black South Africans are gaining wealth". A significant correlation was found for these two items ($r = .15$, $p < .01$, n = 312). To account for the stability of social change, the following statements were presented: "There is no doubt that black South Africans are improving economically" and "I am certain that black South Africans are gaining wealth". The two items assessing the stability of social change were significantly correlated ($r = .50$; $p < .001$, n = 312). All four items were randomly presented to the participants.

Social Dominance Orientation was measured using the SDO scale by Pratto et al. (1994) which consists of 16-items. Participants were required to respond by indicating whether they *strongly agree* (5) or *strongly disagree* (1) on a five point Likert scale. Statements such as *"Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups"* and "It would be good if groups could be equal" were randomly presented to participants. Pratto et al. (2006, p. 283) reported a median reliability of .83 for the SDO 16-Item scale, using data from

14 independent samples drawn from USA, Israel, Palestine, China, New Zealand and Canada. Meyer (2012) reported an internal consistency of .85 for the English and Afrikaans version of the SDO 16-Items scale and .65 for the Xhosa version of the scale amongst South African participants. Furthermore, Heaven et al. (2000) reported an internal consistency of .76 amongst Black South African students and an internal consistency of .85, utilising the 14-Item SDO scale. In the current study participants were presented with the English version of the 16-item SDO scale because they attend a university that utilises English as a language of instruction. In the present study the internal consistency reached an alpha of .87.

Support for Affirmative Action was measured utilising an adapted version of the racial policy attitudes scale consisting of 11 items that was developed for the South African context by Durrheim et al. (2011). The original measurement considers two dimensions: first the compensatory and secondly the preferential aspects of affirmative action policies. However, in the current study we used the measure as a one-dimensional scale. All 11 items were randomly presented on a five point Likert scale (ranging from 1 - *strongly disagree* to 5 - *strongly agree*). Durrheim et al. (2011) reported an internal consistency of .81 for compensatory attitudes and .76 for preferential attitudes for white South African participants, whereas the internal consistency for black South African participants was .77 for compensatory attitudes and .80 for preferential attitudes (Durrheim et al., 2011). In the present study the internal consistency reached an alpha of .89 for the whole scale.

In-group Identification (Racial Group and South Africa): To measure identification with the racial group and with South Africa's broader national identity, we used the scale developed by Leach et al. (2008). Leach et al. (2008, p. 144) conceptualised the scale as having two general dimensions, group level self-definition and group level self-investment. In the present study we utilised this measure as a one dimensional scale. Using four items from the Leach et al. (2008) scale, Dumont and Waldzus (2014, p. 6) reported an internal

consistency of .65 amongst white South African participants in the first study and internal

consistency of .73 in a subsequent study, using six items from the Leach et al. (2008) scale.

In the present study, participants were randomly presented with 10 items on a five

point Likert scale (ranging from 1 - *strongly disagree* to 5 - *strongly agree*) to evaluate

identification with their race group. The following items were used: "I feel a bond with my

group", "I feel committed to my group", "I am glad to be a member of my group" , "I think

that my group has a lot to be proud of" ,"I often think about the fact that I am a member of

my group", "The fact that I am a member of my group is an important part of my identity", "I

have a lot in common with the average member of my group", "I am similar to the average

member of my group", "Members of my group have a lot in common with each other", and

"Members of my group are very similar to each other" ($\alpha = .86$).

To account for identification with the inclusive South African identity participants

were randomly presented with five items on a five point Likert scale (ranging from 1 -

strongly disagree to 5- *strongly agree*). The items were: "I feel a bond with South Africans",

"I am glad to be South African" "The fact that I am a South African is an important part of

my identity" "I have a lot in common with the average South African", and "South African

people are very similar to each other" ($\alpha = .77$).

Results

Preliminary Analysis

In the first step of the preliminary analysis we analysed the results of an adaptation of

Cantril's Self Anchoring scale (Finchilescu & De la Rey, 1991) which provided a descriptive

analysis of the perceived economic social change for black and white South Africans

respectively. These have been presented in Figure 1 and 2. In Figure 1, the trajectory of the

line graph indicates that black participants perceive that black South Africans have been

gaining status because they indicated that relative to their past (30 and 10 years ago) status position, black South Africans are currently occupying a higher economic status. Yet, black participants also indicated that black South Africans are currently occupying a non-dominant economic position relative to white South Africans. Consistent with the view that black South African's economic status position continues to rise; black participants indicated that black South Africans' economic status position will continue to improve in the future. Of equal importance, black participants were of the view that white South Africans as the out-group have been losing status and will continue losing status over time.

Figure 1. Black participant's perception of economic social change (Study 1)
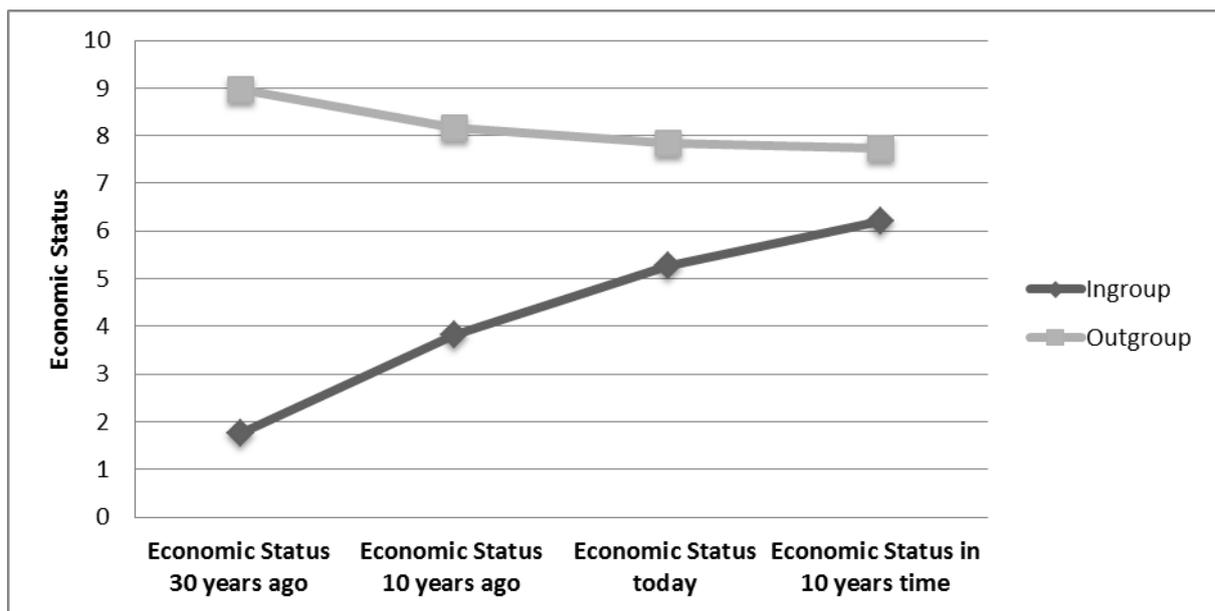
Conversely, white participants indicated that white South Africans have become less economically dominant in the past 30 and 10 years relative to today's economic status position (see Figure 2). When asked to indicate which group was currently dominant and non-dominant economically; white participants indicated that their in-group was currently non-dominant. White participants also indicated that going into the future (in 10 years time) white

South Africans will continue losing economic status and that over time black South Africans (out-group) have been gaining and will continue gaining status.

Figure 2. White participant's perception of economic social change (Study 1)
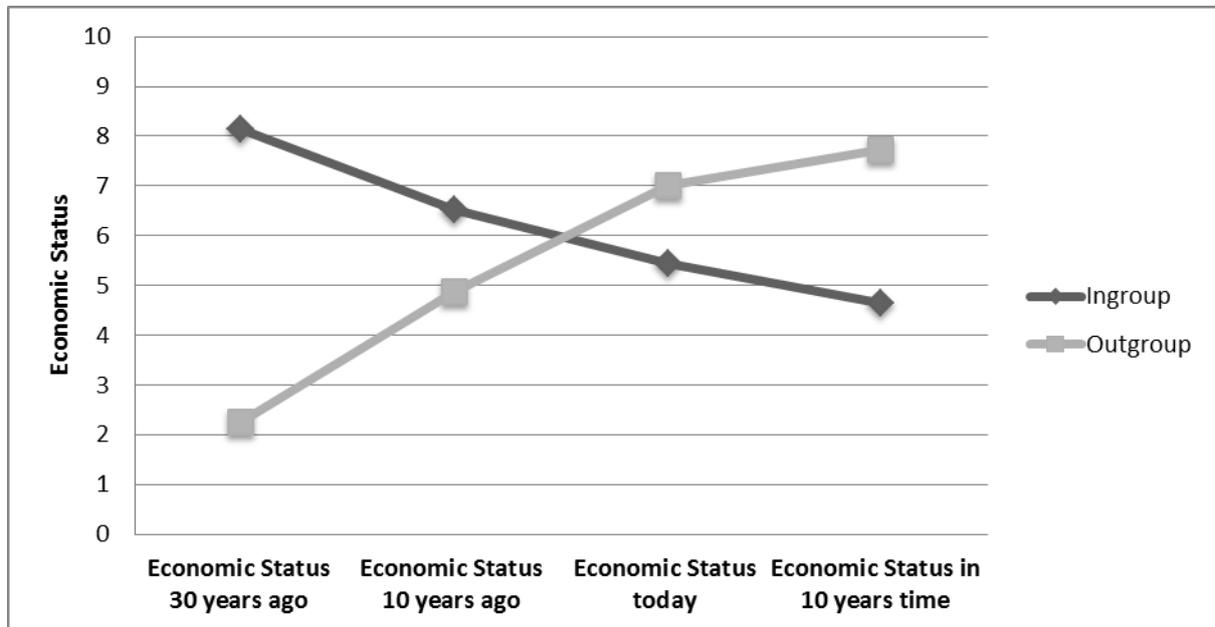
In a second step of the preliminary analysis we compared the mean scores of black and white participants on the main variables using independent samples t-tests (see Table 1). The result indicated that black participants ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 0.60$) showed significantly greater support for affirmative action relative to white participants ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.60$), $t(310) = 15.721$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.86$. This result was expected because black South Africans stand to gain from affirmative action while white South Africans are disadvantaged by this policy.

