

**Relative Deprivation and Relative Gratification in
Low and High Status Groups**

by

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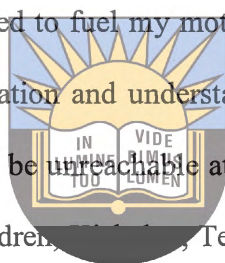
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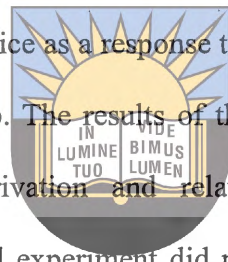


Secondly, I would like to thank my children, Tevendran and Syleshan for your understanding when time constraints made it impossible for me to create more magical moments with you. Your confidence and pride in me continues to spur me on to achieving the once unimaginable. To the research participants, thank you for your time and enthusiasm. Last, but certainly not least, to my sister Samantha, who continues to be my rock and pillar of strength, no amount of thank yous could ever express my gratitude to you for your unwavering support, many many kindnesses, and assistance during this project and countless other times. I dedicate this research project to all of you. Thank you!

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ABSTRACT

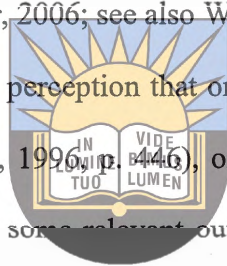
The present paper reports two experiments which aimed to firstly, replicate Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) findings that both relative deprivation and relative gratification increases prejudice (Experiments 1 and 2). Secondly, we aimed to test the assumption based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that prejudice towards a target group would be greater than prejudice towards the more generalised group of immigrants (Experiments 1 and 2). Since Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) experiments were conducted with low status groups, the third and final aim of the present study was to determine whether Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) findings on relative deprivation and relative gratification are also applicable to high status groups (Experiment 2). In line with Social Identity Theory and related research it was predicted that members of a high status group should express stronger prejudice as a response to relative deprivation/gratification than members of a low status group. The results of the first experiment confirmed the predicted effects of relative deprivation and relative gratification on intergroup discrimination. However, the second experiment did not confirm our expectations of a replication of the V-curve for either of the experimental groups (high versus low). Our second assumption was only partially confirmed since we found in Experiment 1 that relative deprivation increases ingroup bias (our measure of targeted prejudice) as expected but relative gratification seems to predict a more generalized prejudice. However, this result could not be replicated in the second experiment (in which we controlled for status). Our final assumption was therefore not confirmed. Methodological and theoretical reasons for these results are provided and discussed in detail.



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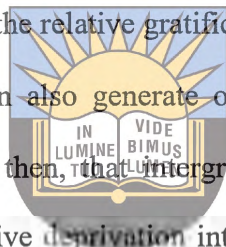
INTRODUCTION

Understanding intergroup conflict and the factors that contribute to stereotyping and prejudice is a fundamental problem that has been of perennial interest in social psychology for many years. Relative Deprivation Theory is often considered as one of the main theoretical perspectives in the explanation of prejudice (Jones 2002; Nelson, 2000; as cited in Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006; see also Walker & Smith, 2002). Relative deprivation is commonly defined as the perception that one is less well off than another to whom one compares oneself (Myers, 1996, p. 446), or where a group experiences a perceived deprivation in comparison to some relevant outgroup (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002). The relative deprivation approach then focuses almost exclusively on negative or unfavourable comparisons. These unfavorable comparisons have the effect of increasing prejudicial attitudes and behaviours (see Guimond & Dambrun, 2002; Guimond & Dube-Simard, 1983, Gurr, 1970 & Runciman, 1966; as cited in Dambrun, Crush, Taylor & Meot, 2006). Relative gratification, the complete opposite of relative deprivation, is defined as the perception that one compares oneself favourably with others, thus, feeling privileged when compared to some relevant outgroup (Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006, p 206). A commonly held belief has been that since relative deprivation is expected to increase prejudice, relative gratification should be associated with a decrease in prejudice (Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006). However, as early as in the 1970s, Grofman and Muller (1973), two sociologists, challenged this assumption. In their article entitled "The Strange Case of the V-Curve Hypothesis" they reported that "the greatest potential for political violence is manifested both by individuals who perceive negative



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change and by individuals who perceive positive change” (p. 514). Drawing on the V-Curve hypothesis, recent research has shown experimentally that relative gratification is not only a powerful determinant of prejudice, but may result in even greater levels of prejudice than relative deprivation (see Guimond & Dambrun, 2002; Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006). The focus on relative gratification has led to a radically different perspective on intergroup prejudice within the field of social psychology. Unlike the relative deprivation approach that has given almost exclusive focus to various forms of negative or unfavourable comparisons, the relative gratification approach indeed suggests that favourable social comparisons can also generate outgroup hostility (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002). These results imply then, that intergroup discrimination is likely to emerge under both conditions: in relative deprivation intergroup relations are perceived as deteriorating and in relative gratification intergroup relations are perceived as changing for the better relative to comparison groups. Notwithstanding the significant contributions that have been made by Guimond and Dambrun (2002) to our understanding of intergroup prejudice, their studies have exposed two fundamental concerns. Firstly, most of the studies conducted thus far have been exclusively focusing on low status groups. For instance, in Western Europe (France) the effect of gratification has been confirmed solely with psychology students as participants, who hold a rather low status position when compared with law students (Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006). It has been demonstrated in a range of studies that high status groups tend to discriminate more than low status groups (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999). The question that then arises is whether low and high status groups differ in the V-curve. The second concern lies in the conceptualization of prejudice. Guimond and Dambrun



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(2002) have conceptualised prejudice as a general negative attitude towards “immigrants”. Such a conceptualisation could be challenged from the perspective of Social Identity Theory. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) would argue that intergroup prejudice is likely to occur following direct social comparison processes with a distinct and relevant comparison group. The present study will report two experiments which aimed to firstly, replicate the effects of relative deprivation and relative gratification on prejudice in both low and high status groups and secondly to investigate the existence of higher levels of prejudice towards a targeted comparison group versus a more generalised group of immigrants.

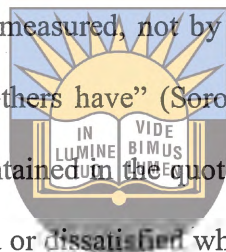


As mentioned above, Relative Deprivation Theory postulates that unfavourable comparisons can generate feelings of deprivation that motivate outgroup hostility (Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006). In many cultures and countries (including the United States, India, South Africa, and Western Europe), relative deprivation has consistently been identified as a strong and robust predictor of prejudice (see Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972, Tripathi & Strivasta, 1981, Appelgryn & Nieuwoudt, 1998, Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; as cited in Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006). For example in the United States, Vanneman and Pettigrew (1972) asked White Americans how well off they were when compared with other Whites and African Americans. They found that those who did not feel well off when compared with other Whites were more prejudiced against African Americans. In Iceland, Bernburg, Thorlindsson and Sigfusdottir (2009) used more recently relative deprivation perspectives to test the proposition that the effects of economic deprivation on economic outcomes are dependent on the standard of living

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enjoyed by the person's reference groups. They showed that the effects of economic deprivation on adolescent anger, normlessness, delinquency, violence and subjective relative family status are weak in school communities where economic deprivation is common but significantly stronger in school communities where economic deprivation is rare.

The essence of relative deprivation has been eloquently captured in Pieter Sorokin's adage: "poverty or wealth of a man is measured, not by what he has at present but by what he used to have before or what others have" (Sorokin, 1925; as cited in Crosby, 1976, p. 85). The anecdotal wisdom contained in the quote is that deprivation is relative, not absolute. People feel unjustly treated or dissatisfied when they compare themselves to some standard of reference. As such, those who are the most deprived in an objective sense are not the ones most likely to experience deprivation (Crosby, 1976). Empirical evidence to date has confirmed the insights offered by the above claim. For instance, Smith, Kendal and Hulin (1969; as cited in Crosby, 1976) found that workers in the best paying factory were not as satisfied as one would expect since constant exposure to the very high level of salaries that existed in the plant and the surrounding community resulted in workers shifting the frame of reference against which they evaluated their pay. Morrison and Steeves (1967; as cited in Crosby, 1976) found that rich farmers were more likely than poorer farmers to engage in political activity designed to redress economic grievances. Pettigrew (1964; as cited in Crosby, 1976) found from interviews with African Americans that as they moved up the economic and social scales, the less satisfied they became.



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The process of social comparison, as is evident in the cases cited above, is crucial to an understanding of relative deprivation and is a major underlying assumption of Relative Deprivation Theory. Other intergroup theories like Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Equity Theory (Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1988), and the Five Stage Model of Intergroup relations (Taylor & McKirnan, 1984) also share this assumption about the importance of social comparison.



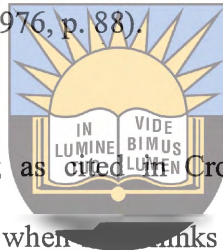
Whilst the argument that the process of social comparison as imperative to relative deprivation is supported empirically, Crosby (1976) argues that it leaves us with one important question: “If deprivation comes from comparing ourselves to someone who is better off than we are, and if all societies contain inequalities, why do we not always feel deprived?” (Crosby, 1976, p. 86). Crosby (1976) suggests that comparison with a better off referent person is not a sufficient determinant of relative deprivation even if it is a necessary one. Other ingredients are also necessary if deprivation is to occur. Various models of deprivation seek to specify what these ingredients are.

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Davis (1959; cited in Crosby, 1976) was the first theorist to develop a formal theory of relative deprivation. According to his formulation, an individual who lacks a desired good or opportunity (X) experiences a sense of injustice whenever s/he perceives that similar others possess X and when s/he feels entitled to possess X himself. The necessary determinants of felt deprivation according to Davis (1959; as cited in Crosby,

1976, p. 88) are that the individual who lacks X must (a) perceive that a similar other has X, (b) want X; and (c) feel entitled to X.

Runciman (1966; as cited in Crosby, 1976) added a fourth dimension to the model of relative deprivation: that the individual must think that it is favourable to obtain X. The inclusion of this fourth dimension, according to Runciman allows a distinction between unrealistic hopes, which do not lead to felt deprivation, and reality based aspirations that do lead to felt deprivation (see Crosby, 1976, p. 88).



In contrast to Runciman, Gurr (1970; as cited in Crosby, 1976) proposed that an individual experiences deprivation only when he thinks that it is not feasible to obtain X. Gurr (1970) conceptualized relative deprivation as follows:

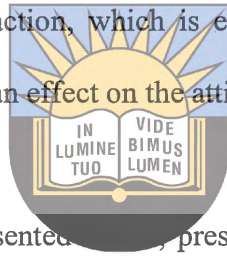
$$\text{Relative deprivation} = \frac{\text{value expectations} - \text{value capabilities}}{\text{value expectations}}$$

Value expectations refer to those goods and opportunities that the individual wants and to which he feels entitled, based on comparisons with similar others. Value capabilities, on the other hand, are those goods and opportunities that the individual possesses or thinks that he can possess (Crosby, 1976, p. 88).

