

**THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SELECTED OTHER VARIABLES
ON THE CAREER MATURITY OF A SMALL SAMPLE OF COLOURED
MATRICULANTS AT HIGH SCHOOLS IN PIETERMARITZBURG**

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCE (COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY)
in the Department of Psychology
University of Natal
Pietermaritzburg**

January 1995

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the following people without whom the thesis would not have been possible.

- Clive Basson, my supervisor, for his patient support, guidance and constructive criticism;
- My parents and family for their ceaseless support (financial and otherwise), motivation and encouragement, and for instilling in me the desire to achieve which made me persevere whenever I felt like throwing in the towel.
- Lloyd for his support, encouragement and constant willingness to assist in whatever way possible.
- My colleagues at the Department of Labour, especially Marie-Lou and Erna for their interest, support and constant efforts to assist by easing my workload wherever possible.
- Bruce Faulds for his willingness to supervise my work in Clive's absence and for providing much needed criticism and perspective on the results section of this thesis.
- Kay Govender for his help with the statistics.
- Professor Nel (RAU) and Elsebie Neethling (Librarian - Department of Labour, Pretoria) for their friendly assistance, beyond the call of duty, in my search for relevant literature.

- Shane, for his help as well as his constant willingness to listen to my woes.
- The headmasters, staff and pupils of Haythorne and Eastwood high schools, who volunteered to participate in this study, for their willing cooperation.
- The Regional Chief Inspectorate: House of Representatives, for allowing me to conduct this study in the above schools.
- Mrs Dyall, for her expert typing and friendly advice.
- The Institute for Research Development of the Human Science Research Council for their financial assistance. Please note that opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at in this thesis are those of the author and are not be attributed either to the Institute of Research Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to measure the career maturity of a sample of Coloured matriculants and to investigate the impact of the following variable on their career maturity: age, sex, socio-economic status, career aspirations, respondents' perceptions of their chances of success, and social identity.

The sample consists of 59 male and female matriculants drawn from two high schools in Pietermaritzburg. The instruments utilized are the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) and a questionnaire devised by the author. Due to limitations with respect to the sample size, the nature of the sample (convenience sample), the reliability of the CDQ subscales and the measures of social identity utilised, the results of this study must be interpreted with caution.

The results suggest that (a) the career maturity of this sample (as measured on the CDQ) compares favourably with Langley's (1990) national sample of English- and Afrikaans-speaking high school pupils; (b) age, sex and socio-economic status do not act as significant correlates of career maturity for this sample; (c) higher career aspirations are associated with greater career maturity; (d) there is a significant positive relationship between respondents' career maturity and their perceptions of their chances of goal attainment; and (e) there are some indications that a positive social identity is associated with greater career maturity. Given the limitations of the study, the interpretations of these results are proffered as suggestions rather than concrete facts.

PREFACE

I would hereby like to declare that this entire thesis, unless otherwise indicated, is my own original work.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

The potential importance of work in the life of each individual makes it imperative that educators and vocational psychologists examine both the process of career development and the factors that promote or impede its growth (Smith, 1983, p.165).

Various writers have suggested that members of the Coloured population group experience difficulty both in terms of forging a group identity (Dickie-Clark, 1966; Edelstein, 1974 & Theron Commission, 1976) in terms of their career development (Hermon, 1970; Nel, 1991). However, a review of the South African literature reveals a paucity of information on the career development of the Coloured population (Watson, 1984; Watson & Van Aarde, 1986; Reid-Van Niekerk & Van Niekerk, 1990). Nel (1991) revealed that in the period 1980-1990, only approximately 4% of the research on career counselling issues undertaken in South Africa utilized a Coloured sample in comparison with the 46% using White adolescents as the sample population. This study represents an attempt to add to this research by exploring the extent to which those aspects of social identity derived from a small sample of Coloured matriculants' feelings about and evaluations of their Coloured group membership status, impacts on their level of career maturity and rate of career development progress.

Donald and Csapo (cited in Naiker, 1994, p.29) indicate that the average ratio of educational psychologists to pupils for the different population groups is as follows:

Blacks, 1:30 000; Indians, 1:8 800; Coloureds 1:9 000 and Whites, 1:2 750. In addition, the de Lange Report (1981b, p.103, cited in Watson, 1984) describes the training of career guidance teachers in Coloured schools as "totally inadequate".

Nel (1991) concludes

Die navorsing ... toon duidelik dat die Kleurling en Swart bevolkingsgroepe se loopbaan kennis en loopbaan volwasseheid nie na wense is nie en swak vergelyk met hulle Blanke eweknieë. Verdere navorsing in veral dié verband is dus dringend nodig. (p.16).

1.2 Theoretical framework

There currently exist a variety of approaches to the subject of career choice which Osipow (1983) has divided into the following broad categorisations:

- i) The Trait and Factor approach pioneered by Parsons (1909, cited in Osipow, 1983) and exemplified in the work of Hull (1928, cited in Osipow, 1983), Kitson (1925, cited in Osipow, 1983) and Patterson (1930, cited in Toerien, 1984).
- ii) The sociological theories of Blau and associates (1956, cited in Toerien, 1984), Caplaw (1954, cited in Osipow, 1983) and Hollingshead (1949, cited in Osipow, 1983), amongst others.
- iii) The Personality theories which have two separate approaches: the first exemplified in the work of Holland (1959, cited in Osipow, 1983) and Cattell *et al.* (1956, cited in Osipow, 1983) and characterized by the use

of interest inventories; and the second, the psychoanalytical approach of Roe (1956, 1957, 1964, cited in Toerien, 1984) and Bordin, Nachman and Segal (1963, cited in Toerien, 1984).

- iv) The Behavioural approaches based on Bandura's (1969, 1973, 1977 cited in Watson, 1984) social learning theory and exemplified in the work of Krumboltz and associates (1965, 1969, cited in Watson, 1984); Thorensen and Ewart (1978, cited in Osipow, 1983) and Mitchell, Jones and Krumboltz (1979, cited in Osipow, 1983).
- v) The Developmental approach pioneered by differential psychologists, developmental psychologists, sociologists and personality theorist (Super, 1990). The theory developed by Super and associates (1953, 1957, 1963, 1974, 1990) which he refers to as "development self-concept theory" (Super, 1990, p.241) has been described as the most influential and comprehensive theory of career development formulated to date (Osipow, 1983; Herr & Cramer, 1979)

This study will utilise the developmental theory of Super and associates as the theoretical framework within which to examine the impact of social identity on career maturity in a small Coloured sample. Readers interested in acquiring further information on the approaches listed previously are referred to the works of Crites (1969, 1981), Osipow (1983) and Brown *et al.* (1990).

Central to Super's theory are the ideas that the process of career development is essentially one of developing and implementing a vocational self-concept, and that

the individual's progress along the developmental route is measurable - that is, the construct of career maturity (Super & Overstreet, 1960). Super (1990, p.207) defines career maturity as including "... the degree of success in coping with the demands of earlier stages and substages of career development ...".

A number of writers and researchers have criticized Super's theory for its failure to take cognisance of the obstacles to career development that have to be negotiated by minority populations such as the disadvantaged and racial/ethnic minorities (LoCascio 1967; Nel, 1991, Smith, 1975, 1983; Warnath, 1975) as well as women (Richardson, 1974).

Smith (1983) elucidates the following criticisms of the construct of career maturity: it assumes that the concept of career development is truly understood; that career-life stage development can be applied across diverse populations; and that there are common vocational tasks to be mastered with little differentiation on the basis of race, sex or socio-economic status.

As Herr (1978) says:

To view career development concepts and practises outside the context of the political and economic reality of the society in which they operate is to miss the subtle but pervasive influences upon the freedom of action or the determinism by which personal careers are forged (p.11).

The career development of Coloured adolescents occurs within the context of the Coloured population group in South Africa which Dickie-Clark (1966) described as being in a marginal situation - rejected from full participation in the social group with

which they share cultural equality and affinity; that is, the White population group. This study will therefore utilise career development theory in conjunction with social identity theory to examine the possible effect of social identity on career development in Coloured matriculants.

Social identity refers to self-concept formation on the basis of group membership/s and is described as having three dimensions: (i) a cognitive dimension which includes the individual's knowledge of his/her group membership; (ii) an evaluative dimension, that is, the positive or negative value the individual attaches to his/her group membership; and (iii) the emotional dimension which involves the feelings the individual associates with membership in a given group (Billig, 1976; Vorster & Louw-Potgieter, 1991; Tajfel, 1959 [cited in de la Rey, 1991], 1969 [cited in de la Rey, 1991], 1978, 1981; Turner, 1982, 1984).

This construct is not typically utilized as a correlate of career maturity. It was decided however that the importance Super (1990) attaches to the self-concept in career development necessitates its inclusion considering that an individual's self-concept comprises both personal and social identity.

This study will examine the effects of age, sex, socio-economic status and those aspects of social identity which derive from respondents' feelings about and evaluations of their status as Coloured group members, on career maturity. The emphasis will therefore be on the social determinants of career maturity, since, as Smith (1983) has said:

All too often the career literature has left us with the impression that if we could only change the attitudes of minorities, all would be well with the world - more minorities would have self-fulfilling jobs, more minorities would have jobs at all (p.188).

CHAPTER TWO

CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY AND RESEARCH

2.1 Origins of the development approach to career choice

The concept of life stages was first applied to vocational choice and adjustment by psychologists like Buehler (1933), Pressey and Kubler (1939), Super (1942), and Super *et al.* (1957) (all cited in Super, 1974). Dr Charlotte Buehler (1933, cited in Super *et al.*, 1957) isolated five life stages in the developmental process: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline. In 1951 Ginzberg, Ginsberg, Axelrod and Herma "picking up the trail ... explored by Buehler, used a developmental approach to occupational choice in their study of adolescents" (Super *et al.*, 1957, p.10).

Ginzberg *et al.* (1951, cited in Toerien, 1984) isolated three broad stages of career development, each accompanied by particular developmental tasks. They identified three stages as Fantasy (0-11 years); Tentative ((11-17 years) and Realistic (17 years to young adulthood). In addition, they formulate some broad propositions with regard to career choice. In short, these propositions stated that career choice is an irreversible process characterized by a series of compromises between individual desires and socio-economic reality. Later, Ginzberg (1970, 1972) modified this theory to place greater emphasis on socio-psychological factors that might impact on individual career development (Osipow, 1975, 1983; Super *et al.* 1957; Tolbert, 1980).

The theory of Ginzberg *et al.*, although criticized on a number of dimensions by other theorists (Osipow, 1983; Super, 1953, cited in Toerien, 1984; Tolbert, 1980) as well as Ginzberg (1952, cited in Super *et al.*, 1957) himself, proved invaluable to future theorizing. As Super *et al.* (1957) noted: "... this research team may be credited with effectively introducing the development approach to the study of vocational behaviour" (p.11).