The comparison of black and white participant's perceptions of in-group status change revealed that black participants ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.70$) perceived significantly greater in-group status gain economically, relative to white participants who perceived in-group status loss ($M = -2.59$, $SD = 2.14$), $t(269.831) = 26.711$, $p < .001$, $d = 3.06$. When out-group status change

was considered, our results indicated that white participants (M = 4.15, SD = 2.17) perceived significantly more economic status gain for black participants, whereas black participants (M = -.8883, SD = 1.61) perceived economic status loss for white participants, $t(282.541)$ = -23.282, $p < .001$, d = -0.75. We also compared black and white participant's perceptions of the average economic in-group and out-group status. Our results indicated that white participants (M = 6.19, SD = 1.34) considered their average in-group status to be significantly higher, than that of black South Africans (M = 4.26, SD = 1.35), $t(310)$ = -12.076, $p < .001$, d = -1.43. Similarly, when the average out-group status was considered, black participants (M = 8.18, SD = 1.43) indicated that white South Africans had a significantly higher economic status position (M = 5.47 SD = 1.35), $t(310)$ =16.617, $p < .001$, d = 1.69.

The second measure for economic social change used the two items developed by Pettigrew et al. (2008) and considered perceptions of economic social change for black South Africans. Similarly, results indicated that white participants (M = 3.24, SD = 0.99) perceived significantly more social change, in the form of economic status gain for black South Africans relative to black participants (M = 2.84, SD = 0.90), $t(241.722)$ = -3.600, $p < .001$, d = -0.42.

The comparison of black and white participants' in their perception of the stability of social change indicated that white participants (M = 3.79, SD = 0.79) perceived significantly greater instability in the intergroup relations relative to black participants (M = 3.45, SD = 0.83), $t(310)$ = -3.708, $p < .001$, d = -0.43.This suggests that white participants perceived unstable intergroup relations as leading to black South Africans gaining economic status. However, when the legitimacy of social change was considered, there was no significant difference in the perception of fairness regarding the economic advancement of black South Africans between black (M = 3.45, SD = 0.83) and white participants (M = 3.42, SD = 0.79), $t(184.902)$ = .305, $p > .05$, d = 0.03.

The inter-correlation matrix for all variables is also presented in Table 1 for black and white participants separately. Results showed no significant relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action for black participants. This was unexpected as the correlation between desire for group-based inequality and policies that seek to bring about equality such as affirmative action has been robust, particularly as black South Africans are seen as the future dominant group (see Levin et al. 1998; Haley & Sidanius, 2008). However, the positive relationship between SDO and in-group status change was significant suggesting that social change which benefits the in-group corresponds with SDO and vice versa. Support for affirmative action was positively related to the two identity measures (i.e., racial in-group identification and identification with being South African) which is not surprising because affirmative action is targeted at black South Africans as the numerical majority group in South Africa. Average in-group and out-group status variables, in-group and out-group social change variables and secure social change variables consisting of perceived stability and legitimacy of social change yielded correlations that were in the expected directions.

SDO amongst white participants was negatively correlated to support for affirmative action. This result was expected because affirmative action compromises white South Africans' status position. SDO was also negatively correlated to identification with being a South African, the perception of the legitimacy of social change and out-group status change. Moreover, support for affirmative action was positively related to identification with being a South African, average in-group status, in-group status change and perceived legitimacy of social change (benefiting the out-group), whilst negatively related to identification with white South Africans, the stability of social change (benefiting the out-group) and average out-group status. All these correlations were in the expected direction.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations and intercorrelations for black (n = 110) and white (n = 202) participants (Study 1)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Blacks	M	1.78	3.65	2.84	3.66	3.79	3.45	3.45	4.26	8.18	-.888	3.31
	SD	0.46	0.60	0.90	0.62	0.68	0.93	0.83	1.35	1.43	1.61	1.70
	Min	1	1.27	1	1.80	1.40	1	1	1	1	-7.16	-1.57
	Max	3.25	5	5	5	5	5	5	8.75	10	3.80	6.71
Whites	M	1.78	2.53	3.24	3.18	3.54	3.42	3.80	6.19	5.47	4.15	-2.59
	SD	0.60	0.60	0.99	0.63	0.73	0.74	0.79	1.34	1.35	2.17	2.14
	Min	1	1	1	1.40	1	1	1	1.75	1.50	-6.93	-7.38
	Max	4.63	4.09	5	5	5	5	5	9.75	9.00	7.83	2.91
	t - values and p - values	.099	15.721	-3.600***	6.502***	2.910**	-3.708***	0.305	-12.076***	16.617***	-23.282***	26.71
1.	SDO	-	-.141	-.07	-.17	-.12	-.13	.05	.10	-.10	-.05	.23*
2.	Affirmative Action	-.39***	-	.01	.36***	.20*	.03	-.18	-.07	.20*	.03	-.04
3.	Perceived Social change	.07	-.27***	-	-.00	.03	.35***	.45**	.37***	-.20*	.03	.17
4.	Racial In-group Identification	.32**	-.25***	.10	-	.60***	-.10	-.11	.00	.23*	.05	-.03
5.	SA In-group identification	-.16*	.22**	-.09	.14	-	.04	.10	.08	.14	-.04	.17
6.	Legitimacy of Social Change	-.27**	.21**	.02	-.15*	-.02	-	.42***	.13	-.03	-.11	.09
7.	Stability of Social Change	-.05	-.23**	.39***	.14*	-.03	.20**		.39***	-.14	- .04	.39***
8.	In-group status	-.15*	.33***	-.30***	-.09	.13	.13	.02	-	-.44***	- 0.9	.52**
9.	Out-group status	.07	-.38***	.47***	.20**	-.05	-.10	.36**	-.26**		.29**	.03
10.	Out-group status change	-.22**	-.03	.22**	.01	.09	-.11	.11	.04	.48***	-	-.19

| 11. | In-group status change | .035 | .28*** | -.28*** | -.12 | .17* | .01 | -.12 | .39*** | -.34*** | -.30*** | - |

Note: *p < .05. **p <.01. ***p < .001. Intercorrelation matrix: white participant's correlation coefficients are reported in the bottom of the table, and black participant's correlation coefficients are reported at the top of the table.

The preliminary analyses revealed the following trends: first, black and white participants are in agreement that white South Africans have been losing economic status and will continue losing status in the future; whereas black South Africans are perceived to have been gaining status and will continue gaining status going in the future. Moreover, our results suggest that white participants perceive greater economic status loss for their in-group and greater economic status gain for black South Africans.

Secondly, the results of the different economic status measures revealed a rather complex picture of participants' perceptions of the status relations between black and white South Africans. For instance, when we consider the average in-group and out-group status results indicated that black and white participants agree that white South Africans represent the dominant group and black South Africans the non-dominant group. However, when we consider the in-group and out-group status change variables, both black and white participants indicate that their in-group is non-dominant relative to the respective out-group.

As a result, one could conclude that, although there is consensus regarding the trajectory of social change amongst black and white participants, there is ambiguity with regard to the group that is occupying the dominant and non-dominant status position.

Hypothesis Testing

Our first hypothesis stated that dominant group members will have a higher SDO relative to non-dominant group members. As indicated in our preliminary analysis, the average in-group and out-group status variables indicated that white participants perceived a significantly higher average in-group status and black participants perceived a significantly higher average out-group status. As a result, one could draw the conclusion that white participants belong to the dominant group and black participants belong to the non-dominant group. However, based on the in-group and out-group status change variables one could also

conclude that both groups perceive themselves as non-dominant. Therefore we did not draw any conclusions as far as the status positions of the respective groups are concerned.

We conducted an independent samples t-test to test for group differences in SDO levels. The results indicated that there was no significant difference between black ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.46$) and white participants ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.60$), $t(274,708) = 0.099$, $p > .05$, $d = 0.01$, in their SDO levels. Additionally, because we were testing black and white participant's desire for group-based inequality in a context where equality amongst groups is promoted, we decided to examine the extent to which black and white participants support inequality amongst groups. To test for this we conducted a one sample t-test for black and white participants separately. For the black sample ($M = 1.79$, $SD = 0.47$, n = 110), results indicated that they scored significantly lower than the scale centre of 3, $t(109) = - 27.287$, $p < .001$. Similarly, white participants ($M = 1.78$, $SD = 0.60$, n = 202), scored significantly below the scale centre, $t(201) = -28.702$, $p < .001$. Both findings indicate that black and white participants have a lower desire for inequality amongst groups.

The second hypothesis stated that the perception of social change would moderate the relationship between social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action. Perception of social change was measured using two variables. The first variable is an indirect measure created from Cantril's intergroup perception ladder; we called this variable *in-group status change*. The second is a direct measure by Pettigrew et al. (2008) which considers social change for black South Africans; we called this variable *perceived social change*. Consequently, we tested two separate moderation models in which *in-group status change* and *perceived social change* were each entered as moderators.

Specifically, we expected a stronger positive relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action amongst group members who perceive high in-group status gain as a result of social change, in comparison to group members who perceive less in-group status

gain (H2a). This hypothesis was tested amongst black participants. A simple moderation model was tested using *process* developed by Hayes and Preacher (2014).