Crosby (1976) points out that whilst these three theories overlap, they also bear a difference with respect to the elements of feasibility. For Runciman (1966), deprivation exists when the perceived feasibility of obtaining X is high; for Gurr (1970), deprivation

exists when the perceived feasibility is low; whilst for Davis (1959) feasibility is irrelevant (see Crosby, 1976).

Since Crosby (1976), Martin (1981; as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002) outlined a four-variable model of relative deprivation. According to Martin, a pattern of distribution of reward (variable 1), i.e. a direction of change in prosperity, leads to a process of comparison, e.g. people compare their outcomes (variable 2). This process of comparison has an effect on a feeling of dissatisfaction, which is experienced as a perception of injustice (variable 3), which in turn has an effect on the attitude or prejudice (variable 4).



The models of relative deprivation presented by LeVine and Moreland (1987) presents us with further important conceptual distinctions that need to be outlined. Following Runciman (1966; as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002), a basic conceptual distinction has been made between two types of relative deprivation: egoistical relative deprivation and fraternal relative deprivation. Egoistical relative deprivation refers to an individual who feels deprived because he or she is less well off than others. Fraternal relative deprivation concerns individuals who feel that their ingroup is deprived relative to an outgroup, regardless of their own personal deprivation. Research comparing the roles of these two types of RD has revealed that fraternal or group relative deprivation is the strongest predictor of intergroup attitudes and behaviours (Dube & Guimond, 1986; Hafer & Olson, 1993; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Tyler & Smith, 1998 as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002). Levine and Moreland (1987; as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002) have pointed out a third major type of relative deprivation, namely temporal relative deprivation.

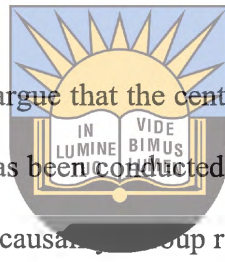
Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) found that the following measure of group relative deprivation was strongly predictive of prejudice across several samples coming from four countries: “Would you say that over the last 5 years people like yourself [in France] have been economically a lot better off, the same, worse off, or a lot worse off than most [North Africans] living here” (as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 63). This item involves an intergroup comparison but also a temporal comparison (e.g. the reference to “over the last 5 years”). There is correlational evidence to suggest that measures of group relative deprivation involving temporal comparisons are more predictive of prejudice than similar measure without a temporal dimension (Guimond & Dambrun, 2001; as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002).



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A second major distinction that has been made is between the affective component of relative deprivation and the cognitive component (Cook, Crosby & Hennigan, 1977; Guimond & Dube- Simard, 1983; Olson & Hafer, 1996; as cited in Guimond & Dambun, 2002). The cognitive dimension refers to the perception of inequality, i.e. the perception of the magnitude of discrepancy between one’s own position (either as a unique person or as a group member) and the position of a “referent other” on some evaluative dimensions. The affective dimension refers to the degree to which feelings of anger, upset, and outrage are elicited by a perception of relative deprivation to another group (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 2002). It is this evaluation of perceived inequality which is assumed to determine the degree of resentment about the perceived gap between the two positions (Kawakami & Kenneth, 1995). The affective dimension is often described as mediating between perceived inequality (cognitive dimension) and intra-/intergroup behaviour (see

Guimond & Dambun, 2002). A number of studies have shown that the affective component of relative deprivation mediates the effect of group relative deprivation on social attitudes and behaviours. Guimond and Dube-Simard (1983; as cited in Guimond & Dambun, 2002), for instance, have shown that the effect of the perceived inequality between two groups (cognitive component) on support for a social movement is mediated by feelings of dissatisfaction stemming from an unfavourable comparison between the situation of the ingroup and that of the outgroup.



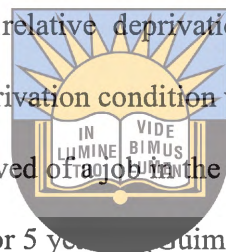
Dambun, Guimond and Taylor (2006) argue that the central problem with most research in the area of relative deprivation that has been conducted is that they are correlational in nature. This leaves open the question of causal effects. Group relative deprivation may well be a source of greater prejudice but prejudice could very well generate greater feelings of group relative deprivation. To address this problem, Guimond and Dambun (2002) conducted a series of experiments in which they confirmed the causal effects of relative deprivation on prejudice.

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Relative deprivation theorists have long argued that when the outcome of social comparison is favourable, the result is a state of relative gratification, the opposite of relative deprivation (Martin, 1981; Vanneman & Pettigrew, 1972; as cited in Guimond & Dambun, 2002). When people are in a condition of relative gratification, they find themselves in a privileged position. In order to test the assumption that both relative deprivation and relative gratification lead to increased levels of prejudice, Guimond and Dambun (2002) conducted two experiments in which they manipulated both relative

deprivation and relative gratification by presenting conditions of either declining (relative deprivation) or improving (relative gratification) personal job opportunities (Study 1) and group job opportunities (Study 2) in the future.

The first experiment focused on temporal relative deprivation and relative gratification. Temporal comparisons are those involving a comparison between one's group's present status, with the status of one's group at another point in time (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002). Participants were assigned to relative deprivation, relative gratification, or a control group. Those in the relative deprivation condition were led to believe, by virtue of a mock report, that they would be deprived of a job in the future ("the unemployment rate was going to rise sharply in the next 4 or 5 years" (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 902).

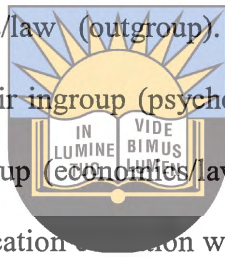


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In the relative gratification condition, the mock report led the participants to expect the reverse, that there was a "high probability of finding a job" (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 903) in the future. Two hypotheses were tested: the first hypothesis stated that students in the relative deprivation condition would express more prejudice than those in the control group. The second hypothesis stated that those in the relative gratification condition would also express more intergroup prejudice than the control group. Prejudice was measured by the following range of scales: Generalized Prejudice, Ethnocentrism, Ingroup bias, Immigration Policy and Behavioural Intentions (see Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 903, 905). The results revealed that there was surprisingly, no significant effect of relative deprivation on prejudice. However, the effect of relative gratification revealed to be significant on prejudice compared to the control condition. This was observed on the generalized prejudice scale, the ethnocentrism scale, and the ingroup bias scale.

Guimond and Dambrun (2002) were therefore successful in demonstrating for the first time experimentally the importance of relative gratification in predicting intergroup prejudice.

In the second experiment, Guimond and Dambrun (2002) attempted to replicate the effects of their first experiment by manipulating relative gratification at an intergroup level. The intergroup situation dealt with job opportunities for students in psychology (ingroup) and students in economics/law (outgroup). Participants in the relative deprivation condition were told that their ingroup (psychology students) would be a lot worse off economically than the outgroup (economics/law students) in the years ahead. Those participants in the relative gratification condition were told the opposite, that their ingroup (psychology students) were going to benefit in the years ahead from much more favourable job opportunities than the outgroup (economics/law students). The participants in the control condition were not provided with any information concerning job opportunities.

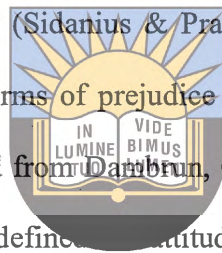


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The results of the second experiment revealed effects of group relative deprivation and group relative gratification on generalized prejudice. Participants in both the relative deprivation and relative gratification conditions scored higher on generalized prejudice toward the outgroup than participants in the control group (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 907). Participants in the relative gratification condition also obtained a significantly greater bias toward the ingroup (measure of ingroup bias) than participants in the control condition. Further, participants in the relative gratification condition indicated more

support for an immigration policy orientation aiming to send immigrants back to where they came than did participants in the control group (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 907).

In addition to replicating the effects of relative deprivation and relative gratification, Guimond and Dambrun (2002) also sought to find explanations for the relative gratification effect in their second experiment. The first explanation that they offered comes from Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Sidanius and Pratto (1999) have proposed that all major forms of prejudice such as racism and sexism are instances of “legitimizing myths” (cited from Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006). The concept of legitimizing myths may be defined as “attitudes, values, beliefs, stereotypes, and ideologies that provide moral and intellectual justification for the social practices that distribute social value within the social system.” (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, as cited in Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006, p. 209). Thus, from the perspective of Social Dominance Theory, prejudice has the function of providing a justification for economic and social privileges. In other words, if people perceive that their ingroup is privileged, as it is the case in the relative gratification condition, they will be motivated to endorse attitudes and beliefs that justify this privilege (Dambrun, Guimond & Taylor, 2006, p. 209).



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Guimond and Dambrun’s second explanation for relative gratification comes from research that has attempted to investigate the link between emotion, specifically happiness or contentment, and stereotypes. Whilst psychological research (see

Bodenhausen, Kramer & Susser, 1994) lends credibility to the idea that negative emotions like anger, conflict and anxiety may well be the fuel for the fire of prejudice and stereotyping, Bodenhausen, Kramer and Susser (1994) suggest that happy moods may ironically also provide impetus to view others in stereotypic terms. They state that group stereotypes represent a cognitive heuristic. In other words, stereotypes may operate as functional shortcuts and provide ingroup members with a basis for a quick response to outgroup members. In this way, ingroup members may avoid doing extensive cognitive work when they “cannot, or prefer not to engage in more thoughtful analysis of the unique personal qualities of specific outgroup members” (Bodenhausen, Kramer & Susser, 1994, p. 621). They argue that when people are in a happy mood, they are more likely to make use of such cognitive heuristic strategies. Since group stereotypes can be negative, a happy mood induced by placing people in a privileged position, as in the case of relative gratification, may lead to more negative intergroup attitudes (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 901).

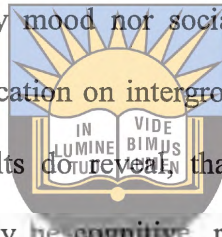


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Guimond and Dambrun (2002) included in the second experiment, the two additional measures of social dominance orientation and positive mood in order to control for these two theoretical concepts that could provide possible explanations for the effect of relative gratification on prejudice. In addition, consistent with the distinction made in theories of relative deprivation, Guimond and Dambrun (2002) also assessed the cognitive and affective components of relative deprivation and relative gratification. Previous relative deprivation research has revealed that the affective component of group RD seems to be mediating the effect of the cognitive component of group relative deprivation (Cook,

Crosby & Hennigan, 1977, Guimond & Dube Simard, 1983, Olson & Hafer, 1996; as cited in Guimond & Dambrun, 2002). Thus in this experiment the perception of improvement in the standing of one's group (cognitive component) and the feelings of satisfaction emerging from this perception (affective component) were investigated. It was hypothesized that the effect of both group relative deprivation and group relative gratification on prejudice would be mediated by the respective affective components.