This initial attempt by Ginzberg and his associates was followed by extensive research and theorizing in attempts to develop, refine and validate theories of vocational development (Super *et al.*, 1957). These efforts were markedly influenced by the work of developmental theorists such as Havighurst (1953, cited in Van der Merwe, 1993) who contributed towards the understanding of developmental tasks and Erikson (1963, 1965, cited in Van der Merwe, 1993) whose "theory of psychosocial behaviour is presented as the basis from which to attempt a reconciliation of personal and career developmental behaviours and adjustment" (Van der Merwe, 1993, p.9).

Thus career developmental theorists concentrated their attention on explicating the career development process as it progresses throughout the life span of the individual. The most widely quoted of these is the theory of Super and his associates which has been described as:

... probably the developmental approach which has received the most continuous attention, stimulated the most research, and influenced most pervasively the field of vocational psychology, and is the most comprehensive (Herr & Cramer, 1979, p.92, cited in Watson, 1984, p.33).

2.2 Super's theory of career development

In 1953 Super formulated ten propositions which formed the basis of his theory. Four years later Super and Bochrach (1957) expanded this number to twelve. Finally, in 1990, the list of propositions was expanded yet again to fourteen so as to accommodate the results of career development research (Fisher, 1989; Gribbons & Lohmes, 1968, 1982; Kowalski & Gotkin, 1967; Super & Overstreet, 1960, all cited in Super, 1990).

Super (1990) refers to his theory not as an integrated, comprehensive and testable theory, but as a "loosely unified set of theories dealing with specific aspects of career development, taken from developmental, differential, social, personality, and phenomenological psychology and held together by self-concept and learning theory" (p.199). Central to Super's theory and of particular significance to this study are the ideas that an individual's career development is measurable (that is, the concept of career maturity) and that it represents a "time extended effort to build and implement a self-concept" (Watson, 1984, p.37).

2.2.1 The role of the self-concept in career development

The process of career development is essentially that of developing and implementing occupational self-concepts. It is a synthesizing and compromising process in which the self-concept is a product of the interaction of inherited aptitudes, physical make-up, opportunity to observe and play various roles, and evaluation of the extent to which the results of role-playing meet with the approval of superiors and fellows (interactive learning) (Super, 1990, p.207).

Super based his idea of the importance of the self-concept in career development on the work of Carter (1940), Bordin (1943) and Rogers (1951) (all cited in Osipow, 1983). He proposed that crucial to the process of life-stage development is the development of a self-concept that the person tries to implement in his/her occupation by matching his/her conception of self against his/her perception of people in different occupations (Toerien, 1984).

Krumboltz (in Brown & Lent, 1984, cited in Super, 1990) describes how interaction between society and the individual produces 'self-observation generalisations' (e.g. I am a good tennis player). "In self-concept theory these percepts are viewed as organised into generalized self-observations, or self-concepts (Super and others, 1963)" (Super, 1990, p.230). Self-concepts then are formed through the individual's recognition of his/her distinctiveness and similarities from others; as well as interaction with society, that is, assimilating feedback and organizing it in ways compatible with the self-image (Super, 1990).

Jordaan (1974) isolates self-concept formation as the primary task of the growth stage (\pm 0-14 years). During this stage, the individual tries him/herself out in a number of roles, compares his/her performance with others and in so doing develops an awareness of his/her strengths and weaknesses and similarities or differences from others, thereby developing a vocational self-concept.

Osipow (1983) cites Hodley and Levy (1962) who suggested that much of this role playing occurs in formal and informal groups such as the family, peers, professional

associations etc. Throughout this process, reality factors either confirm or negate tentative educational and vocational decisions.

An important influence in the development of Super's self-concept theory was the social learning theory of Bandura (1969, 1977, 1986) who hypothesized that the individual's self-efficacy expectations (i.e. beliefs about ability to successfully perform certain activities) influence the initiation of behaviour, effort, persistence in the face of obstacles, and achievement (cited in Church *et al.*, 1992). Hockett and Betz (1981) applied self-efficacy theory to career choice and found that individual's self-efficacy expectations predict the extent to which they consider various careers and study paths.

Thus Super (1990) states that there is a proportional relationship between the degree of satisfaction people find in their work and the degree to which they have been able to implement their self-concepts. He adds that the vocational self-concept is one of a constellation of self-concepts that develop through the interaction of personal attributes and the environment. Super's Archway model depicts the dynamic relationship between individual and environment in career development.

2.2.2 The Archway model

In the late 1980s Super developed the Archway model to graphically represent his theory of career development. Super (1990) states that he developed this model to compensate for the explanatory deficits in his model of the Life Career Rainbow which did not make the facets of career development as clear as it should. Super

describes the Archway as "a model designed to bring out the segmented but unified and developmental nature of career development, to highlight the segments and to make their origin clear" (Super, 1990, p.199).

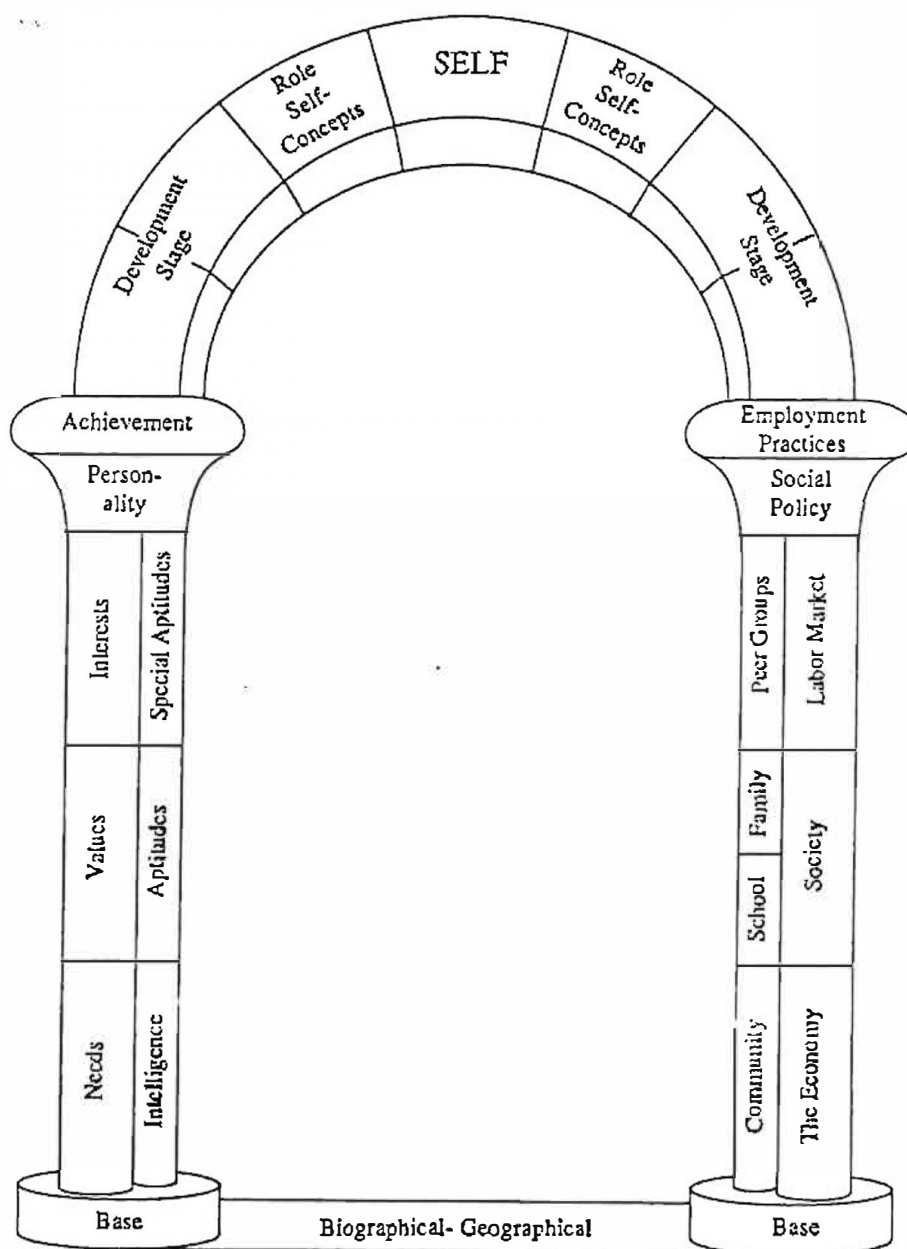


Figure 1: The Archway Model (Super, 1990, p.200).

The doorstep of the Archway represents the biographical-geographical foundations of human development. The large stones at either end depict the person (physiological characteristics) on the left and on the right, the society (economic resources, economic structure, social institutions, etc.), that represent the infrastructure within which the person "pursues his educational, familial, occupational, civic and leisure careers" (Super, 1990, p.201).

The left column of the Archway depicts the personality including self-concepts, which develop through the interaction of the person and the environment. Super stressed the fact that the two columns interact: "Lines should be drawn, with arrowheads at each end, representing the dynamic interaction of individual and society" (Super, 1990, p.203).

At either end of the Archway are the developmental stages: at the left, childhood and adolescence; at the right, young adulthood and maturity. During each of these stages the individual is confronted with developmental tasks which have their basis in chronological age and social expectations. In addition, during each of these stages, the individual holds certain positions; for example, child, student, worker, spouse, etc., and develops concepts of him/herself in each of these life roles:

The keystone of the Archway is the person, the decision-maker in whom all personal and social factors are brought together, organised in terms of concepts of self and of roles in society. These forces are weighed and used in the making of career decisions (Super, 1990, p.203).