In the first model, support for affirmative action was entered as the dependent variable, SDO as the independent variable and in-group status change (indirect measure) as the moderator variable. Out-group status change, out-group status and in-group status were entered as covariates. Our results indicated that the model testing whether the perception of high in-group status gain (indirect measure) moderates the relationship between social dominance orientation and affirmative action was not significant for the black sample, $R^2 = .0706$, $F(6,103) = 1.3045$, $p > .05$ (see Table 2).

In the second model, we entered support affirmative action as the dependent variable, social dominance orientation as the independent variable and perceived social change (direct measure) as the moderator variable. Out-group status change, in-group status and out-group status were entered as covariates. Again, the simple moderation model was tested using *process* developed by Hayes and Preacher (2014). Results again, indicated that the moderation model was not significant, $R^2 = .0599$, $F(6,103) = 1.0933$, $p > .05$. That is to say, even when we used the direct measure for social change our hypothesis that perceived social change would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action was not supported amongst black participants.

Based on these two moderation models not being significant Hypothesis 2a was not confirmed.

Table 2. Regression Coefficients for effects on support for affirmative action amongst black participants: SDT model (Study 1)

	B	SE	t	p
Constant	2.5893	0.6286	4.1191	.0001
In-group status change	-.0253	0.0457	-.5539	.5809
SDO	-.1447	0.1281	-1.1291	.2615
In-group status change × SDO	.0701	0.0691	1.0151	.3124
Out-group status change	-.0155	0.0396	-.3907	.6968
Out-group status	.1102	0.0521	2.1137	.0370
In-group status	.0316	0.0615	.5132	.6089

Conditional effects of SDO at different levels of perceived in-group status change (indirect measure)

In-group status change	B	SE	95% CI
At 1 SD below the mean	-.2635	0.1741	-.6088, .0818
At mean	-.1447	0.1281	-.3988, .1094
At 1 SD above the mean	-.0259	0.1730	-.3689, .3171

Hypothesis 2b predicted a stronger negative relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action amongst group members who perceive high in-group status loss as a result of social change, relative to group members who perceive less in-group status loss. We tested this assumption amongst white participants.

In the first model, support for affirmative action was entered as the dependent variable, SDO as the independent variable and in-group status change (indirect measure) as the moderator variable. Out-group status change, out-group status and in-group status were

entered as covariates. A simple moderation model was again tested using *process* developed by Hayes and Preacher (2014).

Our findings indicated that the model was significant, R^2 = .3126, $F(6,195)$ = 14.7821, $p < .001$. Social dominance orientation (*Beta* = -.2629, *SE* = 0.0624) had a significant negative main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action, $t = -4.2128$, $p < .001$. Out-group status change (*Beta* = .0157, *SE* = 0.0211), $t = 0.7460$, $p < .05$, out-group status (*Beta* = -.1350, *SE* = 0.0324), $t = -4.1599$, $p < .001$, and in-group status respectively (*Beta* = .0719, *SE* = 0.0304), $t = 2.3618$, $p < .05$, also had significant main effects on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. The interaction term between in-group status change and SDO (*Beta* = .0541, *SE* = 0.0273) was significant, $t = 1.9820$, $p < .05$. Importantly, this interaction significantly increased the explained variance in support for affirmative action, ΔR^2 = .0138, $F(1,195)$ = 3.9281, $p < .05$. The unstandardized simple slopes analysis as reported in Table 3 indicated that the negative relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action was strongest amongst white participants who perceived high in-group status loss (at 1 SD below the mean); it was less strong amongst white participants who perceived less in-group status loss (at mean level); and the relationship reached non-significance amongst white participants who perceived weak in-group status loss (at 1 SD above the mean). These results supported Hypothesis 2b.

In the second model, we entered support for affirmative action as a dependent variable, SDO as the independent variable and perceived social change (direct measure) as the moderator variable. Out-group status change, in-group status and out-group status were entered as covariates. The simple moderation model was tested using *process* (Hayes & Preacher, 2014).

Results indicated that our model was significant, R^2 = .2892, $F(6,195)$ = 13.2256 $p < .001$. Social dominance orientation (*Beta* = -.2662, *SE* = 0.0631), $t = -4.2192$, $p < .001$, out-

group status (*Beta* = -.1290, *SE* = 0.0354), *t* = -3.6451, *p* < .001 and in-group status (*Beta* = -.0865, *SE* = 0.0292), *t* = 2.9658, *p* < .001, respectively, had a significant main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. However, the interaction term between perceived social change and SDO (*Beta* = -.0652, *SE* =.0616) was not significant, *t* = -1.0574, *p* >.05, indicating that this model did not support hypothesis 2b.

Table 3. Regression Coefficients for effects on support for affirmative action amongst white participants: SDT model (Study 1)

	B	*SE*	*t*	*p*
Constant	2.7583	0.2609	10.5727	.0000
In-group status change	.0341	0.0198	1.7215	.0867
SDO	-.2629	0.0624	-4.2128	.0000
In-group status change × SDO	.0541	0.0273	1.9820	.0489
Out-group status change	.0157	0.0211	.7460	.4566
Out-group status	-.1350	0.0324	-4.1599	.0000
In-group status	.0719	0.0304	2.3618	.0192

Conditional effects of SDO at different levels of perceived in-group status change (indirect measure)

In-group status change	*B*	*SE*	95% CI
At 1 SD below the mean	-.3786	0.0812	-.5388, -.2184
At the mean	-.2629	0.0624	-.3860, -.1398
At 1 SD above the mean	-.1472	0.0895	-.3237, .0293

Furthermore, we hypothesised that racial in-group identification would moderate the relationship between the perception of social change and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 4). Similar to the testing of Hypothesis 2, we considered that the perception of social change was measured using two variables. The first measure is the indirect measure which we called *in-group status change*. The second which is a direct measure by Pettigrew et al. (2008) considers social change for black South Africans; we called this variable *perceived social change*. Subsequently, we tested two separate moderation models in which *in-group status change* and *perceived social change* were entered as independent variables.

Specifically, we expected a positive relationship between perception of social change and support for affirmative action amongst group members who identify strongly with the beneficiaries of affirmative action (H4a). As a result, this moderation model was tested amongst black participants because they are the intended beneficiaries of affirmative action. To test this simple moderation *process* developed by Hayes and Preacher (2014) was used.

In the first model, we entered support for affirmative action as the dependent variable, in-group status change (indirect measure) as the independent variable and racial in-group identification as the moderator variable. Legitimacy and stability of social change were entered as covariates. Results indicated that the model was significant, $R^2 = .1868$, $F(5,104) = 4.7782$, $p < .001$. Racial in-group identification (*Beta* = 0.3435, *SE* = 0.0871), $t = 3.9449$ $p < .001$ and stability of social change (*Beta* = -0.1634, *SE* = 0.0770), $t = -2.1208$, $p < .05$, respectively, had a significant main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. However, the interaction term between racial in-group identification and in-group status change was not significant, (*Beta* = .0824, *SE* = 0.0525), $t = 1.5709$, $p < .05$, indicating that the data did not support Hypothesis 4a.

In the second model, support for affirmative action was entered as a dependent variable, perceived social change (direct measure) as the independent variable and racial in-

group identification as the moderator variable. The legitimacy and stability of social change were entered as covariates.

The results indicated a significant model, $R^2 = .2082$, $F (5,104) = 5.4680$, $p < .001$. Racial in-group identification ($Beta = .3049$, $SE = 0.0872$), $t = 3.4975$, $p < .001$, and the stability of social change ($Beta = -.1791$, $SE = 0.0751$), $t = -2.3840$ $p < .05$, respectively, had a main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. Crucially, the interaction term between perceived social change and racial in-group identification was significant ($Beta = .2299$, $SE = 0.1023$), $t = 2.2467$, $p < .05$, and significantly improved the explained variance in the dependent variable, support affirmative action, $\Delta R^2 = .0384$, $F (1,104) = 5.0478$, $p < .05$. The unstandardized simple slopes as reported in Table 4 indicated that participants with a higher level of racial in-group identification (1 SD above the mean) showed a stronger positive relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action. However, at lower levels of racial in-group identification (at mean level and 1 SD below the mean) the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action was not significant. Based on these results Hypothesis 4a was supported.

Table 4. Regression Coefficients for effects on support for affirmative action amongst black participants : SIT model (Study 1)

	B	SE	t	p
Constant	4.1272	0.3009	13.7152	.0000
Racial In-group identification	.3049	0.0872	3.4975	.0007
Perceived social change	.0491	0.0666	.7369	.4628
Racial In-group identification × Perceived social change.	.2299	0.1023	2.2467	.0268
Legitimacy of social change	.0410	0.0674	.6076	.5448
Stability of social change	-.1791	0.0751	-2.3840	.0189

Conditional effects of perceived social change at different levels of perceived racial in-group identification

Racial In-group identification	B	SE	95% CI
At 1 SD below the mean	-.0931	0.0918	-.2752, .0890
At the mean	.0491	0.0666	-.0830, .1811
At 1 SD above the mean	.1913	0.0919	.0090, .3736

Similarly, we hypothesised that strong racial in-group identification amongst non-beneficiaries of affirmative action would lead to a negative relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action (H4b). We tested this hypothesis amongst white participants because they are the non-beneficiaries of affirmative action.

In the first model, we entered support for affirmative action as the dependent variable, in-group status change (indirect measure) as the independent variable and racial in-group identification as the moderator variable. Legitimacy and stability of social change were entered as covariates.

Results indicated that the model was significant, $R^2 = .2039$, $F(5,196) = 10.0378$, $p < .001$. Racial in-group identification ($Beta = -.1394$, $SE = 0.0633$), $t = -2.2037$, $p < .05$, in-group status change ($Beta = .0626$, $SE = 0.0182$), $t = 3.4428$, $p < .001$, legitimacy of social change, ($Beta = .1892$, $SE = 0.0538$), $t = 3.5197$, $p < .001$ and stability of social change, ($Beta = -.1713$, $SE = 0.0503$), $t = -3.4040$, $p < .001$, respectively, had a main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. However the interaction term between racial in-group identification and in-group status change was not significant ($Beta = .0144$, $SE = 0.0290$), $t = -0.4967$, $p > .05$, indicating that our data did not support Hypothesis 4b.