The results indicate that neither happy mood nor social dominance orientation fully account for the effect of relative gratification on intergroup discrimination or prejudice. Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) results do reveal that the effect of group relative gratification seems to be driven mainly by cognitive, rather than affective variables. Guimond and Dambrun state that their analysis indicate(s) that perceiving an improvement in the social position of the ingroup compared to an outgroup, the cognitive component of group relative gratification, accounts for the effect of experimental conditions on prejudice" (Guimond and Dambrun, 2002, p. 909).



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The role of the cognitive and affective components of RD/RG were assessed as part of the manipulation checks. It was hypothesized that participants in the RG group were more likely to be satisfied with the fate of the ingroup and to perceive that the position of their ingroup is improving over time and relative to that of the outgroup. The question was whether these perceptions of improvement or the greater feeling of satisfaction of the RG group accounts for the effect on prejudice. To address this question, Guimond and Dambrun (2002) looked at the correlations between these perceptions and feelings on one

hand and the various measures of prejudice on the other. The only significant correlation involving the measure of perceived improvement over time was the scale of generalized prejudice ($r = .22; p < .05$). Similarly the two item scale of satisfaction correlated with the scale of generalized prejudice ($r = .24; p < .05$) and with the measures of generalized ingroup bias ($r = .25; p < .05$) but not with other measures of prejudice. Finally, the measure of perceived intergroup improvement was correlated with generalized prejudice ($r = .44; p < .001$), generalized ingroup bias ($r = .29; p < .01$), immigration policy ($r = .25; p < .05$) and marginally with the scale of behavioural intentions ($r = .21; p < .06$). These results suggest that only the latter measure of perceived intergroup improvement is likely to fulfill the requirements of a genuine mediating variable (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, p. 908).

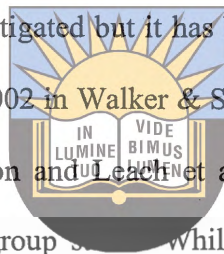


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The above results provide compelling evidence for the proposal that relative gratification, the opposite of relative deprivation, can generate prejudice. Guimond and Dambrun (2002) suggest that “these results establish that relative gratification is one of the central variables in intergroup relations and an important cause of prejudice and discrimination, as important if not more important than relative deprivation” (p. 909). However, whilst Guimond and Dambrun (2002) have confirmed experimentally the effects of relative deprivation and the “Strange effect of Relative Gratification” (Grofman & Muller, 1973), what seems to be equally “strange” about their findings is that the comparison group in their second experiment was not the target group of economics/law students but rather a more general group of immigrants. As previously mentioned, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) would predict that intergroup prejudice is likely to occur

following direct social comparison processes with a distinct and relevant comparison group. The present study aims to firstly replicate Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) second experiment but in a different intergroup context, and secondly to draw a distinction between generalized prejudice and targeted prejudice.

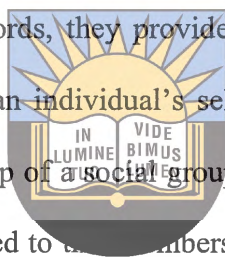
Guimond and Dambrun (2002) have claimed that relative gratification has been neglected within the field of intergroup research. However, social psychological research indicates that relative gratification has been investigated but it has been conceptualised as relative advantage (e.g. Leach, Snider & Iyer, 2002 in Walker & Smith, 2002). One of the central differences between relative gratification and Leach et al's (2002) conceptualisation of relative advantage is with regards to group status. Whilst relative gratification studies have focused predominantly on low status groups, relative advantage on the other hand, conceptualizes advantage as being experienced by high status or privileged groups.



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In their paper titled "Poisoning the Consciences of the Fortunate", Leach et al (2002) develop a phenomenology of relative advantage. As with Guimond and Dambrun (2002), they argue that little is known about how the advantaged experience others' deprivation relative to them. They rightfully argue that understanding the ways that advantage is experienced could go a long way in "specifying the potential and limits of relative deprivation based challenges to inequality" (p. 136). They therefore firstly specify three ways in which advantage is experienced. Two of these ways involve situations where the relatively advantaged avoid recognizing their privilege. The third way involves situations where the advantaged may indeed recognize their advantage.

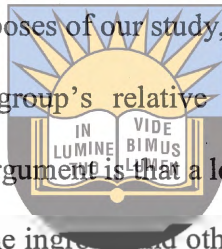
Leach et al.'s (2002) theoretical approach refers to empirical studies conducted with high and low status groups within the theoretical framework of Social Identity Theory (1979). Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is one of the main theoretical perspectives that explain the functionality of group status. Social Identity Theory argues that people define and evaluate themselves in terms of the groups to which they belong (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). Social groups function to provide members with an identification of themselves in social terms. In other words, they provide people with a social identity which may be defined as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his/her knowledge of his/her membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 63). Social identity may be either negative or positive. Central to the evaluation of social identity as either positive or negative is the process of social comparison. Members of a group evaluate their group by means of social comparisons with members of other groups in terms of the value laden attributes and characteristics (Hogg & Abrams, 2001). Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favourable comparisons that can be made between the ingroup and some relevant outgroup on a dimension that has particular relevance for the groups, and results in higher prestige being afforded to members of the ingroup. Negative social identity, on the other hand, is based on unfavourable comparisons that can be made between an ingroup and a relevant outgroup and results in lower prestige to members of the ingroup. Because social identities define, prescribe and evaluate who one is and how one should feel, think and act, people have a strong desire to establish or maintain the evaluative superiority of their own group over relevant other



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groups. In other words, according to Social Identity Theory, people strive to achieve positive distinctiveness of their group because of their desire to enhance aspects of their self concept that is derived from group membership (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

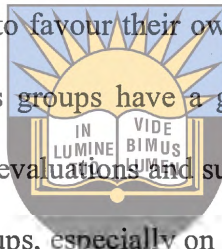
Relative status can be considered a central group characteristic in both theory and research on social identity in intergroup relations (Ellemers et al, 1999). Tajfel and Turner (1979) also claim that group status has a powerful impact on social identities (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). For the purposes of our study, status refers to the outcome of intergroup comparison. It reflects a group's relative position on some evaluative dimension of comparison. The general argument is that a low group status position results in unfavourable comparisons between the ingroup and other relevant groups (Ellemers et al, 1999). The unfavourable comparisons may frustrate attempts by low status group members to derive a positive social identity from their group membership (Ellemers et al, 1999). Rather, their low status confers a negative social identity which can constitute a threat to self esteem. As a result members of low status groups are expected to show less social identification than members of high status groups (Ellemers et al, 1999). Empirical evidence have in fact confirmed that ingroup identification is generally less in lower status groups than in groups with higher status (Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, De Vries, & Wilke, 1988, Ellemers, Van Knippenberg, & Wilke, 1990, Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987; as cited in Ellemers et al, 1999). In fact Social Identity Theory predicts that provided low status members acknowledge the superiority of high status group members on the status related dimensions, low status group members will show outgroup favouritism towards high status groups rather than ingroup favouritism (Doise & Sinclair, 1973; as cited in



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Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987).

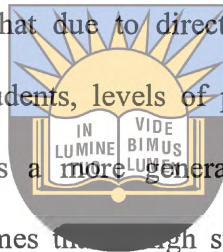
Studies investigating the link between high group status, social identity and intergroup discrimination have suggested that discrimination increases with status (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). For instance, Doise and Sinclair (1973) found that high status groups discriminated more than low status group members (cited in Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987). Ingroup Bias has also been found to vary with ingroup status. Ingroup Bias refers to the tendency for members of social groups to favour their own group over others. Research has shown that members of high status groups have a greater tendency to favour the ingroup in social allocations, intergroup evaluations and support for group relevant social policies than members of low status groups, especially on dimensions directly relevant to the status distinction between the groups. Ellemers et al (1999) also found in a study investigating the link between ingroup status and ingroup favouritism that people are most inclined to favour the ingroup (both in terms of evaluative ratings and outcome allocations) when it has relatively high status. Social Identity Theory offers a plausible explanation for this pattern of intergroup biases on status relevant dimensions. When ingroups enjoy a status advantage vis-à-vis other groups, ingroup bias on status relevant dimensions is congruent with the social reality defined by this status distinction. Given their consensually acknowledged superiority, it is relatively easy for members of high status groups to favour the ingroup in their attitudes and behaviour. However, when the ingroup is relatively low in status compared to other groups, it is simply not realistic for group members to obtain positive group distinctiveness. In this case, the status difference between the groups defines the ingroup as less entitled to positive comparison in relation



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to other groups (Ellemers et al, 1997; as cited in Hogg & Abrams, 2001). This approach seems to provide an excellent account of why members of low status groups generally display less ingroup bias than their high status counterparts on status relevant dimensions (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

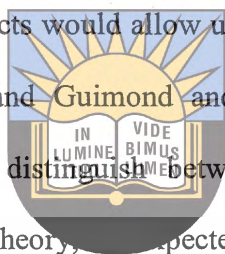
Our second experiment aimed to control for group status by conceptualizing the disadvantaged as low status (social science group) and the advantaged as high status (science group). We assumed firstly that due to direct social comparison processes between science and social science students, levels of prejudice towards these target groups would be higher than towards a more generalized group like immigrants. Secondly, Social Identity Theory assumes that high status confers a positive social identity as it implies favourable comparisons vis-a-vis a low status group on relevant dimensions of comparison. We therefore predicted that high status group members (science students) will discriminate more against low status members (social science students) in order to maintain their high status than the low status social science students would discriminate towards science students. In line with Ellemers et al (1997 see Hogg & Abrams, 2001), we would not expect low status (social science participants) to discriminate towards high status (science) participants for the simple reason that the difference in status between the two groups would make such a strategy like ingroup bias futile.



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EXPERIMENT 1

The first experiment attempted to directly replicate Guimond and Damburn's experimental study (2002) by manipulating relative deprivation and relative gratification. We expected that participants in the relative deprivation condition would express more intergroup discrimination than those in the control condition. We also expected that the condition of group relative gratification would increase intergroup discrimination relative to the control condition. These two effects would allow us to confirm both Grofman and Muller's (1973) V-curve hypothesis and Guimond and Damburn's (2002) findings. Secondly, this experiment aimed to distinguish between targeted and generalized prejudice. In line with Social Identity Theory, we expected that participants would score higher on targeted prejudice (ingroup bias) than on generalized prejudice for both the relative deprivation and relative gratification conditions.



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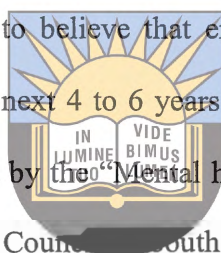
METHOD

Sample

Participants included 90 psychology students at the University of Fort Hare (Alice), with an average age of 24.7 years ranging from 16 to 46 years of age. Thirty six (36) were females and twenty one (21) were males. Twenty three participants did not indicate her/his gender.