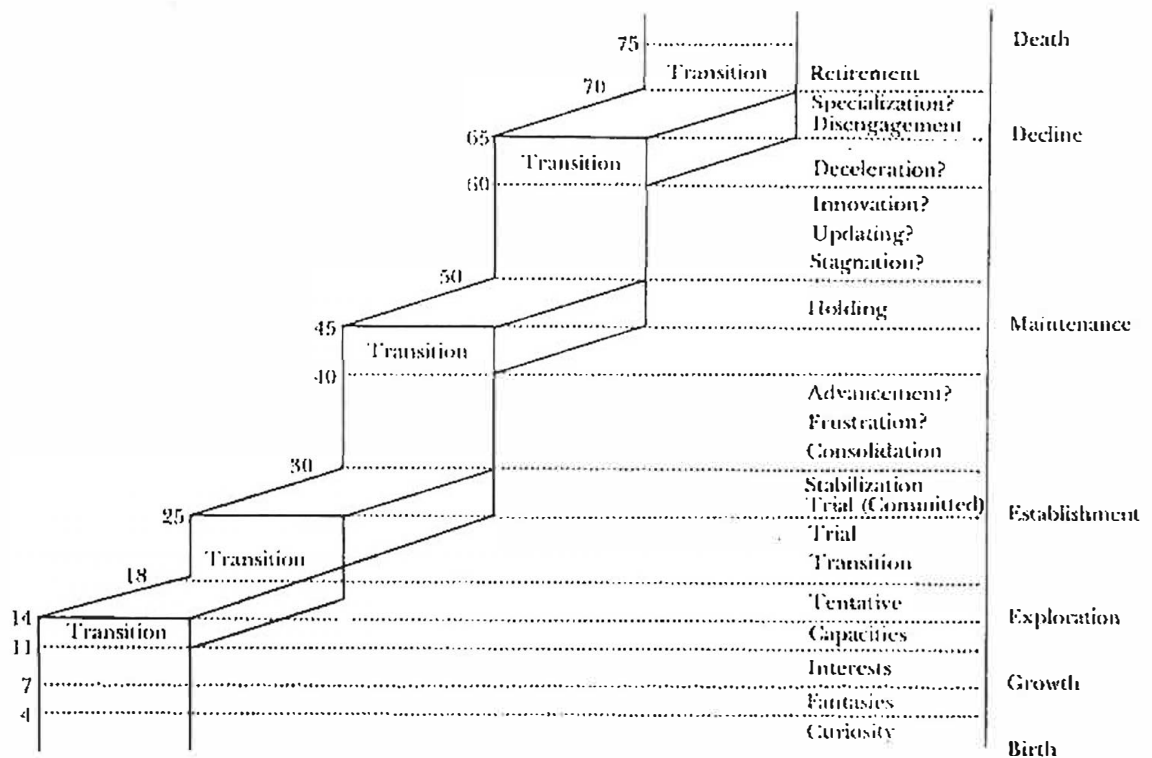
Super's acknowledgement of society's impact on the development of the self-concept forms the link between his theory of career development and social identity

theory. As Hoare (1991) says "the person is embedded in a society that anchors and sponsors identity" (p.45). Thus the society in which the person lives shapes his/her identity or self-concept which is in turn, according to Super (1990) a fundamental aspect of the individual's career development and occupational choice.

The Archway model explicates the factors that interact in the development of the person's self-concept which eventually determine vocational preferences and competencies, but it does not clarify the developmental process across the lifespan of the individual. In relation to this temporal dimension, Super (1990) postulated that vocational preferences and competencies, people's life and work situations and therefore self-concepts become increasingly stable from late adolescence to maturity, providing some continuity in choice and adjustment.

2.2.3 The developmental stages

The process of change can be summed up in a series of life stages adopted by Super from the work of Buehler (1933, cited in Van der Merwe, 1993): growth (0-14 years); exploration (15-24 years), establishment (25-44 years); maintenance (45-64 years) and decline (65 years onward). Super *et al.* (1957) subdivides the exploratory stage into the tentative, transition and trial phases; and the establishment stage into the trial and stabilization phases. A mini-cycle occurs in transitions from one stage to another or every time the individual is destabilized by socio-economic or personal events. This kind of unstable or multiple trial career involves recycling-new growth, re-exploration and re-establishment (Super, 1990). This process is graphically presented in Figure 2 below.



Note: Each transition, whether psychogenic, sociogenic, reonogenic, or all of these, has its own minicycle of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline: its recycling.

Figure 2: Life stages and substages based on the development tasks (Super, 1990, p.214).

2.2.4 Career maturity

The concept of career maturity has become central to theory and research on career development (Crites, 1971). The concept has its roots in the work of Carter (1940, cited in Watson, 1984) who researched the development of interests in adolescence and Strong (1943, 1955, cited in Watson, 1984) whose work with the

Interest Maturity Scale revealed systematic age related changes in vocational behaviour. While it was Crites (1971) who coined the term 'career maturity', the concept had been introduced years earlier by Super (1955) who referred to it as 'vocational maturity' (cited in Westbrook, 1983), Super defines vocational maturity as:

... the readiness to cope with the developmental tasks of one's life stages, to make socially required career decisions, and to cope appropriately with the tasks with which society confronts the developing youth and adult (in Super and Jordaan, 1974, p.3).

The concept of career maturity follows logically from the developmental nature of Super's model of career choice. As Jordaan (1974) says,

If ... vocational development is systematic, rather than unsystematic and proceeds in certain identifiable directions, it should be possible to assess not only how much of the road the individual has covered but also how fast he is travelling in comparison with others who are embarked on the same journey (p.270).

2.2.5 The career development questionnaire

The Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) was developed by Langley (1989, 1990) as an instrument for the assessment of the career maturity of South African adolescents and young adults. Langley's model represents an integration of the theoretical contributions of Super (1984), Crites (1978) and Westbrook (1975, 1985) (all cited in Langley, 1990). Based on the integration of these models she identifies five steps in the career development process, that have to be completed at each life stage if the appropriate tasks are to be mastered successfully (Langley, 1990).

These five steps are: (i) obtaining self-knowledge; (ii) learning decision-making skills; (iii) gathering career information; (iv) integrating self-and-career information; and (v) career planning.

Each of the five scales of the CDQ measures the individual's mastery of one or the other of these steps.

Scale 1 : Self-knowledge

Scale 2 : Decision-making

Scale 3 : Career information

Scale 4 : Integration of career and self-knowledge

Scale 5 : Career planning.

All of these scales, except Scale 4 (integration of career and self-knowledge) are derived from the acknowledged importance of these dimensions in both the Career Development Inventory (Super *et al.*, 1984) and the Career Maturity Inventory (Crites, 1978). In relation to Scale 4, Super *et al.* (1984) recognized the importance of integrating and synthesizing self-knowledge with career information, but Crites (1978) did not. Langley (1990) notes that Super is critical of Crites' failure to include this dimension.

2.3 Career maturity research

The construct of career maturity has been extensively researched (Osipow, 1983). Three major longitudinal studies that contributed greatly to career maturity theory are: the Career Pattern Study (Super *et al.*, 1957; Super & Overstreet, 1960); the

Career Development Study (Gribbons & Lohnes, 1968); and the Project Talent Study (Flanagan, Shaycroft, Richards & Claudy, 1971, cited in Watson, 1984).

The Career Pattern Study initiated in 1950, investigated, over a period of 20 years, the career development of a group of boys who were in the ninth grade at the study's inception. Super and Overstreet studied the variables that might be associated with career maturity and classified these into the following groups: biosocial factors (intelligence and age); environmental factors (parental occupational level, family cohesiveness, and school curriculum amongst others); vocational factors (relationship between career aspirations and expectations; personality characteristics; and adolescent achievement (individual and interpersonal).

The Career Development Study by Gribbons and Lohnes started in 1958 and investigated the career development of a small sample of boys and girls over a 10 year period, beginning in the eighth grade. They reported, in 1968, that career maturity scores increased from eighth to tenth grade; that high intelligence was related to high career maturity scores; that socio-economic status had no bearing on career maturity at eighth or tenth grade level but was correlated with scores at age 20; and that high school pupils, especially from lower socio-economic class backgrounds and/or low intelligence groups, reduce their educational and career aspirations as they grow older.

The Project Talent Study, by Flanagan and colleagues, began in 1960 and traced the career development of pupils in grades nine through to twelve, with follow-up testing one, five and ten years after school. Their results indicated that career plans

became more realistic over time; that most pupils do not make appropriate career choices during high school, and that expressed choice is as good a predictor of occupational choice as test scores (Osipow, 1983; Watson, 1984).

All of these studies indicate that adolescence is a time for experimentation and growth. Jordaan (1963, 1974) states that adolescence and the high school years are a time of exploration, the purpose of which is to "reduce ambiguity, uncertainty and conflict by finding satisfactory roles" (Jordaan, 1974, p.272). Jordaan and Heyde (1979) note the 'irregular fashion' with which career development occurs in adolescence and conclude that educators and career counsellors should assist in identifying and correcting developmental deficits and in fostering and facilitating career development.

Career development theory and the concept of career maturity assume, implicitly, that career development progresses in a continuous and linear fashion. A number of researchers (Crites, 1969; LoCascio, 1967; Osipow, 1975; Richardson, 1974; Smith, 1975; Warnath, 1975) have questioned this assumption with respect to diverse populations.

Smith (1975) states:

... the concept of career development implies a life of planfulness that, given the survival orientation and catch-as-catch-can life of individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds, may not be possible or reasonably attained (p.187).

Crites (1969) questioned the continuity of the career development process. Although he supported the existence of career stages and age related behaviours, he

expressed uncertainty about the idea that stages proceed in a linear and uninterrupted fashion. Watson and Van Aarde (1986) cite researchers like Campbell (1975) who have suggested that "career developmental tasks are more intensified, complex and even discontinuous for disadvantaged students" (p.7).

Similarly Osipow (1976) notes:

For poor Black males, no real exploration period may ever occur. A job may be taken, often in the very early teens while other youngsters are still vicariously exploring the world of work. Following the initial job, a succession of unrelated jobs may occur... These jobs may be interspersed with varying periods of unemployment, or partial employment. In fact, the career pattern of poor Black males may not include stages in the usual sense of the term (p. 18).

The basis for criticism of this nature appears to be the realisation that career development does not occur in isolation from the individual's social or environmental situation. The variables that impact on career maturity have come to be recognised as including both personal and situational determinants (Super, 1990).

Watson and Van Aarde (1986) note that career development research has come increasingly to look beyond individual factors to social factors dominant in determining the individual's career maturity. "Much of the research has emphasized the effects of such variables as age, sex, ethnicity, education and socio-economic status on career development" (p.7). For the purposes of this study, the variables selected for emphasis are age, sex, socio-economic status and ethnicity.

2.3.1 Age

Age and grade or school standard are the two variables most frequently used to examine the temporal dimension of career maturity. However, this study will focus only on age as an index of time as school standard has already been shown to successfully differentiate between levels of career maturity and this study aims to investigate the impact of a set of variables for which previous findings remain inconsistent. Therefore all of the subjects in the sample were in Standard 10 at the time of testing and there are therefore no variations in terms of school standard.

One specific focus in career development theory has been the relationship between age and stage of career development (Super, 1957, 1982; Super & Overstreet, 1960; Crites, 1965; Jordaan, 1963). Super (1980) writes: "... the process of career maturity is developmental. It should be viewed in the context of an individual's lifespan and life-space" (p.288).

Research on age as a correlate of career maturity has however, produced inconsistent results. A large number of studies have indicated a positive relationship between age and career maturity (Crites, 1975; Moracco, 1976, Jordaan & Heyde, 1979, Healy & O'Shea, 1985, Reilly, 1986). On the other hand, many other studies have failed to support age as an influential variable (Bartlett, 1968; LoCascio, 1974; Guthrie & Herman, 1982). "LoCascio (1967) suggested that continuity of career development is more subject to variation with socio-economic status than it is with age" (Watson, 1984).