In the second model, support for affirmative action was entered as a dependent variable, perceived social change (direct measure) as the independent variable and racial in-group identification was entered as the moderator variable. Perceived legitimacy and stability of social change were entered as covariates. The simple moderation model was tested using *process* (Hayes & Preacher, 2014).

The moderation model was significant, $R^2 = .1831$, $F(5,196) = 8.7889$, $p < .001$. Racial in-group identification ($Beta = -.1621$, $SE = 0.0626$), $t = -2.5903$, $p = .01$, and perceived social change ($Beta = -.1156$, $SE = 0.0427$), $t = -2.7067$, $p < .01$, respectively, had main effects on support for affirmative action. However, the interaction term between perceived social change and racial in-group identification was not significant, ($Beta = .0065$, $SE = 0.0530$), $t = 0.1224$, $p > .05$ (see Table 5), indicating that Hypothesis 4b was not supported by the data.

Table 5. Regression Coefficients for effects on support for affirmative action amongst white participants: SIT model (Study 1)

	B	SE	t	p
Constant	2.4091	0.2495	9.6573	.0000
Racial In-group identification	-.1621	0.0626	-2.5903	.0103
Perceived social change	-.1156	0.0427	-2.7067	.0074
Racial In-group identification × Racial In-group identification	.0065	.0530	.1224	.9027
Legitimacy of social change	.1832	0.0549	3.3351	.0010
Stability of social change	-.1325	0.0550	-2.4101	.0169

Conditional effects of perceived social change at different levels of perceived racial in-group identification

Racial In-group identification	B	SE	95% CI
At 1 SD below the mean	-.1197	-2.1171	-.2313, -.0082
At the mean	-.1156	-2.7067	-.1998, -.0314
At 1 SD above the mean	-.1115	-2.1408	-.2142, -.0088

Discussion

The first study was conducted with three objectives in mind, first, to examine whether black and white participants would differ significantly in their SDO levels. Secondly, to examine the impact of social change on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. Lastly, to determine whether racial in-group identification moderated the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action.

The first hypothesis stated that dominant group members will have a greater desire for group-based inequality relative to non-dominant group members. Our results indicated that

there was no significant difference between dominant and non-dominant group members in their preference for inequality amongst groups. This outcome could be attributed to the following: First, in the outline of our questionnaire, economic social change between black and white South Africans was measured prior to the SDO scale items being presented. This could have led to participants answering the SDO scale with the social change amongst racial groups in mind. Researchers within the social dominance theory approach have criticised the making of intergroup contexts salient as they argue that it alters the SDO's scales original purpose – to measure people's general orientation towards inequality amongst groups (see Keily et al., 2011; Kteily et al., 2012).

Secondly, both black and white participants scored low on SDO. This was evident in the additional analysis that was conducted, which indicated that both groups scored significantly below the scale centre of 3. This suggests that both groups oppose inequality amongst groups. Yet this finding is not out of the ordinary, as Pratto et al. (2013) using a South African sample and an abbreviated version of the 16-item social dominance orientation scale, reported a mean that was below the scale centre. Moreover, similar scores have been found in other countries, for instance in Lebanon and in Spain (see Pratto et al., 2013, p. 4).

In sum, our current findings can be compared to Meyer's (2004) findings, which demonstrated that non-dominant group members had significantly higher SDO levels relative to dominant group members. Except, in the current study there was no difference in SDO amongst dominant and non-dominant group members. Crucially, a limitation of the current study is that it may inadvertently have made race and the social change that is underway between race groups salient. To illustrate, studies where race was not inadvertently made salient (see Heaven et al., 2000), have found support for social dominance theory's assumption that dominant group members have a higher SDO when group status was determined sociologically rather than psychologically. To address this shortcoming, a second

study was conducted to examine the assumption that dominant group members have higher SDO levels by conceptualising group status sociologically. This would ensure that the intergroup context is not made salient.

The second hypothesis stated that the perception of social change would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. Amongst black participants, we posited that in-group status gain would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. Results indicated that our data did not support this hypothesis, even when we tested two models which measured perceived social change directly and indirectly. Prior work by Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, and Birum (2002) reported that the belief that the world is competitive predicted people's desire for inequality amongst groups. Based on their finding, one could argue that the second hypothesis was not supported because black South Africans do not have to compete for their in-group's gain in status because it is already guaranteed by institutions which have adopted affirmative action (Dumont & Waldzus, 2015).

Amongst white participants we posited that in-group status loss would moderate the relationship between social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action. Our data indicated support for this hypothesis only when the indirect measure of perceived social change was entered as a moderator. Meaning, the negative relationship between SDO and affirmative action measure was stronger when white participants perceived high in-group status loss. This finding supplements recent literature which indicated that dominant group members who perceived threat to their in-group's economic resources had a greater desire for inequality amongst groups, particularly when they identified strongly with their in-group (see Morrison & Yabbra, 2008; Morrison, Fast, & Yabbra, 2009).

The third hypothesis stated that racial in-group identification would moderate the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action.

We tested this hypothesis amongst black and white participants. For black participants results indicated support for our hypothesis only when the direct measure of perceived social change was the independent variable. This suggests that amongst black participants who show strong racial in-group identification there was a positive relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action. The finding that in-group identification moderates the relationship between perceived social change and support for affirmative action is supported by recent literature which demonstrated that black South African participants who identify strongly with their in-group show support for collective action and policies that aid black South Africans (Cakal et al., 2011).

Amongst white participants we hypothesised that high racial in-group identification would moderate the relationship between perception of social change predicting and support for affirmative action. Results indicated that our data did not support this hypothesis even when we considered the perception of social change directly and indirectly. Cakal et al., (2011) also found that the relationship between in-group identification and support for policies that aid black South Africans was not significant amongst white South African participants.

In sum for hypotheses 2 and 4, we found that social dominance theory accounted for white participants' psychological reality whereas social identity theory accounted for black participants' psychological reality. That is, the perception of in-group status change (in the form of in-group status loss) moderated the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action amongst white participants. Therefore, the assumption that SDO predicts support for affirmative action was applicable only to white participants who perceived high in-group status loss. Furthermore, the conditional effect of strong racial in-group identification, led to the perceived social change (in the form of in-group status gain) predicting support for affirmative action amongst black participants. This suggests that black

participants who show strong identification with their in-group will show favouritism towards their in-group by supporting affirmative action when they perceive social change.

However, a limitation in the current study is that we did not consider hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths which might moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. Hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths such as discourses on equality amongst groups are salient within the South African context and previous research demonstrated that they can have an effect on social dominance orientation (Levin et al., 2012). Therefore, a third study was conducted amongst black participants, to tested whether the conditional effect of hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths, might explain the relationship (or lack of it) between SDO and support for affirmative action.

Study 2

The aim of Study 2 was twofold. First, to determine whether dominant group members have higher SDO levels relative to non-dominant group members when group status is conceptualised sociologically (Hypothesis 1). Secondly, we sought to replicate the first study's findings which indicated that black and white participants reject group inequality (Hypothesis 2). Our hypotheses were tested using data that was collected at time 1 of a separate longitudinal study that examined institutional trust and attributions in relation to the Oscar Pistorius trial.

Sample

Our sample consisted of 1 345 participants who completed items that were relevant to the short social dominance orientation scale (Pratto et al., 2013). A total of 913 participants indicated that they are either black or white. Specifically, 464 indicated that they were black South Africans, while 449 indicated that they were white South Africans. Amongst the white sample, there were 95 males and 343 females, while 11 participants did not indicate their gender. Similarly, in terms of the gender distribution amongst black participants there were more females (276) than males (180). Additionally, black participants were on average 30.37 years old ($SD = 6.97$) ranging from 18 to 73. White participants were slightly older with an average age of 33.66 years ($SD = 9.17$) ranging from 18 to 68. The independent samples t-test indicated that the age difference between black and white participants was significant, $t(823.080) = -6.045, p < .001$.

Procedure

As mentioned already the data used in Study 2 was collected within a different research project addressing institutional trust and attributions in relation to the Oscar Pistorius trial. The measurement of SDO was presented to the participants after expectations about the Oscar Pistorius trial; trust and belief in a just world were assessed. The SDO scale items were presented to the participants randomly.

Measures

Social Dominance Orientation: To measure SDO the short social dominance orientation scale (Pratto et al., 2013) was utilized which consists of four items. Participants were presented with the following statements; "In setting priorities, we must consider all groups"*, "*We should not push for group equality", "Group equality should be our ideal" and

"Superior groups should dominate inferior groups" (α = .54). Previously, Pratto et al. (2013) reported a low reliability of .52 using a South African sample (n = 101). Studies conducted in other countries revealed internal consistencies ranging from low .44 (Lebanon) to high .80 (USA).

Results

Hypothesis Testing

The first hypothesis argued that dominant group members will have a higher SDO levels relative to non-dominant group members when group status is conceptualised sociologically. Therefore we expected that white participants, as the dominant group sociologically, should score significantly higher on the SDO measure when compared to black participants (Hypothesis 1). We reasoned that this was because white South Africans occupy an objectively dominant position economically (Census, 2011). Crucially, in the present study the possibility of making race salient was reduced, so participants probably responded to the SDO scale with general groups in mind. Results indicated that white participants ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 0.62$) had indeed significantly higher SDO scores than black participants ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 0.64$), $t(911) = -2.708$, $p < .01$, $d = -0.18$.