Procedure

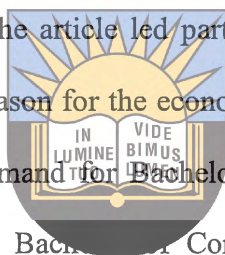
Participants were told that they would be involved in a study on how people react to unexpected news and that they would individually be required to fill out a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. Before filling out the questionnaire, participants in the relative deprivation and relative gratification were given an article to read, which was supposedly published by the national newspaper, *The Sunday Times*. The article dealt with job prospects for Bachelor of Social Science students as well as Bachelor of Commerce students. In the relative deprivation condition, the article was used to lead participants (Bachelor of Social Science students) to believe that employment prospects for them were going to severely decrease in the next 4 to 6 years. It was explained that a recent survey on mental well-being conducted by the “Mental health and functional disorders” research team of the Medical Research Council of South Africa indicated that there was an alarming increase in the number of South Africans suffering from mental issues such as depression, anxiety, alcohol and substance abuse, and relational problems as a consequence of the economic problems in South Africa. Participants were led to believe that these results would greatly impact the demand for university graduates in the next few years. It was then reported that a Professor Bowen recommended a merger of all resources on the training and employment of Bachelor of Commerce graduates in various societal areas, in order to address the economic situation in the country. Participants were led to believe that if the economic crisis in the country was addressed, the mental health problems would decrease. It was explained that Commerce graduates were the only professionals trained to efficiently deal with and to overcome the expected economic catastrophe, as a result of deteriorating mental health. It was further reported that subsequent talks between the Department of Health, Department of Economic Affairs and



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Department of Higher Education had resulted in an agreement that the number of Bachelor of Commerce graduates in training and the number of Bachelor of Commerce graduates employed by the Public Sector would more than double from 8000 to 19000 in four years time. Experts would expect an increase in job opportunities for Bachelor of Commerce graduates within the next four years which would outshine the increase of job opportunities for Bachelor of Social Science graduates in the last ten years.

In the relative gratification condition, the article led participants to expect the reverse. Mental wellbeing as identified as the reason for the economic problems in South Africa. Participants were informed that the demand for Bachelor of Social Science graduates would greatly exceed the demand for Bachelor of Commerce graduate, in order to alleviate the mental health problems. As a result economic problems would decrease.



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Participants in control condition were provided with no comparisons of job opportunities and they were asked to complete a questionnaire on social perception.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions by using www.randomizer.org. The conditions were as follows: control group (30 participants); Relative Deprivation (30 participants); and Relative Gratification (30 participants). Participation in the experiment was voluntary and an incentive of inclusion into a lucky draw to win a R100 was motivation to participate in the study. Students were debriefed by way of debriefing forms which were attached to relevant notice boards.

Measurements

The questionnaire included four measures of prejudice that are labeled, respectively, generalized prejudice, ethnocentrism, behavioural intention to support immigration policy and Ingroup Bias. All the measures used a 5-point Likert scale answer format.

Generalized prejudice was measured by 14 out of 15 items as reported by Guimond and Dambrun (2002). The authors provided the 15 item scale in French on request which was translated by an assistant into English. The translation of one item revealed to be difficult and it was agreed on not to include this particular item. The final scale included nine positive statements (e.g. “The diversity brought in by foreigners is enriching to South Africa) and five negative statements (e.g. “If there is a lot of unemployment in South Africa, it is because immigrants take South Africans jobs”). The internal consistency of this scale in the Guimond and Dambrun study (2002) was found to be satisfactory ($\alpha = .89$). In the present study only those items with a Corrected Item-Total Correlation larger than .3 were included. Five out of the 14 items fulfilled this criterion (see Appendix B). The reliability revealed to be reasonable with a Cronbach’s alpha of .69.

Ethnocentrism was measured by the 24-item revised ethnocentrism scale. This scale was developed by Neulip and Mc Crosky (1997) and has a reported Cronbach’s alpha of .92. In the present study the word ‘culture’ was replaced with ‘South Africa’ (e.g. “My South African nation should be the role model for other nations”) since South Africa consists of different cultures. Nine out of the 24 items met the criterion to have a Corrected Item-Total Correlation larger than .3 (see Appendix B). The reliability revealed to be

satisfactory ($\alpha = .72$). The scale of ethnocentrism correlated significantly with the scale of generalized prejudice ($r = .30, p < .001$), providing evidence of convergent validity. Higher scores on these two scales indicate greater prejudice or ethnocentrism.

Ingroup bias as a third measure was assessed by two items. Participants were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert type scale the extent to which they were *most unfavourable* (1) or *most favourable* (5) toward their ingroup and Commerce students (outgroup). Ingroup bias was calculated by subtracting the attitudes toward the outgroup from the ingroup.

Behavioural intention was assessed by five items. Participants were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert type scale the extent to which they were *most unwilling* (1) or *most willing* (5) to engage in behaviour regarding immigration policies (e.g. "Tell the police about known illegal immigrants"). In the present study, this scale had a Cronbach's Alpha of .83. This measure was found to correlate significantly with Ethnocentrism ($r = .37, p < .001$) and generalised prejudice ($r = .17, p < .001$).



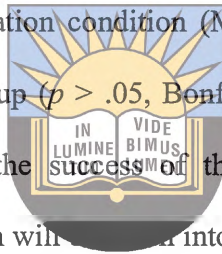
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RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis (Manipulation check)

Participants of the three experimental conditions were asked to rate two statements related to the fate of the ingroup (testing relative gratification: I feel that only the fate of Bachelor of Social Science students is improving over time), and the outgroup (testing relative deprivation: I feel that only the fate of Bachelor of Commerce students is improving over time). The ANOVA revealed, $F(2, 86) = 2.07, p = ns$, that participants

in relative deprivation condition ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.29$) and in the relative gratification condition ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.24$) did not differ significantly from the scores of participants in the control condition ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.18$, $ps > .05$, Bonferroni statistic) in respect to the statement relating to the ingroup. In respect to the statement relating to the outgroup an overall effect was found, $F(2.54, 78) = 5.34$, $p < .01$. Participants in the Relative Gratification Condition ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.37$) differed significantly compared to participants in the control group ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.95$, $p < .05$, Bonferroni statistic). Participants in the the Relative Deprivation condition ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.25$) did not differ significantly from the control group ($p > .05$, Bonferroni statistic). The results of the manipulation check indicate that the success of the manipulation could not be confirmed by the applied measures, which will be taken into account when interpreting the results.



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Hypotheses testing

The first hypothesis stated that participants in the Relative Deprivation and Relative Gratification conditions will express more intergroup discrimination than those in the control condition. The results revealed that participants in the Relative Deprivation condition ($M = 1.07$, $SD = 1.49$) expressed significantly more ingroup bias than participants in the control condition ($M = -3.60$, $SD = 1.61$), $F(1, 52) = 121.566$, $p < .001$, while participants in the Relative Gratification condition expressed significantly more generalized prejudice ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 0.46$) than those in the control condition ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.01$), $F(1, 58) = 8.178$, $p < .01$.

The results are summarized in the following two graphs. The solid line indicates significant differences.

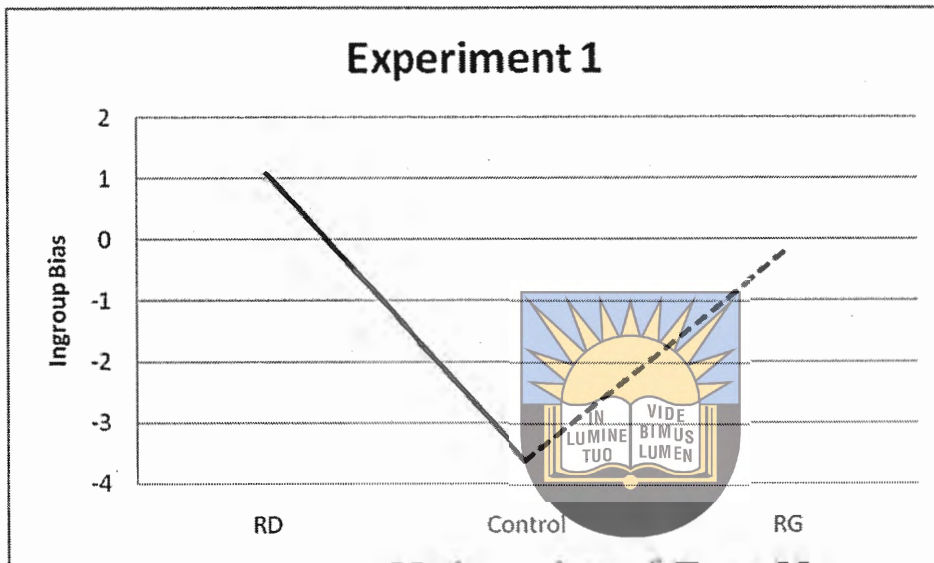


Figure 1: The effects of relative deprivation and gratification on Ingroup Bias, partially replicating the V-curve

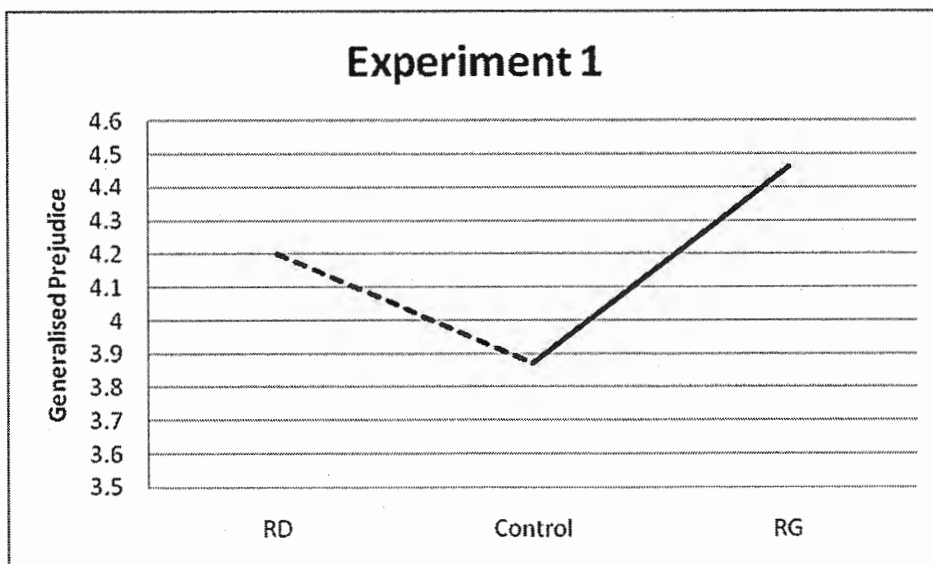
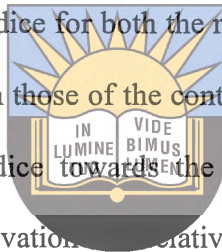