Cloete (1980) and Watson and Van Aarde (1986) caution that the use of age as a career variable with disadvantaged populations in the South African context may not be feasible as there is often not as direct a relationship between age and career developmental level as there is in the United States. Cloete therefore suggests that educational level may be more reliably utilized as an index of time in this country. In his research with Coloured high school pupils, Watson (1984) concluded that whilst his results supported previous findings of age-related career development, they did indicate that age may not systematically differentiate career development as successfully as school standard does.

In a more general caution along similar lines, Hansen (1974) notes that:

... developmental change, though related to age is not closely tied to age. Even in an invariant order, any one stage may in different individuals be attached to different specific ages ... Consequently stages can only roughly be bounded by specific ages (p.90).

Super (1990) amended his theoretical formulations in accord with the above. He notes that the impetus for a transition is not necessarily age *per se*, since the timing of transitions is a function of the individual's personality and abilities as well as his/her situation.

This study will utilize age as a variable so as to ascertain which of the above findings is applicable to this particular sample.

2.3.2 Sex

Research findings on the impact of sex as a variable in career maturity are inconsistent.

Richardson (1974) cites Douvan and Adelson (1966) whose research indicates that whereas the identity development of boys is centred around the issue of their occupational future, that of girls is focused on the feminine role of which occupational plans are merely an expression. Richardson goes on to suggest that the process of career development is more continuous for men than for women. She quotes Patterson (1973) who states that while most women no longer see marriage and family and a career as mutually exclusive, "the two aspects of female role development exist in somewhat uneasy alliance (Richardson, 1974, p.136).

Pietrofesa and Splete (1975), who found adolescent boys to have higher career maturity, add that this is not surprising considering that during childhood girls are exposed to fewer career role models than boys and that this limits their later choices. The finding that males are more career mature than females is supported in the cross-cultural studies of Achebe (1982) with Nigerian students and Cloete (1980) with Black South African adolescents.

These findings are contradicted in the following studies. Currie (1974) found females across different cultures and socio-economic levels more attitudinally career mature than males. Female superiority in terms of attitudinal career maturity has

also been attested to in the work of Crites (1978), McNair and Brown (1983) and Westbrook *et al.* (1980).

Super and Nevill (1988) found no significant sex differences on measures of career maturity. They do however cite a previous study (Super & Nevill, 1984) in which females scored higher on the cognitive dimensions of career maturity than males, and conclude that females seem to mature vocationally at an earlier age than their male peers. They contend that this might actually be a disadvantage as it probably results in females making premature career decisions on the basis of inadequate information thereby limiting themselves to a relatively narrow vocational field.

Of particular significance to this study are the results obtained in the South African context and these too are somewhat inconsistent.

Watson (1984) in his research with Coloured high school pupils found females to score higher on the dimensions of attitudinal career maturity while males proved to be more cognitively career mature. On the other hand, also with Coloured adolescents, Watson and Van Aarde (1986) found no sex differences in the relationship of mental ability to attitudinal career maturity. This finding is consistent with the results of Van Niekerk (1987), and O'Hare (1990), who found no relationship between sex and attitudinal career maturity.

The majority of South African studies seem to indicate no significant sex differences in career maturity (O'Hare, 1990; Van der Merwe, 1993; Van Niekerk, 1987; Watson & Van Aarde, 1986; O'Hare, 1990).

Super (1990) concludes that "the theory therefore appears to be essentially applicable to both sexes if modified to take childbearing into account" (p.234). This statement seems to lend implicit support to the criticisms discussed previously, of the theory's assumption that career development is as continuous for women as it is for men.

This study will examine sex as a variable since research on its influence on career maturity continues to be inconsistent.

2.3.3 Socio-economic status

Nevill and Super (1986, 1988) state that the potential influence of socio-economic status on commitment to the work role has been acknowledged, but that this influence has been inconsistently supported by research.

Holland (1981) found socio-economic status a more useful predictor of attitudinal career maturity than either self-concept, race, sex, place of residence or age. Support for the contention is offered in the research of Jones, Hansen and Putnam (1976), Maynard and Hansen (1970) and Dillard and Perrin (1980) who all found a significant relationship between socio-economic status and attitudinal career maturity.

Further support is offered by Pietrofesa and Splete (1975) who state that socio-economic class status is very influential in career development. They attribute this to the fact that the position an individual occupies in the social strata determines the

information received, alternatives available and the kind of encouragement received. Borow (1964) attributes the impact of socio-economic status to the fact that while the goals of individuals in lower socio-economic brackets may be similar to their peers in the higher brackets, they have less self-confidence and lower expectations of achieving their goals - that is, incongruence between career aspirations and expectations.

In South Africa, Cloete (1980) found a significant relationship between socio-economic status and career expectations amongst Black adolescents. Watson and Van Aarde (1986) found a significant relationship between socio-economic status and attitudinal career maturity, with Coloured high school pupils from lower socio-economic groups less career mature on the attitudinal dimension than those from the higher brackets. They also found greater mean score differences between the lower and middle class groups than between the middle and upper class groups.

In contrast, Watson and Stead (1990), in research with English and Afrikaans speaking White pupils, found no significant relationship between socio-economic status and work-role salience. They conclude that "given the many ethnic groups and the varied circumstances in which they live in South Africa, the impact of socio-economic status on work-role salience may vary with different population groups" (p.250).

Similarly, neither Van der Merwe (1993), Van Niekerk (1987) nor White (1986), in their research on South African adolescents, found this variable to impact significantly on career maturity. This finding of no impact is supported in the work

of Crites (1978) and Super and Nevill (1984, 1988). Super and Nevill (1984) found that "commitment to work or a career was an important determinant of career maturity whereas sex and socio-economic status played only a small role" (p.235).

Research in Ghana (Clignet & Foster, 1964) and West Africa (Peil, 1968) found that career development has the tendency to eliminate the effect of socio-economic status on aspiration level (cited in Cloete, 1981). Cloete's (1981) study however, found no neutralizing effect by career development on parental status. He concluded that the variables of career developmental level, mental ability, sex, area of residence and socio-economic status are all particularly significant to occupational orientation.

Krau (1987) in a study using ninth and twelfth grade pupils from Jewish, Arab and Catholic schools, found that socio-economic status, as opposed to cultural factors, played the significant role in determining the intensity of pupil's work values.

A note of caution is sounded by Smith (1975) who reviewed literature on the career development of Black Americans and concluded that

... race and socio-economic status were confounded in many of the studies reviewed making it difficult to ascertain which of the variables was most important in determining work attitudes (p.194).

Race therefore emerges as an important variable in career development, particularly in countries like South Africa where for many years racial categorization has had

a direct bearing on career developmental opportunities, socio-economic status and self-efficacy.

The following section will review some of the literature on ethnic minority membership generally and the Coloured population in particular, primarily within the framework of Social Identity Theory.

2.4 Review of the literature on minority group membership

2.4.1 Definition of terms

In speaking about minorities, one is astounded by the heterogeneity of population groups that fall under this heading... It is vastly similar to the concept of marginal groups ... in that both exhibit an extremely vague spectrum of meaning and both are used in very diverse contexts (Heckman, 1983, p.9).

This study will utilize the following definitions of the terms 'race', 'minority group' and 'ethnicity' as operationalizations of these concepts.

Krogman (1945) defined race as:

... a subgroup of persons possessing a definite combination of physical characteristics, of genetic origin, the combination of which to varying degrees distinguishes the subgroup from other subgroups of mankind (p.49 quoted in Smith, 1983, p.166).

According to Wagley and Harris (1958):

(1) Minorities are subordinate segments of complex state societies; (2) minorities have special physical or cultural traits which are held in low esteem by the dominant segments of the

society; (3) minorities are self-conscious units bound together by the special traits which their members share and by the special disabilities which these bring; (4) membership in a minority is transmitted by a rule of descent which is capable of affiliating succeeding generations even in the absence of readily apparent special cultural or physical traits; (5) minority peoples by choice or necessity tend to marry within the group (Simpson & Yinger, 1968, p.17 (Tajfel, 1981, p.310).

Morris (1968) distinguished between ethnic groups and social categories. He defined ethnic group as a "distinct category of the population in larger society whose culture is usually different from its own". He went on to say that members of ethnic groups "are, or feel themselves, or are thought to be, bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture (p.167 in Tajfel, 1981, p.310).

A social category, on the other hand, refers to a category of the population selected by a criterion that is socially neutral (e.g. people with black hair). Tajfel (1981) cautions however, that this type of clear-cut distinction may present problems when applied to social situations in which individuals steadily acquire common beliefs, reactions, feelings and attitudes about their status in a society. Social groups and categories may therefore represent the beginning and end of a long social psychological process.

There are many cases in between: a collection of people, consensually designated by a majority as somehow 'different', may begin by not accepting this difference, or by denying its interpretation. It may be a long time before this 'outside' consensus results in creating clear-cut group boundaries, formal institutionalized rules and the specific features of informal social behaviour to which Morris referred. And yet all this time the 'feeling' of membership, of belongingness, of a common difference from others will continue to develop (Tajfel, 1981, p.311).

The Coloured population of South Africa would seem to fit into this categorisation. A very brief overview of the history of this population category will be provided at this point. Readers interested in a comprehensive account of the social, economic and political history of the Coloured peoples of South Africa are referred to the works of du Pre (1990, 1992, 1994).

2.4.2 A brief historical account of the Coloured population of South Africa

Cilliers (1963, 1971) traces the origins of the Coloured population to White settlement in the Cape more than 300 years ago. This was followed by years of biological and cultural assimilation between Whites, slaves and Aborigines; in Natal, Dickie-Clark (1966) adds the Mauritians and St. Helenians, who began arriving in the country in 1850, to the admixture.

On the basis of colour, a population group with a distinct biological identity emerged gradually; a group which at the same time, as a result of its close integration into the economic, religious and political structure of the dominant White pattern of life, gradually assumed also the social and cultural characteristics of the dominant White western society (Cilliers, 1971, p.1).

A review of the political history of the Coloured people in Natal, by Rankin (1982), reveals that although there was some evidence of colour prejudice towards Coloureds by Whites as early as the mid-1870s, at the time of Union in 1910 there were no legal or constitutional distinctions between Coloureds and Whites, either in Natal or the Cape. He notes that "the tide of privilege began to turn against 'Coloured' people" (p.6) only after the formation of the first Union government.

Finally in 1956, legislation removing Coloureds from the common voters roll was passed. However, Lamour and Engelbrecht (1973) note that those Coloureds already on the roll were allowed to remain and thus 500 Coloured men in Durban kept the vote after 1956. The 1960 referendum on the Republic finally saw the end to any effective access to political power when the few Coloured men still appearing on the roll in Natal were barred from voting.

Historically then, the term 'Coloured person' "refers essentially to a residual statutory population category" (Theron Commission, 1976, para. 21.3); that is persons who are neither Black nor White.

The most important binding element between Coloureds is probably their being South African. The most negative binding element is the biological typing of Coloureds in terms of biological characteristics ... in so far as these are perceptible and are used by other groups as criteria for exclusion from their own ranks: (Theron Commission, 1976, para. 21.4).