The second hypothesis aimed to replicate the findings of Study 1 that white and black participants tend to display a rejection of group inequality rather than support of group inequality (Hypothesis 2). Results amongst black participants ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 0.64$, n = 464) indicated a significant difference between the scale centre (3) and the sample mean, $t(463) = -31.795$, $p < .01$. Likewise, the white sample's mean ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 0.62$, n = 449) differed significantly from the scale centre (3), $t(448) = -28.144$, $p < .01$. These results replicated the findings of Study 1 that black and white South African participants reject group inequalities rather than support them.

Discussion

In the second study we tested the hypothesis that when group status is conceptualised sociologically, white participants should score significantly higher on the SDO measure when compared to black participants. The findings in Study 2 indicated that white participants had a significantly higher desire for group based inequality. This suggests that when desire for group-based inequality is measured without activating any features of the intergroup context, the group that is "objectively" dominant economically is more likely to have a higher SDO levels. This replicates Heaven et al.'s (2000) results which indicated that white South African students had a higher desire for group-based inequality relative to black South Africans students. However, this result should be interpreted with caution because the SDO scale had rather a low reliability.

The second hypothesis aimed to replicate the first study's findings which indicated that black and white participants reject group inequality rather than support it. Our results indicated that the sample means of white and black participants were significantly below the scale centre. This again suggests that our participants are not supportive of inequality amongst groups. Low SDO levels amongst black and white participants suggest that there may be contextual factors that led to mean scores being below the scale centre. After all, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) have suggested that desire for group-based inequality is sensitive to contextual factors. As a result we suspect that the common discourses of equality amongst groups in South Africa plays a role in attenuating people's desire for group-based inequality (Berry, 2011).

Consequently, Study 3 sought to capture these common discourses by examining the moderation function of hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths such as multiculturalism, colourblindness, Ubuntu and noblesse oblige on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action

The third study was an exploratory study and sought to determine whether hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myths moderate the relationship between social dominance orientation and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 3). To our knowledge, studies examining the moderating function of hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myths have been sparse (see Levin et al. 2012), and this is more evident amongst non-dominant group members. As a result, this hypothesis was tested amongst black participants. Furthermore, in South Africa equality amongst groups is actively promoted and the role of this discourse on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action may be crucial for intergroup relations.

Sample

Fourteen thousand emails were sent to students registered with the University of South Africa. In total 288 participants commenced with the study which indicates a two percent response rate. Overall, 193 participants identified themselves as black South Africans, 4 as white South Africans, 1 as Indian , 2 as coloured and 11 as other. Therefore our final sample consisted of 193 participants who identified themselves as black South Africans. From the black participants, 122 indicated that they were female, 33 indicated that they were male and 38 participants did not indicate their gender. The mean age of the sample was 31.54 years old ($SD = 6.77$, ranging from 18 to 49). One-hundred and forty seven participants indicated that they are studying in the field of Education, and 38 participants did not indicate their field of study. Three participants indicated that they were registered in the social sciences, two in the natural sciences, and three reported they were registered in accounting, industrial/organisation psychology and developmental studies, respectively.

Procedure

In order to conduct the study ethical clearance was granted by the UNISA Senate Research and Innovation and Higher Degrees Committee. Following this approval, participants were sent emails to their university email address. The content of the emails was the same as in Study 1. As in Study 1, participants were presented with an introductory page, which contained general information such as, the aim of the study, estimated duration of the questionnaire, their right to withdraw from the study at any point and an indication of how the results will be disseminated. Additionally, participants were informed that upon full completion of the survey they would be entered into a lucky draw where they would stand a chance to win one thousand rand in cash. Participants were asked to click "next" to go on to the questionnaire items; by clicking next participants were consenting to taking part in the study. In the first section participants were presented with the 16 items from the SDO measure. Following this, participants were presented with a series of measures that consider hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths. These were multiculturalism, colourblindness, noblesse oblige and Ubuntu. Participants were then presented with measures for race specific in-group identification and South African in-group identification. Additionally, participants were presented with two items to indicate social change for black South Africans and four items that measure the perception of secure social change (legitimacy and stability). After this, the intergroup perception ladder to indicate economic status for black and white South Africans was presented. In the final section of the questionnaire participants were asked to indicate their gender, age, field of study, the country they live in, nationality, the average monthly income and their personal economic status position. All items from the respective measures were presented randomly to the participants. Appendix B details the scale measures used in Study 3.

Measures

Social Dominance Orientation (alpha = .71), *support for affirmative action* (alpha = .78), *economic social change*, the direct measure of *economic social change* using an adapted scale from Pettigrew et al. (2008) (*r* = .38, *p* < .001, n = 178), *perceived legitimacy of social change* (r = .35, p < .001, n = 178), *perceived stability of social change* (r = .52; p < .001, n = 178), *racial identification* (alpha = .85) and *identification with South Africa* (alpha = .70) were measured in the exact same way as in Study 1.

All of the following additional measures were assessed using a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) and were presented randomly to participants.

Multiculturalism was measured using the following five items which were developed by Verkuyten and Masson (1995): "You can learn a lot from other race groups", "It is better that every race group stay in their designated areas" (reverse coded), "It is never easy to understand people from another race" (reverse coded), "The more race groups there are, the better it is for a society" and "Race groups should mix as much as possible". More recently, Verkuyten (2005) reported an internal consistency of .82 amongst Dutch and Turkish participants for this scale. In the current study the internal consistency reached an alpha of .51. Despite this low alpha value all corrected items-total correlations were larger than .30.

Colourblindness was measured using the following four items; "I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race", "People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human", "Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual" and "Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals" which were developed by Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, and Chow (2009). Knowles et al., (2009) reported an internal consistency of .80 amongst white

American participants. In the current study the internal consistency reached an alpha of .57, but all corrected item-total correlations were > .30.

Noblesse Oblige we measured by the following five items developed by Pratto et al. (1994): "As a country's wealth increases, more of its resources should be channelled to the poor", "Giving to others usually benefits the givers as well", "It is beneficial to all to spend money on the public sector such as education, housing, and health care", "Those who are well off can't be expected to take care of everyone else" (reverse coded), " Social charities just create dependency." (reverse coded). Internal consistencies ranging from .54 to .80 from eight samples were reported (see Pratto et al., 1994). In the current study the internal consistency reached an alpha of .10. Due to the unacceptable alpha value, this measure was excluded from further analysis.

Ubuntu as a belief system was assessed by five items based on Brubaker (2013) and Sigger and Polak (2010) who developed items that were relevant for the leadership and the organisational setting. Sigger and Polak (2010) reported an internal consistency of .82 using 44 items from a sample of managers from Tanzania and Zanzibar. Brubaker (2013) reported an internal consistency of .91 for 12 items using a sample of Rwandan participants. In the current study participants were presented with the following items: "People should make decisions based on a consensus", "People should put the needs of the community first", "Harmony amongst community members should be a priority", "Another person's success is my success" and "The success of the community is my success". In the current study the internal consistency reached an alpha of .68. Even though the internal consistency did not reach an alpha of .70, the corrected items-total correlations were > .30.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

Figure 3 provides a descriptive analysis of black participant's perception of economic social change. Results indicate that black participants are of the view that their in-group has been gaining economic status over time and the out-group's (white South Africans) economic status has remained relatively unchanged over time. Contrasting, these findings with the first study's, we see a similar pattern, that is, black participants perceive that their in-group is gaining status, however is the current study black participants perceive the out-group's status as being relatively stable.

Figure 3. Black participant's perception of economic social change (Study 3)
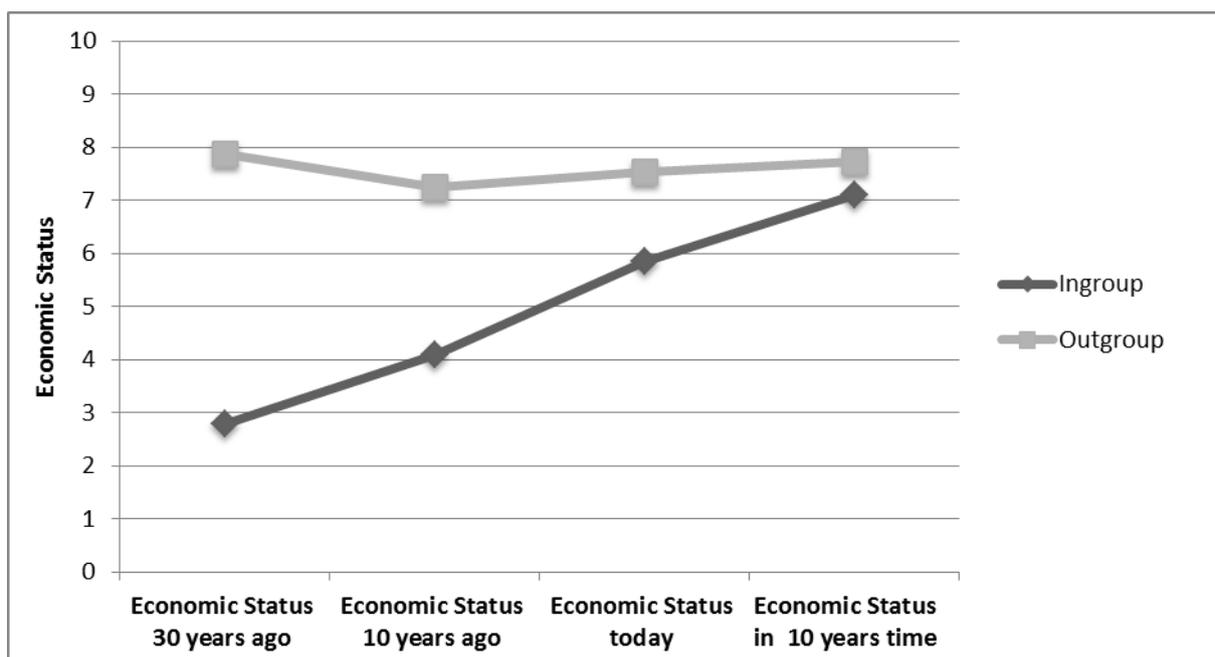

Table 5 reports the means, standard deviations and intercorrelations of the principle variables. Social dominance orientation correlated negatively with multiculturalism, colourblindness and Ubuntu. These findings are in line with the original assumptions and suggest that these ideologies are hierarchy-attenuating ideologies (Pratto et al., 1994; Levin et

al. 2012). Additionally, SDO was negatively correlated with identification with being South African, perceived legitimacy and stability of social change. Importantly, we found that in-group status change was negatively correlated with SDO, which suggests that the perception that the in-group is gaining status led to a low desire for inequality amongst groups. This finding contradicted what was found in Study 1 because the relationship between SDO and in-group status change was positive.