Figure 2: The effects of relative deprivation and gratification on Generalized Prejudice, partially replicating the V-curve

DISCUSSION

The first aim of this experiment was to replicate the results of Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) experiments but in a different intergroup context. Our experiment replicated partially the V-Curve, as levels of prejudice for both the relative deprivation and relative gratification conditions were higher than those of the control group. Our second aim was to demonstrate higher levels of prejudice towards the target groups rather than the generalized group, for the relative deprivation and relative gratification conditions. This hypothesis was also only partially confirmed. Our results indicate that relative deprivation does increase ingroup bias (targeted group) as expected. However, relative gratification seems to predict a more generalized prejudice. This finding may be contrasted with Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) findings. Their results revealed that both relative deprivation and relative gratification predicts a more generalized prejudice as compared to the control group. Furthermore, relative gratification predicts a more targeted prejudice (as indicated by the measure of ingroup bias) than the control group. Due to these contradictions, it was therefore necessary to replicate our findings in a second experiment. Furthermore, this experiment focussed on the cognitive component of relative deprivation and relative gratification. We decided to control for the affective component as well as the cognitive component in order to demonstrate the mediating effect of the affective component on relative deprivation and relative gratification on

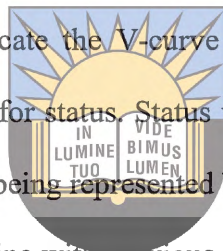


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prejudice. As outlined in the introduction, one main limitation of Guimond and Dumbrun's (2002) studies was that only low status groups were considered. The question, whether the V-Curve also applies for high status groups was also addressed in the second experiment in which we tested the hypothesis that high status groups would express greater levels of prejudice than low status groups.

EXPERIMENT 2

This experiment aimed to firstly, replicate the V-curve for both low and high status groups. Our second aim was to control for status. Status was differentiated according to low and high status, with the low status being represented by Social Science students, and the high status by Science students. In line with previous research on high status groups, we expected that participants in the high status group would express more intergroup discrimination in the relative deprivation condition and the relative gratification condition, compared to the control group and the low status group. In line with Guimond and Dambrun's (2002) findings we expected that the low status group expresses more prejudice in both experimental conditions compared to the control group. These findings would allow us to confirm both Grofman and Muller's (1973) V-curve hypothesis for high status as well as low status groups and the assumption that the V-curve should be steeper in the slopes with the high status group compared to the low status group. In addition, we aimed to show that intergroup discrimination, for both low and high status groups, would be higher towards the relevant outgroups than it would be towards a more generalised group of immigrants. Finally, we controlled for the affective component and



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its mediating effect from the cognitive component on relative deprivation and relative gratification.

METHOD

Sample

The low status participants included 115 social science students at the University of Fort Hare (Alice), with an average age of 24.87 years ranging from 19 to 50. Eighty seven (87) were females and twenty eight (28) were males. Participants were recruited before their Psychology lecture in Alice.



The high status participants comprised of 80 science students at the same university. Their ages averaged at 21.8, and ranged from 18 to 27. Fifty five (55) were females and twenty four were males (24). One participant did not indicate gender.

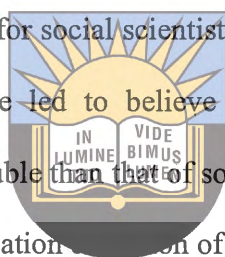
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Procedure

Participants that were subjected to the manipulation were given a bogus article to read which cited evidence from the Research Council of South Africa, which confirmed the widely held belief that science students hold a higher status than social science students. The evidence provided information that confirmed firstly, that students enrolled in science have more job opportunities than social science students; secondly, that science students occupy higher positions in the work field than social science students; and finally, that science students have higher earning potential than social science students. This information served to manipulate status position. In addition the article cited

predictions from the International Labour Organisation director-general, Juan Somavia, regarding the effects on job opportunities in South Africa due to the current global recession. This information served to manipulate relative gratification and relative deprivation.

Participants in the relative gratification condition of the high status (science) group were informed that over the next 5 to 10 years, job opportunities for scientists would increase remarkably whilst the job opportunities for social scientists would decrease drastically in South Africa. Consequently, they were led to believe that the demand for science graduates was expected to be at least double that of social science graduates in South Africa. Participants in the relative deprivation condition of the high status (science) group were informed that the demand for science graduates would drop to half of that of social science students, whilst the job opportunities for social science would increase remarkably over the next 5-10 years in South Africa.



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Participants in the relative gratification condition of the low status (social science) group were informed that over the next 5 to 10 years, job opportunities for social scientists would increase remarkably whilst the job opportunities for scientists would decrease drastically in South Africa. Consequently, they were led to believe that the demand for social science graduates was expected to be at least double that of science graduates in South Africa. Participants in the relative deprivation condition of the low status (social science) group were informed the converse. They were told that the demand for social science graduates would drop to half of that of science students, whilst the job opportunities for science would increase remarkably over the next 5-10 years in South

Africa. Participants in control condition were provided with no comparisons of job opportunities and they were asked to complete a questionnaire on social perception.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three sets of two conditions (low and high status) by using www.randomizer.org. The conditions were as follows: low status control group (36 participants); low status relative deprivation group (40 participants); low status relative gratification group (40 participants); high status control group (27 participants); high status relative deprivation group (27 participants); and high status relative gratification group (26 participants).



Participation in the experiment was voluntary and an incentive of inclusion into a lucky draw to win a R100 was motivation to participate in the study. Students were debriefed verbally, and the four winners of the R100 vouchers were contacted via email, and their winnings were subsequently deposited into their bank accounts.

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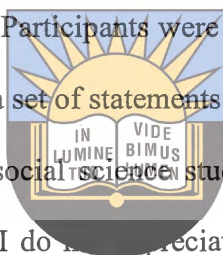
Measurements

Generalized prejudice, Ethnocentrism, Ingroup bias and *Behavioural Intentions* were measured as in Experiment 1. The items which fulfilled the criterion to have a Corrected Item-Total Correlation larger than .3 are outlined in appendix B. The internal consistency of the *Generalized prejudice* scale was good with a Cronbach's alpha of .73. The reliability for *Ethnocentrism* revealed to be satisfactory ($\alpha = .68$). In the present study, the *Behavioural Intentions* scale had a Cronbach's Alpha of .88.

Ingroup bias as a third measure was again assessed by two items. Low status participants (social science) were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert type scale the extent to which they

were *most unfavourable* (1) or *most favourable* (5) toward their ingroup and science students (outgroup). High status participants (science) were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert type scale the extent to which they were *most unfavourable* (1) or *most favourable* (5) toward their ingroup and social science students (outgroup). Ingroup bias was calculated by subtracting the attitudes toward the out group from the ingroup.

Negative Attitudes towards outgroups was assessed using a six item scale (Waldzus, Meireles, Dumont & O'Sullivan, 2009). Participants were asked to indicate their level of disagreement (1) or disagreement (5) to a set of statements assessing attitudes towards the outgroup (e.g. "I like to interact with social science students" and "There are several features of social science students that I do not appreciate."). In the present study, the scale had a Cronbach's Alpha of .87.



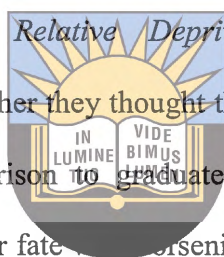
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For the high status group the following significant correlations were found. Negative attitudes towards the outgroup correlated significantly with ingroup bias ($r = .40, p < .001$). Ethnocentrism correlated significantly with Behavioural Intentions ($r = .27, p < .05$) and with Ingroup Bias ($r = .33, p < .01$). Generalised Prejudice correlated significantly with Behavioural Intentions ($r = .57, p < .001$).

For the low status group, it was found that negative attitudes towards the outgroup correlated significantly with Ingroup Bias ($r = .31, p < .01$). Ethnocentrism correlated significantly with Generalised Prejudice ($r = .21, p < .05$) and with Behavioural Intentions

($r = .28, p < .01$). Generalised prejudice correlated significantly with Behavioural Intentions ($r = .45, p < .001$).

To assess *Emotional Relative Deprivation/Relative Gratification*, participants had to indicate the extent to which they were angry (-5) or satisfied (5) about their future situation in comparison to that of their counterparts as well as the extent to which they were unhappy (-5) or pleased (5) about their future situation in comparison to their counterparts. To assess *Cognitive Relative Deprivation/Relative Gratification*, participants were asked to indicate whether they thought that they were worse off (-5) or better off (5) in the future in comparison to graduates from the other faculty and secondly, whether they thought that their fate was worsening (-5) or improving (5) in the future compared to the other faculty graduates.



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RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis (Manipulation Check)

The manipulation check for status was assessed as a 2 (Status: low versus high) x 3 (Condition: relative deprivation, relative gratification and control) factorial design using General Linear Model. In order to conclude that the manipulation for status was successful, it was expected that only status would show a main effect on the manipulation variable. In line with our assumption, the results revealed a main effect for status group (social science: $M = 2.56, SD = 1.23$; science: $M = 3.90, SD = 0.93$), $F(1, 186) = 82.14, p < .001$, but not for condition (RD: $M = 3.33, SD = 1.10$; RG: $M = 3.06, SD = 1.41$; Control: $M = 2.97, SD = 1.18$), $F(2, 186) = 2.64, p > .05$. The mean comparison indicates

that science students perceive themselves as higher in status relative to social science students, and social science students perceive themselves as lower in status relative to science students.

The manipulation checks for cognitive and emotional relative deprivation/relative gratification were assessed using the same design and analysis as used for the status manipulation check. In order to conclude that the manipulation was successful it was expected that only condition would show a main effect and that the posthoc statistic would reveal differences between the experimental groups and the control group. The results revealed main effects of conditions on cognitive relative deprivation/relative gratification (RD: $M = 7.03$, $SD = 2.19$; RG: $M = 7.90$, $SD = 2.17$; Control: $M = 7.04$, $SD = 2.18$) and on emotional relative deprivation/relative gratification (RD: $M = 5.41$, $SD = 3.22$; RG: $M = 6.67$, $SD = 2.94$; Control: $M = 5.87$, $SD = 2.87$), $F(2,186) = 3.49$, $p < .05$ and $F(2, 186) = 3.49$, $p < .05$, respectively. As expected status did not have a main effect on cognitive and emotional relative deprivation/relative gratification. The posthoc analysis however revealed marginal ($p < .10$) and significant ($p < .05$) differences between the relative deprivation and relative gratification conditions with respect to cognitive and emotional relative deprivation/relative gratification but no differences between the control group and the experimental conditions. These results suggest that the manipulation of relative deprivation and relative gratification were only partially successful.