The Coloured population has been described as a minority group in terms of numbers, and because they differed physically from the dominant group, thus being singled out for differentiated and unequal treatment (Edelstein, 1974). This has important implications for self-concept development amongst Coloured people and these will be discussed within the context of the following review of the research and theory on racial or ethnic identity.

2.4.3 The impact of racial/ethnic identity on identity development

A number of studies have begun to draw attention to the importance of racial/ethnic identity in the domain of identity development (Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Alipuria (1990) found, for ethnic minority students, that ethnicity was rated as a central identity concern. Similarly, Aries and Moorhead (1989) found, amongst Black female adolescents, that ethnicity was most predictive of identity status and was regarded by participants as having primary importance in self-definition. Phinney and Alipuria (1990) ascribe the importance of ethnic identity to its relationship to psychological well-being. They cite studies by Parham and Helms (1985) who found low levels of racial identity amongst Black students to be associated with low self-esteem, feelings of inferiority and anxiety.

Many of these studies utilize Erikson's theory of identity formation as the theoretical framework within which to examine the effects of ethnic identity on minority group members.

Erikson (1968 cited in Freeman, 1993)) perceives identity formation as beginning in the early interaction between mother and child and continuing throughout the life of the individual. He identifies adolescence as the period during which identity develops a continuity between what he/she has come to be through introjection and identification in childhood and what he/she promises to become in the future. "The person needs to develop fully a sense of a personally meaningful 'self in society'" (Freeman, 1993, p.159). Erikson's theory focuses on the development of personal identity within the history and culture of a given society.

Over the past fifteen years a new approach to the study of identity has developed - an approach which focuses on the group in the individual as apposed to the individual within the group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988); that is Social Identity Theory. Due to the limitations in the size of this study, in the next section only those aspects of social identity theory of particular relevance to this study will be discussed. For a more comprehensive account of the theory see Tajfel (1978, 1981), Vorster and Louw-Potgieter (1991).

2.4.4 Social identity theory

This approach was formulated by Henri Tajfel and associates (1978, 1981) and Serge Moscovici (1972) with the intention of forging

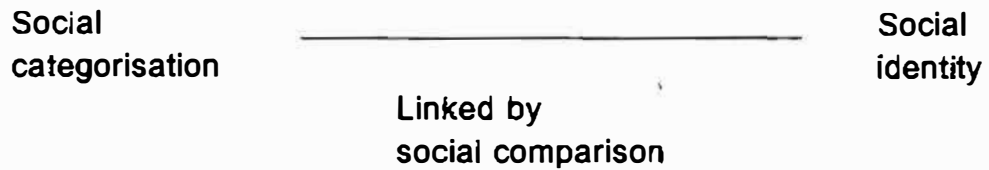
... a non-reductionistic social psychology which would be able to deal with the dynamic relationship between individual and society without sociologizing or individualizing it: that is to explore the social dimension of human behaviour (Hogg & Abrams, 1984; Tajfel, 1984) (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.13).

Tajfel (1981) defines social identity as

... that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from the membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (p.255).

A number of studies referred to as 'minimal group studies' (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Doise & Sinclair, 1973; Tajfel & Billig, 1974) revealed that the mere perception of belonging to separate groups was enough to produce intergroup discrimination in the ingroup's favour (cited in de la Rey, 1991, p.43).

Three of the key concepts in social identity theory are those of social categorization, social identity and social comparison.



Social categorisation refers to the perception of people in terms of social groups or categories on the basis of criteria relevant to the classifier.

The complexity of the environment is reduced through the operation of the principle of accentuation ... whereby the similarities within a group, and the differences between groups are exaggerated or accentuated (de la Rey, 1991, p.43).

In addition, this perception of social groups is characterized by an evaluative (positive/negative) and emotional component which Tajfel (1978, 1981) proposed makes accentuation of differences or similarities more emphatic. "In the South African social context 'race', sex, class, religion and language are some of the most commonly used criteria of classification" (de la Rey, 1991, p.43).

Social identity is the process through which the individual becomes part of a social group and the group becomes part of the individual's self-concept. "People derive their identity (their sense of self, their self-concept) in great part from the social categories to which they belong" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.19). Turner (1982) proposes that an individual's identity is made up of the two components of personal and social identity which operate simultaneously so that most of the time people

perceive themselves as different in some ways from both ingroup and outgroup members.

Research has demonstrated the complex nature of social group identification (Breakwell, 1978; Kritzinger & Rogers, 1985; Zavalloni, 1975). Kritzinger and Rogers (1985) did a study that indicated that although people may define themselves as belonging to the same category, the meanings they ascribe to that identification can differ significantly.

George Simmel (quoted in Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p.19) proposed the following conceptualization of the development of individual uniqueness through group identifications:

The groups with which the individual is affiliated constitute a system of coordinates, as it were, such that each new group with which he becomes affiliated circumscribes him more exactly and more unambiguously ... [T]he larger the number of groups to which an individual belongs, the more improbably it is that other persons will exhibit the same combination of group-affiliations, that these groups will intersect once again (in a second individual (p.140).

In this way uniqueness or personal identity is constructed out of belonging to a unique constellation of groups. According to Hogg and Abrams (1988) we therefore

... have no need for the concept of an *a priori*, innate, or unconscious unique self which is often invoked by more individualistic treatments of the self (e.g. Erikson, 1959; Freud, 1922; Jung, 1946; Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1951) (p.19).

Breakwell (1978) identifies the process of resolution as the most important mechanism of social identity. This process is thrown into action when there is incompatibility between the internal and external criteria of group membership. The external criteria are the objective standards to be met in order to gain access to and maintain access in a group (i.e. laws, norms, values, etc.). The internal criteria have two frames of reference:

- i) the beliefs and knowledge about group membership; and
- (ii) the expectations and aspirations with regard to group membership.

He identifies three possible relationships between the internal and external criteria of group membership.

Relationship 1: internal and external criteria are compatible. In this instance, individual's beliefs and knowledge about, as well as their expectations and aspirations with regard to their group membership are compatible with group norms, laws and values. Thus, social identity is described as 'intransigent' - it will not and cannot change, as change would destroy the equilibrium.

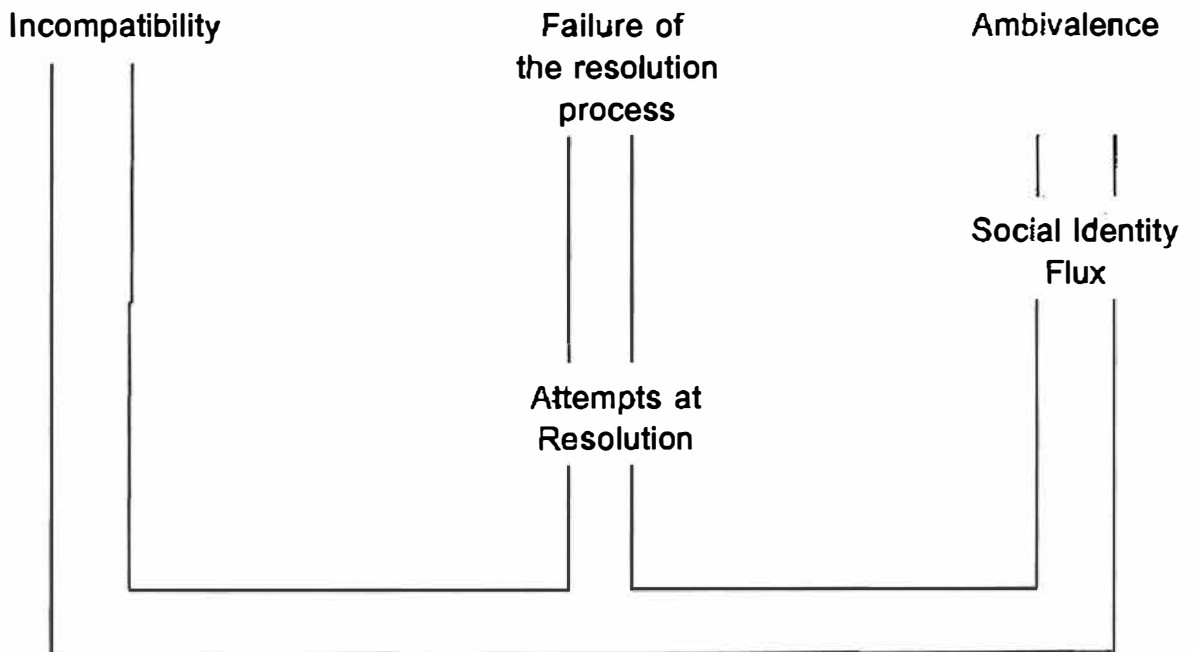
Relationship 2: internal and external criteria of group membership are incompatible. In this instance, the resolution process is activated; there is a redefinition of group structures and relationships and a new social identity develops. An example would be the change amongst Blacks from the perception of Black as inferior and negative to the redefinition of social identity characterised by the 'Black is beautiful' slogan.

Relationship 3: internal and external criteria of group membership are incompatible and attempts at resolution are unsuccessful, resulting in ambivalence which Breakwell (1978) defines as:

... the failure to develop permanent affiliations to the group to which one belongs. Instead attitudes towards members of one's group and the attitude towards being a member of that group swing between the positive and negative poles. The process becomes non-productive, merely a form of non-belonging (p.308).

Breakwell (1978, p.308) represents this situation diagrammatically as follows:

Relationship III



In situations where the process of resolution fails to eradicate the incompatibility between internal and external criteria of group membership, ambivalence about

group affiliations develop; social identity remains in a state of flux and a self-magnifying cycle with continued attempts at resolution develops. Unless external conditions change, the individual is never able to develop a stable and positive social identity.

Ambivalence has important effects at the intragroup and intrapsychic level as it hampers the solidarity between group members, reducing the unity and efficacy of the group (Breakwell, 1978).

A number of researchers have attested to such a lack of solidarity or unity in the Coloured population group (Dickie-Clark, 1966; Edelstein, 1974; Mann, 1957; Marais, 1937; Van der Ross, 1979).

The Theron Commission of Enquiry (1976) found Coloured identity to be an ascriptive characteristic and not the result of a process of positive self-identification: as a result "... the Coloured population group as a whole does not display the typical characteristics found in a cohesive 'nation' or 'ethnic group' in its pattern of behaviour" (para. 21.5). Van der Ross (1979) refers to the "myth of Coloured identity" (p.7), while Marais (1937) asserts: "A Coloured community as distinct from the European does not exist in any realistic interpretation of the term" (p.283).

Dickie-Clark (1966), in his study of the Coloured people in Sparks Estate, Durban, describes this group as existing in a marginal situation since they share cultural equality and affinity with both Black and White population groups, but are rejected

from full participation in this social group on the basis of racial difference. Similarly, Edelstein (1974)

... views the concept of 'marginal man' as central to the issue of Coloured identity. The marginal man is described as frustrated, confused and inferior because he shares a common culture with a dominant group that erects barriers which prevent full participation in their activities (Watson, 1984, p.92).