Support for affirmative action was positively correlated with multiculturalism, colourblindness and Ubuntu. From this, it could be assumed that affirmative action amongst black participants is viewed as a mechanism that brings about equality amongst racial groups. Also, racial in-group identification and South African in-group identification were correlated positively with support for affirmative action, which implies that black participants who identify strongly with their race group and black participants who strongly identify with being South African respectively show greater support for affirmative action. This result is consistent with what we found in Study 1.

Table 6. Means, Standard Deviations and intercorrelations for black participants (n = 193), Study 3

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	M	2.24	3.47	3.89	3.99	3.97	3.88	4.07	3.39	3.40	3.69	3.27	-.027	4.95	7.58
	SD	0.49	0.59	0.56	0.71	0.64	0.59	0.60	0.94	0.84	0.81	2.38	1.93	1.64	2.07
	Min	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-6.71	-6.03	0	0
	Max	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	7.83	5.81	9.25	10
1.	SDO	-													
2.	AA	-.12	-												
3.	Multiculturalism	-.44***	.19**	-											
4.	Colourblindness	-.30***	.28***	.38**	-										
5.	Ubuntu	-.23***	.42***	.34**	.48***	-									
6.	Racial Identification	-.13	.33***	.23**	.24***	.39***	-								
7.	South African Identification	-.19**	.25**	.24**	.29***	.46***	.62***	-							
8.	Perceived Social Change	-.10	.17*	.06	.09	.24***	.08	.16*	-						
9.	Legitimacy	-.16*	.22**	.09	.10	.24***	.09	.18**	.35***	-					
10.	Stability	-.16*	.08	.11	.18	.26***	.29***	.30***	.40***	.53***	-				
11.	In-group status change	-.33***	.05	.15	.24**	.16*	.15	.21**	.19*	.10	.25***	-			
12.	Out-group status change	-.04	.05	-.02	-.07	-.01	-.03	.03	-.10	-.10	-.11	.18*	-		
13.	In-group status	.08	-.06	-.02	.07	.15	.13	.17**	.14	.05	.20**	.25***	-.04	-	

| 14. Out-group status | -.15 | .05 | .10 | .13 | .10 | .04 | .06 | -.06 | -.03 | -.09 | .37*** | -.05 | .41*** | - |

Overall, our preliminary findings demonstrated a positive relationship between affirmative action and hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths which suggest that affirmative action may be viewed as a tool that facilitates equality amongst groups. Additionally, SDO was negatively correlated with hierarchy-attenuating myths. This finding provides additional confirmation that multiculturalism, colourblindness and Ubuntu are ideologies that promote equality amongst groups.

Hypothesis Testing

We hypothesised that hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. This hypothesis was tested separately for each ideology.

First, we hypothesised that the endorsement of multiculturalism would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (H3a). The moderator model was tested using *process* (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Support for affirmative action was entered as a dependent variable, SDO as the independent variable and multiculturalism as a moderator variable. Perceived social change, legitimacy of social change, stability of social change, racial in-group identification, SA in-group identification, Ubuntu and colourblindness were entered as covariates.

The moderator model was significant, $R^2 = .2560$, $F(11,163) = 5.0974$, $p < .001$. Legitimacy of social change (*Beta* = .1483, *SE* = 0.0576), $t = 2.5735$, $p < .05$, stability of social change (*Beta* = -.1682, *SE* = 0.0630), $t = -2.6688$, $p < .01$, racial in-group identification, (*Beta* = .2082, *SE* = 0.0921), $t = 2.2613$, $p < .05$, and Ubuntu (*Beta* = .2584, *SE* = 0.0806), $t = -3.2052$, $p < .01$, respectively, had a main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. However, the interaction term between SDO and

multiculturalism was not significant (*Beta* = .1632, *SE* = 0.1392), *t* = 1.1723, *p* > .05. Consequently, Hypothesis 3a was not supported.

Secondly, we tested whether colourblindness would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (H3b). Support for affirmative action was entered as a dependent variable, SDO as the independent variable and colourblindness as a moderator variable. Perceived social change, legitimacy of social change, stability of social change, racial in-group identification, SA in-group identification, multiculturalism and Ubuntu were entered as covariates. The moderator model was once again tested using *process* (Hayes & Preacher, 2014).

The model was significant, R^2 = .2978, $F(11,163)$ = 6.2839, *p* < .001. Perceived legitimacy of social change, (*Beta* = .1330, *SE* = 0.0559), *t* = 2.3791, *p* < .05, perceived stability of social change, (*Beta* = -.1625, *SE* = 0.0612), *t* = -2.6547, *p* < .01, and Ubuntu (*Beta* = .2146, *SE* = 0.0790), *t* = 2.7162, *p* = .001, respectively, had a main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. The interaction term between SDO and colourblindness was also significant (*Beta* = .3589, *SE* = 0.1074), *t* = 3.3417, *p* = .001, and significantly improved the explained variance in support for affirmative action, ΔR^2 = .0481, $F(1,163)$ = 11.1668, *p* = .001.

The unstandardized simple slopes indicated that at low levels of colourblindness (1 SD below the mean) (*B* = -.2617, *SE* = 0.1207); *t* = -2.1687, *p* < .05; 95% CI [-.5001, -.0234], there was a significant negative relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. At a mean level of endorsement of colourblindness (*B* = -.0031, *SE* = 0.0913); *t* = -0.0913, *p* >.05; 95% CI [-.1834, .1772], the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action was not significant. However, at high levels of endorsement of colourblindness (1 SD above the mean) (*B* = .2555, *SE* = 0.1187); *t* = 2.1526, *p* < .05; 95% CI [.0211, .4898], there

was a positive relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. Therefore Hypothesis 3b was supported.

In a third model we tested whether Ubuntu had a conditional effect on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (H3c). Support for affirmative action was entered as a dependent variable, SDO as the independent variable and Ubuntu was entered as the moderator variable. Perceived social change, legitimacy of social change, stability of social change, racial in-group identification, SA in-group identification, multiculturalism and colourblindness were entered as covariates. The moderator model was tested using *process* (Hayes & Preacher, 2014).

Results indicated a significant model, $R^2 = .2737$, $F(11,163) = 5.5845$, $p < .001$. Ubuntu (*Beta* = .2551, *SE* = 0.0795), $t = 3.2084$, $p < .01$, legitimacy of social change (*Beta* = .1396, *SE* = 0.0568), $t = 2.4572$, $p < .05$, stability of social change (*Beta* = -.1693, *SE* = 0.0623), $t = -2.7183$, $p < .01$, and racial in-group identification (*Beta* = .1841, *SE* = 0.0914), $t = 2.0136$, $p < .05$, respectively, had a main effect on the dependent variable, support for affirmative action. Importantly, the interaction term between SDO and Ubuntu was significant, (*Beta* = .2520, *SE* = 0.1080), $t = 2.3330$, $p < .05$ and significantly increased the explained variance in support for affirmative action, $\Delta R^2 = .0234$, $F (1,167) = 5.4428$, $p < .05$.

The unstandardized simple slopes analysis did not indicate a significant impact of SDO on support for affirmative action at a high level (1 SD above the mean) ($B = .1767$, *SE* = 0.1195); $t = -1.4789$, $p > .05$; 95% CI [-.3842, .0710], at the mean, ($B = .0100$, *SE* = 0.0929); $t = -0.1081$, $p > .05$; 95% CI [-.1734, .1935], and a low level of endorsement of Ubuntu (1 SD below the mean) ($B = -.1566$, *SE* = 0.1153); $t = -1.3585$, $p > .05$; 95% CI [-.3842, .0710]. However, the Johnson-Newman technique revealed that at a low level of endorsement of Ubuntu (< -1.5451), SDO was negatively correlated with support for affirmative action ($B = -$

.3910, *SE* = 0.1930); *t* = -2.0257, *p* = .04; 95% CI [-.7722, -.0098]. Whereas, at a high level of

Ubuntu (1.0549), SDO was positively correlated with support for affirmative action (*B* =

.2838, *SE* = 0.1528; *t* = 1.8580, *p* = .06; 95% CI [-0178, .5855], however the latter was only

marginally significant.

Discussion

  In the third study we hypothesised that multiculturalism (H3a), colourblindness (H3b)

and Ubuntu (H3c) would each moderate the relationship between SDO and support for

affirmative action.

  First, we tested the hypothesis that multiculturalism would moderate the relationship

between SDO and support for affirmative action. This hypothesis was not supported. The lack

of support for this conditional effect amongst black participants may be due to the fact they

do not think that affirmative action contributes to the ideal that all cultural groups should be

considered equally. In a similar study, amongst dominant group members, Levin et al. (2012)

demonstrated that multiculturalism moderated the relationship between SDO and prejudice

towards Arab Americans and US immigrants. However this conditional effect was not

significant for prejudice that is directed at African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans.

As a result, it is plausible to suggest that multiculturalism having a conditional effect on SDO

and a hierarchy-attenuating social policy, may be dependent on the group that this social

policy is directed at.