Hypotheses Testing

Table 1 informs about the means and standard deviations of the principle variables for high and low status groups and conditions.

Table1. Mean and Standard Deviation of principle variables

Measures	Relative Deprivation M(SD)		Relative Gratification M(SD)		Control M(SD)		Statistics
	High status	Low status	High status	Low status	High status	Low status	
Attitudes to outgroups	1.99 (0.54)	2.44 (0.77)	2.12 (0.44)	2.42 (0.46)	2.17 (0.51)	2.37 (0.63)	$F(2,7)=0.94,$ $p > .05$
Ingroup Bias	0.12 (0.80)	0.80 (1.09)	1.34 (1.09)	0.76 (0.97)	1.04 (0.85)	0.53 (1.37)	$F(2,77)=5.46,$ $p < .01$
Ethnocentricism	2.85 (0.48)	2.96 (0.51)	3.00 (0.44)	3.01 (0.47)	2.89 (0.51)	2.85 (0.48)	$F(2,77)=0.66,$ $p > .05$
Generalised Prejudice	3.06 (0.50)	3.29 (0.53)	3.33 (0.67)	3.25 (0.45)	3.33 (0.51)	3.38 (0.62)	$F(2,77)=2.11,$ $p > .05$
Behavioural Intentions	2.68 (0.95)	3.02 (1.16)	2.96 (1.32)	3.01 (1.05)	3.21 (1.06)	3.05 (1.18)	$F(2,77)=1.46,$ $p > .05$

In order to test whether the V-curve could be replicated we conducted an ANOVA. The ANOVA revealed only an overall effect for the measure of Ingroup Bias (see Table 1). Post-hoc statistic showed for high status that participants in the Relative Deprivation condition differed significantly from participants in the Relative Gratification condition ($p < .05$, Bonferroni statistic). However, for low status, the post-hoc statistic did not reveal any differences. As the results indicate, the V-curve could neither be replicated for the low nor the high status group.

In order to test whether low and high status groups differ on the principle measurements we conducted a linear model, where we tested the main effects of the two experimental conditions (relative deprivation versus relative gratification), status (high versus low) and the interaction between condition and status.

The results indicated a main effect of status on attitudes towards the outgroup, $F(1,22) = 13.18, p < .001$. As Figure 3 indicates members of low status group ($M = 2.45, SD = 0.64$) showed significantly more negative attitudes to outgroups than high status members ($M = 2.05, SD = 0.49$). This result contradicts our assumption that high status group should express higher scores on prejudice than low status group.



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Estimated Marginal Means of Attitudes towards outgroup

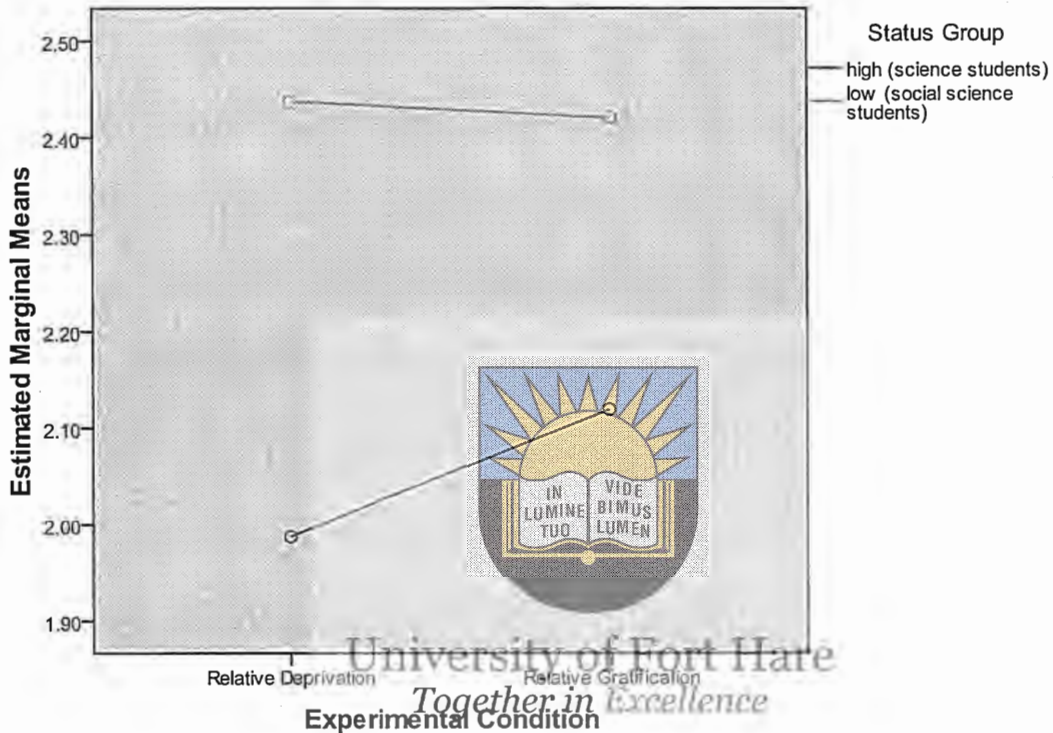


Figure 3: Main effects of status on attitudes towards the outgroup

We also found a main effect of conditions on ingroup bias, $F(1, 122) = 4.30, p < .05$, as well as an interaction effect (condition x status) on ingroup bias, $F(1,122) = 5.41, p < .05$). As Figure 4 shows high status groups show significantly stronger ingroup bias in the relative gratification condition ($M = 1.35, SD = 1.09$) than members of low status ($M = 0.77, SD = 0.98$) whereas members of low status groups show more ingroup bias in the relative deprivation condition ($M = 0.82, SD = 1.09$) than members of high status ($M = 0.12, SD = 0.80$). The former is in line with our assumption.

Estimated Marginal Means of Ingroup Bias (ingroup - outgroup)

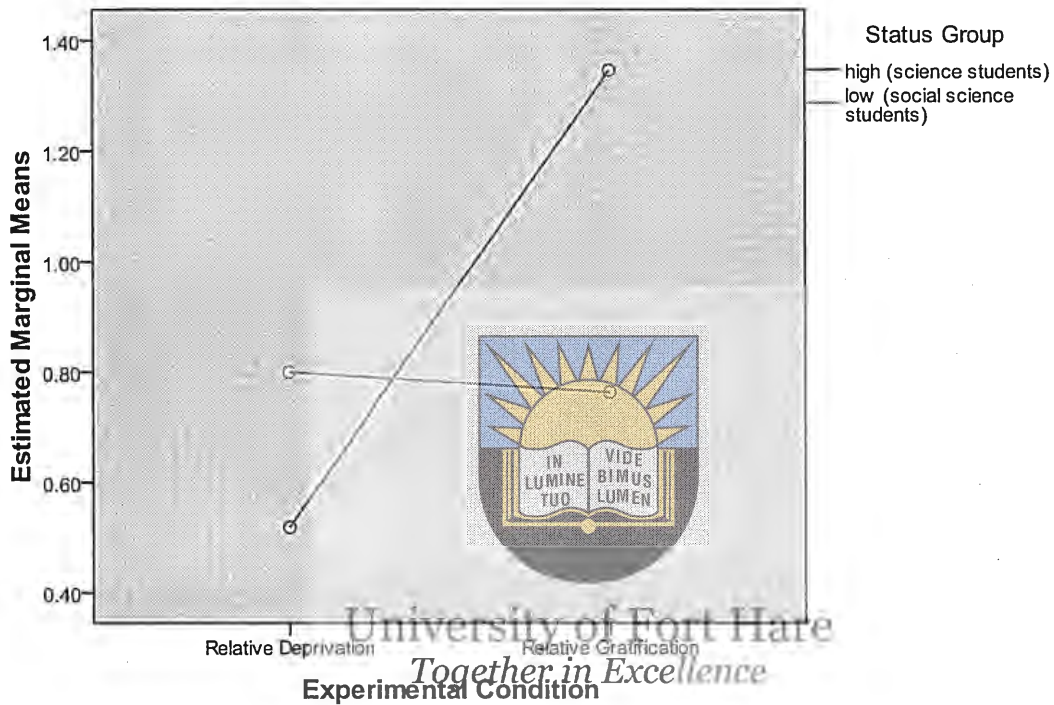
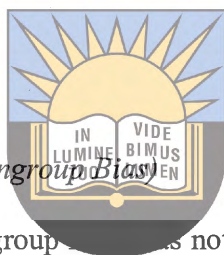


Figure 4: Main and interaction effects of status on ingroup bias

Finally, we tested for high and low status groups as well as for the two experimental conditions separately, whether the relationship between cognitive RD/RG and prejudice is mediated by the emotional RD/RG component. The mediation effect of emotional RD/RG was estimated for the measures ingroup bias and negative attitude toward the outgroup using bootstrapping (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). We conducted bootstrapping analysis using 5000 bootstrap resamples.

Mediator: emotional RG (high status – Ingroup Bias)

The direct effect of cognitive RG on Ingroup Bias was marginal significant, $\beta = -.23$, $p = .07$, but reduced to non-significance when the emotional RG was entered as mediator, $\beta = -.08$, *ns*. Cognitive RG predicted positively emotional RG, $\beta = .59$, $p < .01$ and emotional RG predicted positively Ingroup Bias, $\beta = .25$, $p < .05$. The association between emotional RG and Ingroup Bias was significant when controlling for cognitive RG with a bootstrap estimate of .15 at 95% confidence interval, [.04; .35]. The results suggest that the relationship between cognitive RG and ingroup Bias is mediated via emotional RG.



Mediator: emotional RD (high status – Ingroup Bias)

The direct effect of cognitive RD on Ingroup Bias was not significant, $\beta = -.07$, *ns*, as was the effect when the emotional RD was entered as mediator, $\beta = -.04$, *ns*. The association between emotional RD and Ingroup Bias was not significant when controlling for cognitive RD with a bootstrap estimate of .04 at 95% confidence interval, [-.064; .21]. The results suggest no relationship between cognitive RG and ingroup Bias.

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Mediator: emotional RG (low status – Negative Attitude toward the outgroup)

The direct effect of cognitive RG on Negative Attitudes was not significant, $\beta = .02$, *ns*, as was the effect when the emotional RG was entered as mediator, $\beta = .05$, *ns*. The association between emotional RG and Negative Attitudes was not significant when controlling for cognitive RG with a bootstrap estimate of .03 at 95% confidence interval, [-.024; .17]. The results suggest no relationship between cognitive RG and negative attitude to outgroup.