Social comparison refers to the process through which the evaluative dimension of group membership is determined (de la Rey, 1991). The individual compares his/her group with outgroups and attaches a specific status to the ingroup on the basis of the comparison. Since self is defined in terms of the ingroup, the individual differentiates between ingroup and outgroup on dimensions which allow for a positive evaluation for the ingroup and thus a relatively positive social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). The standing of a group in relation to other groups in the environment is therefore a crucial factor in the development of social identity. In South Africa for example, years of racial discrimination have probably resulted in failure for many to develop positive social identities since the process of comparison would, in all likelihood, have produced negative group evaluations for non-White groups when compared with the White population. The question then is, how might this failure to develop a positive social identity impact on career maturity as a measure of the individual's career development progress?

2.4.5 Research on career maturity of racial minorities

An increasing number of researchers have challenged the applicability of vocational theories and traditional counselling approaches to racial minorities (Griffith, 1980;

June & Pringle, 1977; Warnath, 1975; cited in Smith, 1983). The career behaviour of racial minorities, particularly Blacks in America, has been extensively researched and the picture of vocational development of Black American youth is one of severe vocational handicap (Ashbury, 1968; Houser, 1971; Jones, 1980; Silberman, 1970; Smith, 1975; Wylie, 1963; Zito & Bordin, 1968; cited in Hickson & White, 1968).

Smith (1975) summarised their findings as follows:

The average Black ... is one who may lack positive work role models; does not manifest a lifetime commitment to career as a way of life; is work alienated, and places a greater priority on job security rather than self-fulfilment in an occupation. Moreover, he tends to have a negative self-image ... his aspirations are high, but his expectations of achieving his occupational goals are low. He has limitations placed upon his occupational mobility because of his racial membership (quoted from Hickson & White, 1968, p.55).

LoCascio (1974) has suggested that career maturity as a construct formulated from research with middle-class White subjects is inapplicable to disadvantaged populations. Some studies have suggested that career development tasks are more complex for disadvantaged and racial minority youth (Campbell, 1975; Lawrence & Brown, 1976; Smith, 1975). Pound (1975) found that self-concept seems to relate differently to career maturity for different race and sex groups (Khan & Alvi, 1983).

Watson and Stead (1990) state that an individual's attitude to work or a career may be influenced by his/her cultural milieu and by his/her place within such a culture. "This has led to a more recent call to examine career constructs, their possible determinants, and the interaction of such determinants within different cultural groups (Fouad, 1988)" (Watson & Stead, 1990, p.250).

There have however been some researchers who have found no differences in the career development of adolescents from different cultural backgrounds (Cosby & Picou, 1973; Kishor, 1981; Achebe, 1982) and disadvantaged backgrounds (Campbell & Parsons, 1972). Cosby and Picou (1973) found social class and residential area more important determinants of career maturity than race. Maynard and Hansen (1970) found career maturity differences between Black and White males negligible when intelligence was controlled for.

As far as research in South Africa is concerned, Watson and Van Aarde (1986) state that the few studies that have been conducted have, for the most part, adopted a pre-post test experimental design with small White adolescent samples (Bergh, 1980; Laubscher, 1977; Newman, 1982). They conclude that

... this has contributed little toward the understanding of career development in this country, with a resultant lack of baseline data on the career development of high school pupils of all South African population groups (Watson & Van Aarde, 1986, p.8).

Cloete (1981) states that research on Black students' career orientation is essential if they are to effectively take advantage of the increasing range of career opportunities for Blacks that changing political situation is opening up. Nel (1990) quotes White (1986) who emphasizes the need for research on the career development of Blacks since the continued use of theory and measuring instruments constructed out of research with western, middle-class populations is inappropriate. Nel (1990) states that a similar need exists in terms of the career development of the Coloured and Indian populations of South Africa.

According to Watson and Van Aarde (1986) Coloured adolescents experience major career choice problems. They refer to a survey conducted in Coloured schools, by Herman (1970), in which both teachers and pupils identified career adjustment problems as the most significant problem area for pupils. Watson (1984) cites a study by Bredenkamp (1977) who found that Coloured adolescents expressed extreme uncertainty about their self-knowledge, knowledge of career opportunities and the way in which these two facets are integrated. Watson cautions however, against wholesale acceptance of Bredenkamp's results as his study was limited to a small sample of males, over a wide age range, and utilized a somewhat dubious 'conversational questionnaire' as the main measure (p.84). Finally, he criticizes the study for making no attempt to establish or explain the career developmental changes a Coloured pupil may pass through.

Career development in the South African situation, seems to be significantly related to racial categorization. This is not surprising considering that for many years racial discrimination in this country has impacted on career developmental and job opportunities, area of residence, socio-economic status and self-esteem.

The research reviewed above illustrates the existing uncertainty with respect to the factors that promote or impede the career development progress, particularly of majority group members.

Of particular significance to this study, is the apparent consensus by all who have researched career development issues in the Coloured population, that there is an urgent need for further research on the personal and environmental factors that

correlate with career development in this particular population category (Watson, 1984; Watson & Van Aarde, 1986; Nel, 1990).

The impact of age, sex, socio-economic status and racial minority group membership continue to be inconsistently supported in the research. The remainder of this thesis will therefore be dedicated to the examination of the extent to which these variables determine the level and rate of career development progress in a sample of Coloured matriculants. In addition, certain aspects of social identity; that is, individuals' feelings about and evaluations of their status as Coloured group members, will be examined to determine the extent to which being Coloured in the South African hierarchy of groups, impacts the successful implementation of an occupational self-concept.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Aims of the study

Phillips, Strohmer, Berthaume and O'Leary (1983), in their discussion of career research with special populations, suggest that the major purpose of such research is:

'to describe career phenomena as they currently exist and, second, to explain the relationships among an array of vocational behaviours, attitudes, events and outcomes ... [but] one cannot adequately explain that which one has not accurately described. Because no clear picture exists of the nature of career development for special populations, the design of future research must first be descriptive and, second, explanatory' (p.13-14).

This approach appears particularly significant to this study considering the paucity of research and information on the career development of Coloured adolescents (Nel, 1991; Watson, 1984). Coloured adolescents apparently experience fairly serious career choice problems (Herman, 1970, cited in Watson & Van Aarde, 1986) and a great deal more research into the nature and cause of these difficulties is required. But, before these difficulties can be explained, the career development process as it occurs in the Coloured population needs to be explored.

This study will therefore attempt to describe the career maturity of a sample of Coloured adolescents as well as explore some of the factors that might impact on their career development. Based on the suggestion by Phillips *et al.* (1983) that research on special populations should neither discard nor assume the validity of

existing theory, the variables researched in this study are either based on or derived directly from the literature reviewed in the preceding chapters.

According to the most recent report of the Central Statistical Service (1993), only 7,8% of the economically active Coloured population (n = 7 047) in Pietermaritzburg are employed in semi-professional, technical or professional occupations with the vast majority (92,2%) engaged in occupations falling outside of these categorizations. This suggests that there might be factors impeding the occupational mobility of this population group and this study represents an attempt to understand certain aspects of this phenomenon.

Watson (1984) and Van der Merwe (1993) identify the following as methodological and theoretical assumptions that must be made when undertaking research with different population groups:

- i) That there is only one world of work for members of special and other population groups;
- ii) that career development theories may offer both useful and valid concepts for investigation and cannot therefore be arbitrarily dismissed as invalid;
- iii) that career development is determined by both individual and environmental variables although different combinations of these may be significant for different population groups; and

- iv) that descriptive research is both worthwhile and necessary, considering our current stage of knowledge.

Following from this the main aims of this study were therefore:

- a) To measure the career maturity of a sample of Coloured matriculants at schools in Pietermaritzburg and to assess the applicability of existing career development theory and research to this population group.
- b) To examine the effects of the following variables on the career maturity of this sample:
- i. Age: Literature on the impact of this variable remains inconsistent. While some studies indicate a correlation between increasing chronological age and career maturity (e.g. Crites, 1975; Jordaan & Heyde, 1979; Reilly, 1986; Van der Merwe, 1993) many other studies have contradicted this finding (e.g. LoCascio, 1974; Watson, 1984).
 - ii. Sex: This variable has been cited as both a determinant of social identity (Jocelyn, 1991) and a possible correlate of career maturity. Some career development research has pointed to sex differences in the rate and type of career development (e.g. Cloete, 1980; Pietrofeso & Splete, 1975; Richardson, 1974) while other studies indicate no

significant differences in the career maturity of males and females (e.g. Super & Nevill, 1988; Watson & Van Aarde, 1986; Watson, 1984).

- iii. Socio-economic status: This variable too has found inconsistent support as a correlate of career maturity. In South African career maturity research, Cloete (1980) and Watson and Van Aarde (1986) found a positive relationship between socio-economic status and career maturity or work-role salience. Socio-economic status in this study will be derived from parental educational level and occupational categorization.

Because of the small size of the sample, the ranking of educational level was condensed to a simple 4-point scale while occupations were ranked on a 5-point scale derived from Schlemmer and Stopforth (1979).

Table 1: Classification of parental educational level

Classification of parents' education	
Std. 8 and below	1
Std. 9 - 10	2
Diploma/technical certificate	3
University degree	4

Table 2: Rank order of broad CASS occupational categories
(Code 1-5 in descending order of prestige)

CASS occupational category	Rank and coding order
Professional and managerial	1
Middle white collar	2
Manual foreman, skilled artisans, farmers and status equivalent	3
Routine non-manual and semi-skilled manual	4
Unskilled manual and menial	5

Adapted from Schlemmer and Stopforth (1979: p.9).

- iv. **Social identity:** The value and emotional significance respondents attach to their Coloured group membership will be examined for its effect on career maturity. Since a positive or negative social identity has implications for the development of self-esteem and self-efficacy it is anticipated that social identity might emerge as a significant predictor of career maturity.

3.1.1 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Career maturity as measured on the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) will be positively related to age and sex.

Hypothesis 2: Career maturity will be positively related to the following indices of socio-economic status: parental educational level and occupational categorization/status.

Hypothesis 3: Career maturity will be positively related to career aspirations; that is, the more achievement oriented respondents are the higher their career maturity will be.

Hypothesis 4: Career maturity will be positively related to self-efficacy; that is respondents' perceptions of their chances for success at the achievement of their goals.

Hypothesis 5: Career maturity will be positively related to social identity; that is, the more positive respondents' social identity is, the greater their career maturity will be.

Hypothesis 6: Career maturity could be predicted by the following socially determined variables: socio-economic status; self-efficacy in terms of perceived opportunity structure; and social identity as derived from emotional investment in and evaluation of their Coloured group membership.