  We further hypothesised that colourblindness would moderate the relationship

between SDO and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 3b). This hypothesis was

supported. The results suggested that a preference for the treatment of people according to

their race group and a higher SDO levels, predicting lower support for affirmative action This

means that amongst black participants who do not endorse colourblindness, a higher SDO

leads to lower support for affirmative action. In contrast, results also indicated that when participants preferred colourblindness the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action was positive; this suggests that black participants who endorse the treatment of people as individuals are in favour of their in-group gaining status by showing greater support for affirmative action. This finding supplements our understanding of hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths amongst non-dominant groups that are gaining status because of social change. The current finding is similar to Levin et al.'s (2012) who demonstrated that the perception of colourblindness as a normative belief moderated the relationship between SDO and prejudice. Specifically, it was demonstrated that when there was the perception that colourblindness was the norm the relationship between SDO and prejudice was not significant. However, when colourblindness was not the norm the relationship between SDO and prejudice was significant.

Lastly we hypothesised that Ubuntu would moderate the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action (Hypothesis 3c), which was supported. The results suggested that at lower levels of support for Ubuntu, higher SDO predicted lower support for affirmative action. This suggests that when black participants are not in favour of communal ideals, desire for inequality amongst groups leads to lower support for affirmative action, thus hampering the in-group's status gain. Yet when black participants endorse Ubuntu, we found a positive relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action. This suggests SDO positively predicts support for affirmative action, thus implying support for the in-group's status gain when there is an endorsement of communal ideals.

General Discussion

The current studies sought to examine the implications of social change on social dominance theory and social identity theory. We argued that these two theoretical frameworks, although suitable for explaining the maintenance and undoing of inequality amongst groups in stable intergroup contexts – they have not been thoroughly examined in contexts where social change is already underway (see Pratto et al., 2006; Reynolds et al., 2013).

To summarise, first, in our initial study we established that there was no difference in SDO levels between black and white participants, yet in Study 2 white participants had higher SDO levels relative to black participants. Secondly, we found that when there was the perception of strong in-group status loss amongst white participants, higher SDO levels predicted opposition towards affirmative action (Study 1). Also, when there was stronger racial in-group identification amongst black participants, higher levels of perceived social change predicted support for affirmative action (Study 1). Lastly, in the third study, we established that colourblindness and Ubuntu moderated the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action amongst black participants. That is, at higher levels of support for colourblindness and Ubuntu respectively, higher SDO levels predicted support for affirmative action – whereas at lower levels of support for colourblindness and Ubuntu, higher SDO levels predicted opposition towards affirmative action.

Taking into account our first overall finding, which demonstrated that when social change is made salient amongst groups due to the research procedure, there was no difference in SDO levels between dominant and non-dominant groups (Study 1), yet when group status is accounted for only sociologically, dominant group members show higher SDO levels relative to non-dominant group members (Study 2).

These findings contribute to various on-going debates on intergroup relations. The first being, the recent debate about the underlying meaning of SDO as a general desire for inequality amongst groups or a context-specific orientation towards inequality (see Schmitt & Branscombe, 2003; Turner & Reynolds, 2003; Schmitt et al., 2003; Lehmiller & Schmitt, 2007; Huang & Liu, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2010; Kteily et al., 2011; Kteily et al., 2012; Pratto et al., 2006). Our findings suggest, as alluded to by Kteily et al. (2012) and Federico (1999) that making the intergroup context salient does indeed alter what the SDO scale measures, particularly in Study 1 where we made social change amongst black and white South Africans salient due to the research procedure applied. Moreover, when we did not make social change salient (Study 2), our finding was in line with SDT's expectation that dominant groups will exhibit higher SDO levels relative to non-dominant groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al. 2013).

Additionally, it might not be surprising that we found no significant difference between black and white South African participants in their SDO levels because the economic status gap between these two groups was perceived by participants in Study 1 as getting smaller (see also, Duckitt & Maphuthing, 1998; Dumont & van Lill, 2009; Dumont & Waldzus, 2014). This finding is in line with Levin (2004), who established that the extent to which groups differ in their desire for inequality amongst groups is also determined by their perception of the status gap between groups. That is, when people perceive that there is a greater degree of status difference between groups, SDO levels between dominant and non-dominant groups will be greater. As a result, Levin (2004) concluded that the subjective perception of status amongst group is more crucial than objective status (sociological).

Secondly, our findings contribute to the debate regarding the distinct conceptualisation of group status between SDT and SIT (see Reynolds et al., 2013). Reynolds et al. (2013) alluded to the different conceptualisation of groups from a SDT and SIT

perspective, stating that SDT generally thinks of groups as exogenous entities (objectively, sociological), whereas SIT considers groups endogenously (subjectively, psychological). This contrast in conceptualising groups sociologically and psychologically may pose the following challenges when conducting psychological research amongst groups. That is, conceptualising group status sociologically may lead to the complexity of group behaviour being oversimplified, because the self-categorisation theory (a sub-theory of SIT) has already elucidated upon the complexity of intergroup behaviour by arguing that people respond to situations on the basis of their social identity or personal identity – depending on which identity is made salient in the given situation (Abrams & Hogg, 2010; Reynolds et al., 2013). Moreover, according to self-categorisation theory the extent to which people identify with these sociological groups is also crucial to their intergroup behaviour (Abrams & Hogg, 2010, p.182; Reynolds et al., 2013). Furthermore, the distinction between groups sociologically and psychologically could lead to a conflation of research results, that is, some findings may be based on the conceptualisation of group status sociologically whereas others may be based on a psychological account of group status.

Finally, black and white participants scored significantly below the SDO scale centre, which suggests that both groups are less inclined to support inequality amongst groups. Pratto et al. (2013) also alluded to low scores in SDO indicating low endorsement of group-based inequality (see also, Fischer, Hanke, & Sibley, 2012). One could speculate that low SDO levels are due the encouragement of equality amongst groups becoming widespread (see Inglehart, Norris, & Welzel, 2002). For example, in South Africa equality amongst groups is part of government's official discourse and is also one of the values that are enshrined in its constitution. Moreover, Fischer et al. (2012) in a meta-analysis reported lower SDO levels in countries with higher levels of democracy – and concluded that this could be attributed to how people are socialised in countries that promote equality amongst individuals. In line with

this reasoning, one could also put forward the explanation that overt support for inequality amongst groups has become socially unacceptable – indicating that SDO may be taking on a more subtle undertone; much in the way that old-fashioned racism evolved to modern racism (see Henry & Sears, 2002).

Our second overall finding demonstrated that the perception of in-group status loss has a conditional effect on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action amongst white participants. Whereas, racial in-group identification moderated the relationship between perceived social change and support affirmative action amongst black participants. In line with these findings, one can conclude that the SDT model provides a better description of white South African participants' psychological reality, whereas the SIT model provides a better description of black South African participants' psychological reality.

Our finding that the SDT model provided a better description of white participant's psychological reality can be compared with results reported by Federico (1999). Federico (1999) reported that dominant group members (i.e. white Americans) with a higher SDO opposed policies that aid non-dominant group members when they perceived stable and unstable intergroup relations. However, the key difference in the current studies is that white participants were considered a former dominant group that is losing status due to social change. Taken together, these findings suggest that in a society that has stable intergroup hierarchies SDO drives opposition towards polices that aid non-dominant groups when the existing intergroup hierarchy is perceived as stable or unstable (Federico, 1999) – and similarly in a context that is undergoing social change, opposition towards affirmative action is driven by SDO, only when in-group status loss is perceived as a result of social change. This finding highlights the importance of the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action in a context that is undergoing social change.

Studies have also considered the conditional effect of legitimacy on the relationship between SDO and policies that aid non-dominant groups (see Levin et al., 2002; Rabinowitz, 1999). In a context that is undergoing social change, the legitimacy of social change may be as relevant because it considers the perception of the on-going social change as fair or unfair. Future studies could contribute to understanding the conditional effect of perceived legitimacy of social change on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action.

Additionally, because the SDT model provided a better description of white participant's psychological realities, this suggests that opposition towards affirmative action amongst white participants is driven by the perception that the in-group is being harmed by these policies (see also Lowery et al., 2006). In line with this reasoning, what the current finding indicates is that opposition towards affirmative action could be driven by zero-sum beliefs, that is, white South African participants may perceive that black South African's economic status gain translates to economic status loss for their in-group. For instance, Wilkins and Kaiser (2014) demonstrated the presence of zero-sum beliefs amongst dominant group members, when they showed that progress for non-dominant group members is perceived as being discriminatory towards dominant group members (white Americans), particularly when there was an endorsement of hierarchy-enhancing belief systems, for example, the belief in a just world.

The SDT model may have provided a better description of white participant's psychological reality when social change is taking place because of the following reason. In social dominance theory's attempt at explaining the maintenance of group-based hierarchies, it emphasises the dominant group's desire to preserve their dominant position by outrightly supporting group-based inequality (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In the current study, despite the fact that white participants are of the view that their in-group is the non-dominant group

psychologically, sociological data suggests that they are still the dominant group economically (see Census, 2011). This could be the reason that the SDT model provided a better explanation of their reality when social change is underway. Moreover, prior studies have demonstrated that threat to dominant group's status position does lead to elevated SDO levels (see Morrison & Yabbra, 2008; Morrison et al., 2009).

Furthermore, one could reason that the SIT model accounts for the psychological reality of black participants because it emphasises the use of social competition to achieve positive distinctiveness amongst non-dominant groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, in the current study, based on our mixed findings, we could not conclude that black participants are the non-dominant group – that is to say that, black participants were of the view that their in-group was the non-dominant group and white participants were of the view that black South Africans were the dominant group. What we could conclude from our results is that black and white participants were in agreement that black South Africans are the group that is gaining status. Therefore, in line with this evidence one could argue that the SIT model provided a better account of black South African participant's psychological reality because they are using social competition to preserve their in-group's status gain. Our reasoning is corroborated by previous findings which suggest the non-dominant group members engage in social competition when the intergroup hierarchy is seen as unstable (see Ellemers et al., 1993).