Mediator: emotional RD (low status – Negative Attitude toward the outgroup)

The direct effect of cognitive RD on Negative Attitudes was not significant, $\beta = .03$, *ns*, as was the effect when the emotional RD was entered as mediator, $\beta = .06$, *ns*. The association between emotional RD and Negative Attitudes was not significant when controlling for cognitive RD with a bootstrap estimate of .02 at 95% confidence interval, [-.025; .18]. The results suggest no relationship between cognitive RD and negative attitude to outgroup.



The results show that the mediation effect of the emotional component could only be found in one out of four conditions.

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DISCUSSION

Our first aim of Experiment 2 was to confirm the V-curve for both low and high status groups. We therefore expected to show that both low status (social science) and high status (science) participants in the relative deprivation and relative gratification conditions would express higher levels of prejudice than participants in the control conditions. However, contrary to our expectation, we failed to replicate the V-curve for both status groups. When focusing on differences in the measures of prejudice, our results indicated a main effect of status on attitudes to outgroups, meaning that irrespective of the experimental conditions the low status group showed significantly more negative attitudes towards the outgroups than high status. Our second aim was to test whether levels of targeted prejudice would be higher than levels of generalized

prejudice under conditions of relative deprivation and relative gratification. Our hypothesis could not be confirmed. We found a main and interaction effect for ingroup bias. High status groups show significantly stronger ingroup bias in the relative gratification condition ($M = 1.35$, $SD = 1.09$) than members of low status ($M = 0.77$, $SD = 0.98$). This was as expected. However, members of low status groups show more ingroup bias in the relative deprivation condition ($M = 0.82$, $SD = 1.09$) than members of high status ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.80$) which is contrary to our expectation. Finally, we aimed to show the mediation effect of the emotional component on the relationship between the cognitive component and relative deprivation and relative gratification. The results suggest that the emotional RD/RG cannot be identified as a consistent mediator of cognitive RD/RG.



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GENERAL DISCUSSION

The overall aim of the two experiments was to firstly replicate Guimond and Damburn's (2002) V-Curve findings in respect of relative deprivation and relative gratification. In addition both experiments also aimed to draw a distinction between targeted and generalized prejudice. In line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) which predicts that intergroup prejudice is more likely to occur following direct social comparison with a distinct and relevant comparison group, our experiments aimed to show that targeted prejudice (ingroup bias) would be higher than generalized prejudice towards immigrants. In addition to these more general aims, Experiments 2 also aimed to show a distinction between high status and low status groups in respect to relative deprivation and relative gratification. Research on status differences has shown that

members of high status groups tend to discriminate more than members of low status groups. For instance we drew on research on ingroup bias (Ellemers et al, 1999) which has shown that high status groups tend to favour the ingroup more than outgroups, as well as research on ingroup identification (Ellemers et al, 1988, 1990, Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987; as cited in Ellemers et al, 1999) which show that ingroup identification increases with status. Experiment 2 therefore predicted that high status groups (science) would express greater levels of prejudice than low status groups (social science) with respect to relative deprivation and relative gratification. Finally, we tested whether cognitive RD/RG is mediated by the emotional RD/RG component.



Our first aim which sought to replicate the V-curve was partially successful. Experiment 1 confirmed ingroup bias as a measure of intergroup discrimination with respect to the relative deprivation condition. With respect to our other measures of prejudice: generalized prejudice, ethnocentrism and behavioural intentions, no significance was found with respect to relative deprivation. Experiment 1 also confirmed generalized prejudice as a significant measure of prejudice with regards to relative gratification. However, no significance was found for the ingroup bias, ethnocentrism and behavioural intentions with respect to relative gratification. In Experiment 2 in which we controlled for status, we were unable to replicate the V-curve for either of the status groups.

With regards to our second aim in which we predicted that prejudice levels would be higher towards a target group than towards a more generalized group of immigrants, we

found a partial confirmation. Relative deprivation appears to increase ingroup bias (being our measure of targeted prejudice) whereas relative gratification seemed to predict a more generalized prejudice (Experiment 1). These results were not replicated in Experiment 2 however. Beside methodological issues, which will be discussed below, one could also argue that participants did not differentiate between targeted prejudice and generalized prejudice due to the comparison dimension used in the experiment. The comparison dimension of job opportunities might be mentally represented within a more global perspective or related to widespread stereotypical beliefs such as “Foreigners are taking our jobs”. Future research should therefore consider contextual and societal implications of content used as comparison dimensions.



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With regards to our third aim which was to show that members of a higher status would show greater prejudice than members of lower status, the opposite seems to be truer. Our results reveal that low status members express more negative attitudes to outgroup members (overall effect) and greater ingroup bias than high status members. Contrary to these findings though, our hypothesis that high status members would be more prejudicial than low status members was only confirmed for the measure ingroup bias under the RG condition. This finding is similar to Guimond and Dambun's (2002) finding in their second experiment, with the difference being that their participants were of a lower status (psychology students). Our results seem to indicate that the influence of status may be more problematic than meets the eye. We have failed to replicate the V-Curve when we controlled for status. Further, a higher status seems to incite more ingroup bias under a condition of relative gratification whereas a lower status evokes more ingroup bias under

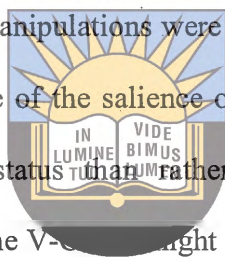
the condition of relative deprivation. Whilst our hypothesis that higher status should result in greater prejudice can be explained from the perspective of SIT, a simpler reading of SIT may indeed suggest that lower status groups should have a stronger need to feel good about themselves, which is in turn satisfied by a more powerful ingroup bias, making our findings understandable (see Mullen, Brown & Smith, 1992). It is our proposal that the question as to whether ingroup bias increases or decreases as a function of status warrants greater attention in future studies.



Lastly, our final aim which was to show the mediating effect of the emotional component of relative deprivation and gratification was found in one out of four conditions. Our results demonstrated this effect only for the relationship between cognitive RG and Ingroup Bias which is mediated by affective RG. The lack of consistency of the mediation effect of the emotional component of relative deprivation and gratification in the present study might not only be attributed to methodological shortcomings but also to theoretical. Recent research on group-based and collective emotions as responses to group status have for instance demonstrated that status advantage can either generate feelings of guilt as negative emotion or pride as positive emotion depending whether the advantage is perceived as illegitimate or legitimate (Harth, Kessler & Leach, 2008). In respect to the used comparison dimension in the present experiments (job opportunities) one could assume that depending on whether an increase or decrease of job opportunities is perceived as illegitimate or legitimate determines different emotional responses (e.g. shame or anger). Future research should take differentiation of emotional responses into consideration when assessing the mediating role of emotional components.

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Our failure to fully replicate the V-Curve for either of our experiments may be attributed to the fact that our sample comprised of university students (science and social science). It is possible that these categories may not have been as salient as we would have expected during the experimental situation. Hence our failure to confirm our manipulation checks in Experiment 1. Although we tried to achieve salient categorization in Experiment 2 by explicitly labeling subjects as high (science) and low (social science) status members, it is possible that our manipulations were still not strong enough bearing in mind the already questionable nature of the salience of university categories. Future studies should therefore manipulate status *in situ* rather than use existing status groups. Secondly, the failure to fully replicate the V-curve might also be attributed to the “cover story” used to manipulate the experimental conditions of relative deprivation and relative gratification. It might be that job opportunities for undergraduate students do not represent a relevant comparison dimension as assumed by the researchers. Future research should take this possible limitation into account. Finally, the reason for the seemingly unsuccessful manipulation might also be that the experiment was conducted as a large group experiment, which might have resulted in participants not reading the information (which included the manipulation) as carefully as expected. Future experiments should therefore be conducted as small group or individual experiments.



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However, despite the outlined limitations of the present experiments, the study of relative deprivation and relative gratification and their impact on intergroup relations as demonstrated in the present research contributes to at least two

domains: firstly the reported experiments add to the research on relative deprivation and gratification by replicating partially their effects on intergroup discrimination, and secondly, the reported experiments addressed as well as raised questions which by answering in future research might contribute to extend our understanding of the complexity and dynamics of intergroup relations.



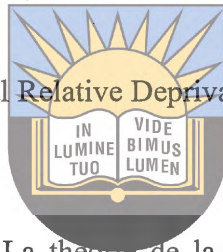
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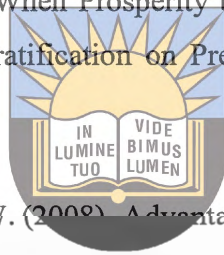
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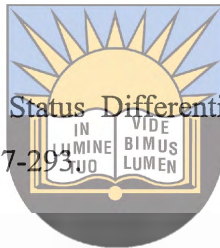
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APPENDIX A: MANIPULATIONS OF EXPERIMENT 1

Relative Deprivation Condition

A recent survey on mental wellbeing conducted by the “Mental health and functional disorders” research team of the Medical Research Council of South Africa (MRC) indicated there is an alarming increase in the number of South Africans suffering from mental issues such as depression, anxiety, alcohol and substance abuse, and relational problems as a consequence of the economic problems in South Africa. These results will impact the demand for university graduates in the next few years. The results were immediately reported to the Department of Health, Sunday Times Newspaper, 06 May 2007, reported that Professor Bowen stated: “The figures are not only alarming. Let me be frank, the figures are terrifying”. It further reported him saying, “It is crunch time, there is no time to waste. Therefore, the recommendation is to merge all resources on the training and employment of Bachelor of Commerce graduates in various societal areas in order to, firstly, address the economic situation. Commerce graduates are the only professionals trained to deal with and to overcome the expected economic catastrophe, as a result of deteriorating mental health, efficiently. I might repeat myself, but the situation is severe and we do not have much time for long debates.” The Department of Health promptly initiated talks with other Departments such as Education and the Department of Finance and Economic Affairs. The Sunday Times interviewed the Health Department’s spokesperson and reported that the Department of Health, Department of Economic Affairs and Department of Higher Education agreed that the number of Bachelor of Commerce graduates in training and the number of Bachelor of Commerce graduates employed by the Public Sector will more than double from 8000 today to 19000 in four year time. Experts expect within the next four years an increase in job opportunities for Bachelor of Commerce graduates which will outshine the increase of job opportunities for Bachelor of Social Science graduates in the last ten years. According to the Sunday Times one of the experts concluded: “Since the economic problems were identified as the reason for the mental issues of South Africans, the demand for Bachelor of Commerce graduates will greatly exceed the demand for Bachelor of Social Science graduates, in order to alleviate these issues”.