3.2 Sample

The sample was drawn from the matric classes at two schools in Pietermaritzburg, under the Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives. Although legal segregation of education in terms of racial categorization no longer

applies, the racial composition of pupils at these schools is still largely Coloured. Therefore these two schools, the only previously legislated Coloured high schools in Pietermaritzburg, were chosen from which to draw the sample.

The total number of matriculants at the two schools combined was 216; however, the final sample for this study was only 59. The small sample size is attributable to two main factors:

- i) The initial plan had been to conduct the assessments during official school hours thereby ensuring the inclusion of all or most of the Std. 10 pupils. However, consultation by the principals of the two schools with the teaching staff revealed that they were behind schedule in terms of the syllabus because of the unforeseen disruption to the school calendar over the election period in April 1994 and could not afford to release the pupils from class for more than one hour. It was decided therefore that testing be conducted on the school premises on a single afternoon, beginning in the last hour of the school day and extending after official school hours. This had a massive impact on the sample size as many pupils were unwilling to participate beyond school hours. In addition, a substantial number were dependent on routine school transport facilities and were therefore unable to stay on after school.

The sample is therefore a convenience sample as it is made up entirely of pupils willing to volunteer for participation. Unfortunately, convenience sampling is a weak sampling method as the use of volunteers immediately

introduces certain biases. Presumably, those individuals willing to participate voluntarily differ quite significantly from their unwilling counterparts in terms of their degree of interest in the project and participation therein; their attitudes towards both the research and the researcher which, presumably, were positive; and possibly also in terms of their social conscience as it was explained that the results of such research might ultimately prove beneficial to Coloured adolescents in the future. Unfortunately, whilst the researcher is aware of the problems associated with the sampling method, time constraints did not allow for any alternative arrangements. The results of this study will therefore have to be interpreted bearing this sampling limitation in mind.

- ii) A small number ($n = 5$) of questionnaires had to be eliminated from analysis as the respondents were not classified Coloured and could not therefore respond to the questions pertaining to Coloured group membership.

The final sample composition was as follows:

- i) **Table 3:** Age range

Age range					Total
17	18	19	20	21	
49%	30.5%	11.9%	6.8%	1.7%	
$n = 29$	$n = 18$	$n = 7$	$n = 4$	$n = 1$	$n = 59$

ii) **Table 4:** Sex

Sex		Total
Male	Female	
27%	73%	100%
n = 16	n = 43	n = 59

iii) **Table 5:** Home language/s

Home language/s			Total
English	English & Afrikaans	English & Zulu	
88,1%	10,2%	1,7%	100%
n = 16	n = 43	n = 1	n = 59

iv) **Table 6:** Term residence

Term residence	
Home	Hostel
76%	24%
n = 45	n = 14

v) **Table 7: Home town**

Home town	
Pietermaritzburg	Other (Dundee, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Ixopo, Vryheid, Matatiele, Umtata)
61%	39%
n = 36	n = 23

3.3 Procedure

Step 1: Written permission was sought and obtained from the Regional Chief Inspectorate: House of Representatives, to conduct the study during school hours utilizing pupils from Haythorne and Eastwood High Schools as subjects (see Appendix A).

Step 2: The researcher then began liaising with the school principals concerned in attempts to establish suitable dates and times for meetings and the actual assessment.

Step 3: Initial information sessions were arranged with the matric pupils at each school during which the nature and purpose of the study was explained and volunteers for participation requested. Dates for the actual assessment were provisionally agreed upon with each group of volunteers subject to possible change after consultation with the principals.

Step 4: Information leaflets (Appendix B), explaining the nature of the study, as well as parental consent forms (Appendix C) were distributed to the volunteers with the instruction to have them read and signed by a parent or legal guardian and returned to the teacher counsellor at each school.

Step 5: The actual assessment was conducted, on separate dates at each school. Pupils were required to complete a questionnaire devised by the researcher and the Career Development Questionnaire.. Testing time was approximately two hours.

3.4 Measuring instruments

3.4.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was devised by the author to attain demographic, familial and social identity variables to be explored as possible correlates of career maturity (see Appendix D).

3.4.1.1 Design

The questionnaire was subdivided into eight different sections, namely: (a) residential information; (b) personal information and family background; (c) educational information; (d) career information; (e) feelings and attitudes about Coloured group membership; (f) 20 statements test; (g) social distance scale; and (h) group stereotype test. These sections will be elaborated on very briefly below:

(a) Residential information

Haythorne High School is a boarding school and caters for pupils residing in Pietermaritzburg as well as other parts of the country. The purpose of this section was therefore to ascertain what part of the country each respondent comes from and who he/she lives with.

(b) Personal and family information

This section was designed to acquire basic demographic information such as age, gender, racial classification, home languages, family structure and parents' and siblings' marital, educational and occupational status. These factors have all been identified in the literature as potentially important in determining work-role salience, work value orientation and career maturity (LoCascio, 1974; Nevill & Super, 1988; Pietrofesa & Splete, 1975; Smith, 1976, 1983; Super, 1957, 1974).

(c) Educational information

The emphasis in this section was on school performance. Studies on career maturity have suggested that intellectual ability and school performance are important correlates of career maturity (Watson, 1984). The size of this study precluded individual intelligence testing and this section was designed to provide a gross indication of academic performance.

(d) Career information

Career literature identifies goal directedness and locus of control as possible correlates of career maturity (Van der Merwe, 1993; Watson, 1984). This section attempted a gross assessment of these dimensions by questioning respondents on their post-matric plans, chances of success, career aspirations, expectations and family's ability to finance tertiary education. The idea therefore was to get an indication of whether respondents have set any goals for the future and whether they perceive the attainment of their goals as personally or socially determined.

(e) Feelings and attitudes towards Coloured group membership

Social identity theory isolates the emotional dimension, that is, people's feelings about their group membership, as an important aspect of social identity. The questions in this section were therefore designed to elucidate respondents' feelings about their Coloured group membership. All of the questions in this section were either adopted or taken directly from a survey questionnaire by Edelstein (1974).

(f) Twenty Statements Test

This test was devised, as a measure of social identification, by Kuhn and McPartland (1954) and requires respondents to provide 20 responses to the question 'Who am I?'. Responses may then be analyzed using a form of content analysis whereby each of the statements is categorized as either a 'consensual' or 'subconsensual' reference (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954, p.69).

Kuhn and McPartland (1954) define consensual references as "statements which refer to groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership are common knowledge"; and subconsensual references as "those which refer to groups, classes, attributes, traits or other matters which would require interpretation by the respondent to be precise or to place him relative to other people" (p.69). The test yields a locus score which is simply the number of consensual references made; that is, responses that place the individual within a social system.

However, it was decided that, for the purposes of this study, the responses to the Twenty Statement test will be utilized purely descriptively; to acquire some indication of the number of respondents who identify themselves as Coloured group members. This decision was made on the basis of the fact that social identity as used in this study refers primarily to identity as derived from specific racial group membership; in addition a crucial reference for the scoring of this test in terms of consensual and subconsensual references (McPartland, 1953, cited in Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), could not be located by the researcher.

(g) Social Distance Scale

The Social Distance Scale was first developed by Bogardus in 1925 (Macrone, 1957). The scale and its derivatives are intended to measure the individual's desired degree of closeness to another group or groups. It has been fairly extensively used in the South African context with modifications to the scale relevant to its application in one or other social context (Edelstein, 1974; Jocelyn, 1991; Macrone, 1957). The scale used in this study was adopted for use from

Edelstein (1974) and consists of five statements reflecting increasing degrees of intimacy; the subject is asked to indicate, on a five-point scale, the closest possible relationship s/he would be willing to enter into with each of the four racial groups, namely, Indians, Africans, Coloureds and Whites.

(h) Group Stereotype test

This test was also taken from Edelstein (1974) and requires respondents to indicate their perception of each racial group in terms of a number of positive and negative traits or constructs. The purpose of this instrument in this study is to acquire an indication of respondents' evaluations of the Coloured group relative to the other major racial categorizations in South African society.

3.4.2 The Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ)

The CDQ was the measure of career maturity selected for the investigation since it was developed and standardized for use with South African adolescents. This instrument was developed by Langley (1988, 1989) and integrates the theories of Crites (1978), Super (1984) and Westbrook *et al.* (1975) (all cited in Langley, 1990). The inventory consists of 100 true/false statements relating to career development tasks and is constructed of five subscales of 20 items each:

- 1) Information on self
- 2) Decision-making
- 3) Career information
- 4) Integration of self with the world of work
- 5) Career planning

3.4.2.1 Standardisation

The inventory was standardized through administration to White, Asian and Black standards 8 and 10 pupils as well as first year university students (Langley, 1990). It is interesting to note that the Coloured population was not differentiated in the standardization sample and appears not to have been represented at all. It is assumed therefore that Langley (1990) categorizes the Coloured population as a component of the Western-oriented cultural group to which she refers. This is in accord with the views of many other writers who refute the existence of a separate Coloured culture or identity (Dickie-Clark, 1966; Edelstein, 1974; Mann, 1957; Marais, 1937; Theron Commission, 1976; Van der Ross, 1979).

3.4.2.2 Reliability

The reliability coefficients for the English speaking high school pupils for the five subscales ranged from 0,76 to 0,82 with a reliability coefficient of 0,92 for the total score. Similarly those of Afrikaans pupils ranged from 0,78 to 0,82 with a reliability coefficient of 0,94 for the total score. The reliability coefficients for Black high school pupils were slightly lower, ranging from 0,66 to 0,79 for the five subscales with a reliability coefficient of 0,88 for the total score (Langley, 1990).

3.4.2.3 Validity

Langley (1990) assessed the content validity of the CDQ by assessing the face validity of the item contents, reviewing the methods used to develop the items and by performing item-scale correlations. Langley (1990) contends that the "face

validity of the CDQ was ensured by the writing of items according to the theoretical framework of career maturity (Crites, 1978; Super, 1984; Westbrook, 1983; Langley, 1989) (cited in Langley, 1990, p.16). The CDQ has, however, been criticized by O'Hare (1990) who found low homogeneity coefficients between the individual scales and the total score. O'Hare also criticized the dichotomous response format on the basis that it precluded the completion of a comprehensive factor analysis and suggested the use of an intensity scale instead. Despite these limitations the CDQ was chosen for use in this study for its applicability to the South African context.