Social dominance theory literature has generally examined how legitimizing-myths affect the relationship between SDO and prejudice or a relevant social policy (see Sidanius & Pratto 1999; Pratto et al. 2000; Sibley & Duckitt, 2010; Levin et al., 2012; Hindriks, Verkuyten & Coenders, 2014). The current study demonstrated that the relationship between SDO and support affirmative action is conditional on the endorsement of Ubuntu and colourblindness. This alternative model gives us a refined understanding of the relationship

between SDO and support affirmative action. It indicates that when there is support for hierarchy-attenuating ideologies (colourblindness and Ubuntu); SDO predicts support for opposition towards affirmative action.

Initially our findings seemed unexpected because one would expect that support for colourblindness would lead to opposition towards a policy that allocates resources on the basis of group membership. Yet, amongst black participants we found that higher SDO leads to support for affirmative action when there was high endorsement of colourblindness. Two possible explanations can be provided for this finding; first, social dominance theory suggests that hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths are belief systems that undo inequality amongst groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). As a result, it is not surprising that support for colourblindness functions as a hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myth because it led to support for the in-group's status gain. For black South African participants, the desire to see the in-group gain status could be interpreted as support for closing the gap in economic inequality between black and white South Africans.

Secondly, one could put forward the argument that in a social context where race mattered/matters, that is, race determined and still determines the individual's social position in society, support for the ideal that people should be judged as individuals and not as members of a particular race group, necessitates economic equality among the different race groups. On the contrary, amongst black participants, low endorsement of colourblindness may indicate opposition towards the in-group's gain in status because higher SDO predicted opposition towards affirmative action. This again is in line with SDT because low endorsement of a hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myth translates to opposition towards the status gap between groups closing (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, this result should be interpreted with caution because the colourblindness scale had a poor internal consistency.

Ubuntu and colourblindness share conceptual similarities as they were highly correlated (see Table 6). Support for Ubuntu indicates the endorsement of the ideal that an individual should put the needs of the community ahead their own (Sigger & Polak, 2010, p. 2). Similar to colourblindness, we found that support for this ideology indicated support for the in-group's gain in status. Again, in this case one could speculate that the endorsement of Ubuntu suggests that black participants are of the view that you cannot have communality if there is inequality. Furthermore, amongst black South Africans there is economic inequality, so support for Ubuntu may also refer to privileged in-group members living communally to ensure that the in-group gains status. Conversely, when there was low support for Ubuntu, higher SDO predicted opposition towards affirmative action which indicated opposition to the in-group's gain in status.

These counterintuitive findings may point to the fact that these hierarchy-attenuating ideologies (colourblindness and Ubuntu) are not in line with black South African participants' reality. Future studies could examine the function of ideologies when they contradict people's experiences.

Our studies are not without their limitations. In Study 1 and 2 there was an over representation of female participants which could have led to the low scores on the SDO scale. SDT researchers suggest that there are gender differences in SDO across various social contexts (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al. 2000) – and studies have generally indicated that females score lower on SDO relative to males (Sidanius et al., 1994; Pratto et al., 1997; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al., 2000). With this limitation in mind, the current study did not consider the social change taking place amongst genders in South Africa. That is, in South Africa measures to ensure gender equality have been put in place, for example, women being included as beneficiaries of affirmative action. Therefore, a key

question that future studies could address is how social change affects intergroup relations between men and women.

Also, the current studies only examined the impact of economic social change amongst black and white South Africans, without considering the effect of political social change. With the end of Apartheid, there was a sudden change in the political landscape of South Africa as the ANC led government (majority black party) came to power. One could argue that political change was a lot more pronounced (see Southall, 2007; Pettigrew, 2010), thus would have had a greater impact on black and white participant's perception of social change. Future research could add to the understanding of the impact of political social change on the relationship between SDO and support for affirmative action.

In Study 3, our participants were presented with reduced items for the scales measuring Ubuntu and colourblindness – which may have led low internal consistencies for these measures. Consequently, results associated with these measures should be interpreted with caution.

Moreover, South Africa is considered a multi-racial society therefore consists of more than one race group. Historically, the apartheid system oppressed people of African, Indian and coloured descent – as a result affirmative action measures have included them as beneficiaries. However, the current study did not include people who identify themselves as coloured or Indian even though their experience of social change can add to our understanding of intergroup behaviour in a context that is undergoing social change. For instance, Roberts, Weir-Smith and Reddy (2011) reported significantly greater support for affirmative action amongst black South Africans relative to Indian and coloured South Africans. This finding suggests that the different groups within South Africa have group-specific experiences of social change. Future studies could investigate how social change affects coloured and Indian South Africans.

Lastly, the current study did not consider the fact that black South Africans are the numerical majority group relative to white South Africans (see Census 2011) – this could have implications for the intergroup relations that are undergoing social change. For instance, Lucken and Simon (2005) suggested that numerical minorities may be of the view that the in-group is non-dominant based on this numerical difference. Yet, in the current study white South African participants considered their group as non-dominant and black South African participants considered their in-group as non-dominant even though they are the numerical majority. Future studies could address the effects of numerical majorities/minorities on the perceptions of status amongst groups.

Overall, what do these findings tell us? First, they suggest that SDT and SIT are useful theoretical frameworks when investigating intergroup relations because both theories accounted for intergroup behaviour in a context that is undergoing social change. This they have demonstrated by giving us insight into how a former dominant group and former non-dominant group respond to changes in their status position.

Secondly, in line with the first point, our findings suggest that groups that are affected by social change have distinct psychological realities. For black participants, group identity is important because their in-group is gaining status. For white participants, SDO seems to matter more because their in-group is losing status as a result of social change.

Lastly, despite having one of the highest income inequalities in the world (see World Bank 2012), our findings suggest that black and white participants are against groups-based inequality because they scored significantly below the scale centre in Study 1 and 2. This suggests that efforts that have been made at reconciling black and white South Africans have not been in vain.

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Appendix A - Questionnaires Study 1

Economic Social Change

1. Would you say that over the last 30 years Blacks in South Africa have been economically better off, the same, worse off or a lot worse off than most White South Africans

    (1- a lot worse off; 2 - worse off; 3- the same; 4 - better off; 5 - much better off)

2. Would you say in the coming 15 years Blacks in South Africa will be economically a lot better off, the same, worse off, or a lot worse off than most White South Africans

    (1- a lot worse off; 2 - worse off; 3- the same; 4 - better off; 5 - much better off)

Secure Social Change (Stability and legitimacy)

1. It is fair that black South Africans are gaining more economic resources.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. There is no doubt that black South Africans are improving economically.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3. It is just that black South Africans are getting wealthier.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

4. I am certain that black South Africans are gaining wealth.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

Social Dominance Orientation - 16 Item scale

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

9.   It would be good if groups could be equal.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

10.   Group equality should be our ideal.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

11.   All groups should be given an equal chance in life.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

12.   We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

13.   Increased social equality is beneficial to society.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

14.   We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

15.   We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

16.   No one group should dominate in society.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

Racial Policy Attitudes

1. Using some of the national education budget for special scholarships for black children who do well in school.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. Spending more of your province's education budget on schools in largely black neighbourhoods.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3. Setting up quota systems to ensure racial integration at universities and schools.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

4. Making it easier for emerging black farmers get loans to buy land.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

5. Creating laws that stop farmers evicting black farm labourers.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

6. Forcing farmers to sell land for less than it is worth to settle emerging black farmers on farms.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

7. Special training programmes for black people so that they can compete fairly for jobs and promotion.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

8. Affirmation action in hiring and promoting black employees.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

9. BEE policies, giving preferential contracts and tax breaks to black business people.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

10. Using tax money to support emerging black artists and performers.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

11. Ensuring that the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) gives much more TV and radio time to programmes in local black languages.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

Racial In-group identification

1. I feel a bond with my group.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. I feel committed to my group.

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3.   I am glad to be a member of my group.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

4.   I think that my group has a lot to be proud of.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

5.   I often think about the fact that I am a member of my group.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

6.   The fact that I am a member of my group is an important part of my identity.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

7.   I have a lot in common with the average member of my group.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

8.   I am similar to the average member of my group.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

9.   Members of my group have a lot in common with each other.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

10.   Members of my group are very similar to each other.

(1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

South African In-group identification

1.   I feel a bond with South Africans.

        (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

        Agree)

2.   I am glad to be South African.

        (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

        Agree)

3.   The fact that I am a South African is an important part of my identity.

        (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

        Agree)

4.   I have a lot in common with the average South African.

        (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

        Agree)

5.   South African people are very similar to each other.

        (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

        Agree)

Multiculturalism

1. You can learn a lot from other race groups

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. It is better that every race group stay in their designated areas (reverse coded)

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3. It is never easy to understand people from another race (reverse coded)

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

4. The more race groups there are, the better it is for a society

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

5. Race groups should mix as much as possible

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

Colourblindness

1. I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human

    (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3. Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

4. Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

Noblesse Oblige

1. As a country's wealth increases, more of its resources should be channelled to the poor

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

2. Giving to others usually benefits the givers as well

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

3. It is beneficial to all to spend money on the public sector such as education, housing, and health care

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5-Strongly Agree)

4. Those who are well off can't be expected to take care of everyone else (reverse coded)

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

5. Social charities just create dependency (reverse coded)

   (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly Agree)

Ubuntu

1.   People should make decisions based on a consensus

     (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

     Agree)

2.   People should put the needs of the community first

     (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

     Agree)

3.   Harmony amongst community members should be a priority

     (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

     Agree)

4.   Another person's success is my success

     (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

     Agree)

5.   The success of the community is my success

     (1-Strongly Disagree; 2-Disagree; 3-Neither Agree or Disagree; 4- Agree; 5 Strongly

     Agree)