Relative Gratification Condition

A recent survey on mental wellbeing conducted by the “Mental health and functional disorders” research team of the Medical Research Council of South Africa (MRC) indicated there is an alarming increase in the number of South Africans suffering from mental issues such as depression, anxiety, alcohol and substance abuse, and relational problems as a reason for the economic problems in South Africa. These results will impact the demand for university graduates in the next few years. The results were immediately reported to the Department of Health. The Sunday Times Newspaper, 06 May 2007, reported that Professor Bowen stated: “The figures are not only alarming. Let me be frank, the figures are terrifying”. It further reported him saying, “It is crunch time, there is no time to waste. Therefore the recommendation is to merge all resources on the training and employment of Bachelor of Social Science graduates in various societal areas such as schools, hospitals, police stations, community centers and churches, in order to, firstly, address the social issues. Social Science graduates are the only professionals trained to help people to deal with and overcome mental issues efficiently. I might repeat myself, but the situation is severe and we do not have much time for long debates.” The Department of Health promptly initiated talks with other Departments such as Education and the Department of Finance and Economic Affairs. The Sunday Times interviewed the Health Department’s spokesperson and reported that the Department of Health, Department of Economic Affairs and Department of Higher Education agreed that the number of Bachelor of Social Science graduates in training and the number of Bachelor of Social Science graduates employed by the Public Sector will more than double from 8000 today to 19000 in four year time. Experts expect within the next four years an increase in job opportunities for Bachelor of Social Science graduates which will outshine the increase of job opportunities for Bachelor of Commerce graduates in the last ten years. According to the Sunday Times one of the experts concluded: “Since the mental wellbeing was identified as the reason for the economic problems in South Africa, the demand for Bachelor of Social Science graduates will greatly exceed the demand for Bachelor of Commerce graduates, in order to alleviate these problems”.

APPENDIX B: MEASUREMENTS IN EXPERIMENT 1

Note: Items in *italic* were used for analysis in the present study. Items followed by (-) were reversed for data analysis.

Generalized Prejudice

1. The diversity brought in by foreigners is enriching to South Africa.
2. South Africans should have priority with regards to employment.
3. *More rights must be given to immigrants. (-)*
4. South Africans should have priority with regards to social benefits.
5. *Immigrant families entering South Africa should be more strictly limited.*
6. South Africans should have priority with regards to housing.
7. I would not be worried if most of my university friends had foreign origins.
8. South African nationality should not be granted so easily.
9. The wearing of cultural attire at school should be legalized.
10. *It is irrational to blame immigrants for South Africa's economic problems. (-)*
11. *I can easily understand the anger felt by the immigrants in South Africa. (-)*
12. Foreigners living in South Africa should be allowed to vote. (-)
13. *If there is a lot of unemployment in South Africa, it is because immigrants take South Africans' job.*
14. I consider that South Africa is unjust towards immigrants. (-)

Ethnocentrism

1. People in cultures outside of South Africa have a better lifestyle than we have.
2. I respect the values and customs of other countries.
3. South Africa should try to be more like other countries.
4. *Lifestyles in other countries are not as valid as those in South Africa.*
5. Most South Africans just do not know what is good for them.
6. South Africans act strange and unusual when they go to other countries.

7. South Africans have just about the best lifestyles of anywhere.
8. South Africa is a poor model for other countries.
9. *Most people would be happier if they lived like South Africans.*
10. It is not wise for other countries to look up to South Africa.
11. *Most other countries are backward compared to South Africa.*
12. *SA should be the role model for other countries.*
13. Lifestyles in other countries are just as valid as those in South Africa.
14. *Other countries should try to be more like South Africa.*
15. I am not interested in the values and customs of other countries.
16. South Africans could learn a lot from people in other countries.
17. *Most people in other countries just do not know what is good for them.*
18. People in other countries could learn a lot from South Africans.
19. *I have little respect for the values and customs of other countries.*
20. South Africa is backward compared to most other countries.
21. I am very interested in the values and customs of other countries.
22. *Other countries are smart to look up to South Africa.*
23. *People from other countries act strange and unusual when they come into South Africa.*
24. Most people would be happier if they did not live like South Africans.



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Behavioral Intention

1. Tell friends and neighbours that this is a good law.
2. Tell the police about known illegal immigrants.
3. Help the police in the identification of illegal immigrants
4. Approve the use of force to deal with difficult illegal immigrants.
5. Approve the application of strict criminal penalty for all those refusing to comply with the law.

APPENDIX C: MANIPULATIONS OF EXPERIMENT 2

High status relative deprivation

There is a common belief that science students enjoy a higher status than social science students. This widely held belief has been confirmed by a range of studies over the years. A recent study was conducted in South Africa early this year by the Research Council of South Africa, which once again provided evidence that science students occupy a higher position in comparison to social science students. The report confirms that students enrolled in science have more job opportunities than social science students; science students occupy higher positions in the work field than social science students; and science students have higher earning potential than social science students.



The question is: How are the job opportunities of science students going to be affected by the world economic recession? Earlier this year the International Labour Organization (ILO) published a Report on the expected worldwide employment crisis due to the recession. The ILO reported that as a result of the global economic recession, more than 50 million jobs worldwide will be lost. There is especially bad news for South African science graduates. ILO director-general, Juan Somavia cited results from the latest Job Development Trend Analysis South Africa, which basically states that over the next 5 to 10 years, job opportunities for scientists will decrease drastically whilst the job opportunities for social scientists will increase remarkably in South Africa. Consequently, the demand for science graduates is expected to drop to half of that of social science graduates in South Africa.

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High Status Relative Gratification

There is a common belief that science students enjoy a higher status than social science students. This widely held belief has been confirmed by a range of studies over the years. A recent study was conducted in South Africa early this year by the Research Council of South Africa, which once again provided evidence that science students occupy a higher position in comparison to social science students. The report confirms that students enrolled in science have more job opportunities than social science students; science students occupy higher positions in the work field than social science students; and science students have higher earning potential than social science students.

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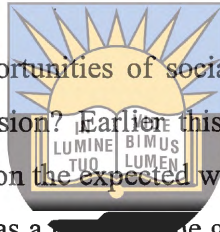


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Low Status Relative Deprivation

There is a common belief that social science students have a lower status than science students. This widely held belief has been confirmed by a range of studies over the years. A recent study was conducted in South Africa early this year by the Research Council of South Africa, which once again provided evidence that social science students occupy a lower position in comparison to science students. The report confirms that students enrolled in social sciences have less job opportunities than science students; social science students occupy lower positions in the work field than science students; and social science students have lower earning potential than science students.

The question is: How are the job opportunities of social science students going to be affected by the world economic recession? Earlier this year the International Labour Organization (ILO) published a Report on the expected worldwide employment crisis due to the recession. The ILO reported that as a result of the global economic recession, more than 50 million jobs worldwide will be lost. There is especially bad news for South African social science graduates. ILO director general, Jean Somavia cited results from the latest Job Development Trend Analysis South Africa, which basically states that over the next 5 to 10 years, job opportunities for social scientists will decrease drastically whilst the job opportunities for scientists will increase remarkably in South Africa. Consequently, the demand for social science graduates is expected to drop to half of that of science graduates in South Africa.



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Low Status Relative Gratification

There is a common belief that social science students have a lower status than science students. This widely held belief has been confirmed by a range of studies over the years. A recent study was conducted in South Africa early this year by the Research Council of South Africa, which once again provided evidence that social science students occupy a lower position in comparison to science students. The report confirms that students enrolled in social sciences have less job opportunities than science students; social science students occupy lower positions in the work field than science students; and social science students have lower earning potential than science students.



The question is: How are the job opportunities of social science students going to be affected by the world economic recession? Earlier this year the International Labour Organization (ILO) published a Report on the expected worldwide employment crisis due to the recession. The ILO reported that as a result of the global economic recession, more than 50 million jobs worldwide will be lost. There is especially good news for South African social science graduates. ILO director-general, Juan Somavia cited results from the latest Job Development Trend Analysis South Africa, which basically states that over the next 5 to 10 years, job opportunities for social scientists will increase remarkably whilst the job opportunities for scientists will decrease drastically in South Africa. Consequently, the demand for social science graduates is expected to be at least double than that of science graduates in South Africa.

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APPENDIX D: MEASUREMENTS IN EXPERIMENT 2

Note: Items in *italic* were used for analysis in the present study. Items followed by (-) were reversed for data analysis.

Generalized Prejudice

1. The diversity brought in by foreigners is enriching to South Africa.
2. South Africans should have priority with regards to employment.
3. *More rights must be given to immigrants. (-)*
4. South Africans should have priority with regards to social benefits.
5. *Immigrant families entering South Africa should be more strictly limited.*
6. South Africans should have priority with regards to housing.
7. I would not be worried if most of my university friends had foreign origins.
8. South African nationality should not be granted so easily.
9. The wearing of cultural attire at school should be legalized.
10. *It is irrational to blame immigrants for South Africa's economic problems. (-)*
11. *I can easily understand the anger felt by the immigrants in South Africa. (-)*
12. Foreigners living in South Africa should be allowed to vote. (-)
13. *If there is a lot of unemployment in South Africa, it is because immigrants take South Africans' job.*
14. I consider that South Africa is unjust towards immigrants. (-)

Ethnocentrism

1. People in cultures outside of South Africa have a better lifestyle than we have.
2. I respect the values and customs of other countries.
3. South Africa should try to be more like other countries.
4. *Lifestyles in other countries are not as valid as those in South Africa.*
5. Most South Africans just do not know what is good for them.
6. South Africans act strange and unusual when they go to other countries.

7. South Africans have just about the best lifestyles of anywhere.
8. South Africa is a poor model for other countries.
9. *Most people would be happier if they lived like South Africans.*
10. It is not wise for other countries to look up to South Africa.
11. *Most other countries are backward compared to South Africa.*
12. *SA should be the role model for other countries.*
13. Lifestyles in other countries are just as valid as those in South Africa.
14. *Other countries should try to be more like South Africa.*
15. I am not interested in the values and customs of other countries.
16. South Africans could learn a lot from people in other countries.
17. *Most people in other countries just do not know what is good for them.*
18. People in other countries could learn a lot from South Africans.
19. *I have little respect for the values and customs of other countries.*
20. South Africa is backward compared to most other countries.
21. I am very interested in the values and customs of other countries.
22. *Other countries are smart to look up to South Africa.*
23. *People from other countries act strange and unusual when they come into South Africa.*
24. Most people would be happier if they did not live like South Africans.



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Behavioral Intention

1. Tell friends and neighbours that this is a good law.
2. Tell the police about known illegal immigrants.
3. Help the police in the identification of illegal immigrants
4. Approve the use of force to deal with difficult illegal immigrants.
5. Approve the application of strict criminal penalty for all those refusing to comply with the law.

Ingroup Bias

Please rate the extent to which you are most favourable(5) or unfavourable towards the following groups of people.

1. Science students
2. Social science graduates

Attitudes towards outgroups

1. Belonging to the group of science students is an important part of my identity.
2. I have negative attitudes towards science students.
3. I feel I belong to science students.
4. I like being part of science students.
5. I feel I have little in common with science students.



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