3.5 Statistical analysis

The questionnaire developed by the researcher was designed to produce a large amount of information on in-depth analysis, much of which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Some information will therefore be ignored or condensed to make useful analysis possible, particularly considering the small sample size. The relevant data was analyzed in the following categories:

- i) Demographic data
 - a) Age
 - b) Sex
 - c) Racial classification
 - d) Home language/s

- ii) Socio-economic status
 - a) Parental educational level
 - b) Parental occupational status

- iii) **Social identity**
 - a) **Feelings about Coloured group membership**
 - b) **Social distance**
 - c) **Group stereotypes**

- iv) **Goal directedness and locus of control**
 - a) **Post matric plans**
 - b) **Perception of opportunities for success**
 - c) **Career aspirations**
 - d) **Career expectations**
 - e) **Factors accounting for incongruence between aspirations and expectations**
 - f) **Feasibility of tertiary education in terms of financial resources.**

Descriptive and inferential statistical techniques were used to analyze the data generated by the formulated questionnaire and the scores of the CDQ. Descriptive statistics included the calculation of means and standard deviations for career maturity in terms of age, sex, parental educational level and occupational status, post-matric plans and perceptions of opportunities for success. The analysis of variance method was used to test the relationship between career maturity and the following independent variables: sex, age, parental educational level, parental occupational category, post-matric plans and the various measures of social identity (feelings about Coloured group membership, social distance and group stereotypes).

Multiple linear regression analyses were computed in an attempt to isolate the variables that serve as predictors of career maturity as measured by the CDQ. Only the total scores on the CDQ were used; although separate analyses of the impact of these factors on the five subscales of the CDQ would have been interesting, the size of this thesis precluded the generation of the vast amounts of data this would have produced.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The data generated by the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) and selected sections of the questionnaire formulated by the author were entered and analyzed on the SPSS computer programme. The following statistical procedures were used in the analysis: Pearson Product Moment Correlation, Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) and Chi-square tests of goodness of fit. A multiple regression analysis was computed to investigate the extent to which the different determinants of social identity measured act as possible predictors of career maturity.

Only the total score of the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) was utilised in the analysis of the results as reliability analysis for the subscales of the CDQ (see Table 24) suggests that the subscale reliability for this sample is questionable with coefficients ranging from 0,55 - 0,75. These are substantially lower than the reliability coefficients compiled by Langley (1990) for the national mean samples of English-speaking pupils (0,76 - 0,82), Afrikaans-speaking pupils (0,78 - 0,82) and Black high school pupils (0,66 - 0,79). This validates a similar finding by O'Hare (1990) who concluded that the subscales of the CDQ only be used with extreme caution. The reliability of the total CDQ score however, is quite high (0,90) and can therefore be used with some confidence.

4.1 Career maturity and biographical variables

The career maturity of the sample was examined in terms of the following biographical variables: age, sex, and parental educational level and occupational category as indices of socio-economic status.

(a) Age

Due to the small numbers of cases in the 20 ($n = 4$) and 21 ($n = 1$) year age categories, it was decided to combine the two for analysis. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to investigate the existence of the hypothesized trend; that is, a linear increase in career maturity with increasing age. The result revealed a negative correlation between age and career maturity which, however, failed to reach significance ($r = -.1348$; $p > 0.05$). The correlation coefficient therefore suggests the tendency for the career maturity of this sample to decrease with age; a tendency, to some extent, borne out by the distribution of the career maturity means across the different age groups, as reflected in Table 8.

Table 8: Means (and standard deviations) of career maturity broken down by age

	Age				Total
	17	18	19	20 + 21	
X	74.00	66,44	73,57	66,4	71,61
SD	12,16	13,16	12,41	14,76	12,72
N	29	18	7	5	59

Although there is no systematic decrease in career maturity with increasing age, there does appear to be a trend in this direction. The 17-year-olds who represent 49% of the total sample ($n = 29$) returned the highest mean while the other half of the sample combined (51%) returned a mean 4,7 points lower ($\bar{X} = 69,3$). Considering the existence of this trend it is possible that a significant result may have been attained had the sample been bigger with a more even distribution of cases in the different age categories.

However, the finding of no significant relation between age and career maturity is in accord with the results of a number of other South African studies (Cloete, 1980; Van der Merwe, 1993; Watson & Van Aarde, 1986). All of these researchers have noted that, particularly for the disadvantaged populations in South Africa, age is not as reliable an index of time as school standard is. Unfortunately this finding could not be tested in this study as all of the respondents were matriculants. What may be concluded from the results presented in this section is that, in terms of the career maturity of this sample, progression from one career developmental stage to the next, while linked to age, is evidently not strictly age determined (Harris, 1974).

(b) Sex

Table 9 reflects the career maturity means and standard deviations of the males and females in this sample.

Table 9: Means (and standard deviations) of career maturity broken down by sex

	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
X	72,44	71,30	71,61
SD	16,18	11,39	12,72
N	16	43	59

An ANOVA was computed to measure the influence of gender on the variability in career maturity scores, and the results are summarised in Table 10:

Table 10: ANOVA: Career maturity by sex

Source	DF	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between groups	1	15,03	15,03	0,91	0,7636
Within groups	57	9375,01	164,47		
Total	58	9390,03			

This ANOVA indicates that there is no significant relationship between career maturity and sex ($F = 0,91$; $p \geq 0,763$). Although the males in this sample returned a higher mean career maturity score than the females, the mean difference in the scores (1,14) is not statistically significant. A limitation to be borne in mind in the interpretation of this result is that the sample was heavily skewed in terms of gender; 73% ($n = 43$) of the sample is female as opposed to 27% ($n = 16$) male.

The finding that sex makes no significant contribution to the variation in the career maturity of this sample can therefore only be taken as tentative.

It is though, consistent with the results of O'Hare (1990), Van der Merwe (1993), Van Niekerk (1987) and Watson and Van Aarde (1986), who all found no significant relationship between sex and career maturity across a range of different South African samples.

(c) Socio-economic status

Mother and father's highest levels of education and occupational categorizations were used as indices of socio-economic status. The statistical limitations created by the small sample size were exacerbated on these indices of socio-economic status where large numbers of missing cases had to be dropped from analysis: father's highest level of education (28,8% cases missing; n = 17); mother's highest level of education (10,1% cases missing; n = 6); father's occupational category (18,6% cases missing; n = 11) and mother's occupational category (35,5% cases missing, n = 21).

Despite these limitations it was decided to attempt an analysis of the impact of socio-economic status on the career maturity of this sample so as to avoid "the confounding of minority group status and social class membership that has produced much of the mixed results in career development research today" (Osipow, 1975, cited in Watson, 1984, p.192). While definitive conclusions may not prove feasible, it is anticipated that useful trends in the nature of the relationship

between parental socio-economic status and the career maturity of this sample may be revealed.

Most studies of career maturity use father's education level and occupational status as indices of family's socio-economic status (Osipow, 1983). It was decided however, that the substantial number of dual income families in this sample (58%) warranted the inclusion of mother's educational level and occupational status for a more realistic indication of familial socio-economic status. It was expected that the chances and vagaries of spouse selection would have resulted in close similarities in the educational and occupational levels of the mother's and father's in this sample. Therefore, although correlations conceded on small score ranges are unsatisfactory, mother's and father's educational level and occupational category were correlated to investigate the extent to which separate analysis of these variables may be repetitive. The following correlations emerged as significant:

- i) Father's highest level of education and mother's highest level of education
($r = - 0,7061$; $p < 0,01$);
- ii) Father's highest level of education and occupational category ($r = 0,7533$;
 $p < 0,001$);
- iii) Mother's highest level of education and occupational category ($r = 0,5280$;
 $p < 0,001$).

These correlation coefficients confirm both of the above expectations; firstly, that there is a highly significant correlation between educational level and occupational

categorization, and secondly, that mother and father's educational levels are similarly significantly related. Despite the finding that these variables have a high degree of inter-relatedness, it was felt that it might prove interesting to run two 2-way ANOVAs to investigate the differential impact of parental educational level and occupational categorization on the career maturity of this sample.

(i) Educational level

In an attempt to overcome the statistical limitations associated with empty cells and very small cell sizes, the educational categories were collapsed as follows: 1 = std 8 and below; 2 = std. 9/10; and 4 (university degree) was collapsed into 3 (diploma/national technical certificate) to form one tertiary education category. Table 11 reflects respondents' career maturity means (as derived from their total scores on the CDQ) in terms of the combination of Mothers' and Fathers' highest levels of education.

Table 11: Means of career maturity (CDQ) broken down by parents' highest levels of education

Father's highest levels of education	Mother's highest level of education		
	1	2	3
1	74,94 (n = 18)	68,80 (n = 5)	0
2	73,71 (n = 7)	65,67 (n = 3)	0
3	66,00 (n = 1)	69,75 (n = 4)	68,75 (n = 4)

Although a 3-point scale is admittedly a very coarse one, and the cell sizes in the above means table are exceedingly small, it was felt that it would be of interest to compute an ANOVA investigating the extent to which variance in this sample's career maturity scores may be attributable to parental educational level. The results of the 2-way ANOVA computed are as summarized in Table 12:

Table 12: ANOVA: Career maturity (CDQ) by father and mother's highest levels of education

Source of variation	Sum of squares	DF	Mean square	F	Significance of F
Main effects	362,89	4	90,72	0,663	0,642
Father's highest level of education	25,52	2	12,76	0,089	0,915
Mother's highest level of education	211,48	2	105,73	0,738	0,485
2-way interactions	83,67	2	41,84	0,292	0,749
FHLED MHLED	83,67	2	41,84	0,292	0,749
Explained	446,57	6	74,43	0,519	0,790
Residual	5015,34	35	143,295		
Total	5461,91	41	133,22		

The 2-way interactions indicate no significant relationship between parental educational level and career maturity ($F = 0,292$; $p > 0,05$). Father's highest level of education returned a lower F than mother's highest level of education ($F = 0,089$ versus $F = 0,738$). Although neither parents' educational level is significantly related to career maturity, there is the suggestion that mothers' educational level accounts for a greater degree of the variance in the career maturity scores of this sample.

The distribution of mean scores suggests the tendency towards an inverse relationship between career maturity and parental educational level; generally the children whose parents have relatively low levels of education returned higher career maturity means than those whose parents are more highly educated.

These results may be interpreted as offering nothing more than tentative suggestions however, given the fact that the already small sample size was greatly reduced by the large number of missing cases ($n = 17$; 28,8%) that had to be dropped from analysis. Furthermore, although most of the literature reviewed did not specifically analyze for the impact of parental educational on career maturity, a study by Khan and Alvi (1983) which did find the opposite effect; that is, a significant positive correlation between career maturity and parental educational level.

(ii) Occupational categorization

As with educational level, large numbers of missing cases ($n = 25$; 42%) resulted in exceedingly small cell sizes for the means of career maturity broken down by father and mother's occupational status. It was therefore decided to collapse the occupational categories as follows: 1 = professional and managerial; 2 = middle white collar; and 4 (routine non-manual and semi-skilled manual) and 5 (unskilled manual and menial) were collapsed into three (manual foreman, skilled artisans, farmers and status equivalents) to form one broad category. Respondents' mean career maturity scores (as derived from their total scores on the CDQ) are reflected in terms of their parents' occupational categories in Table 13.

Table 13: Means of career maturity (CDQ) broken down by parents' occupational categories

Father's occupational category	Mother's occupational category		
	1	2	3
1	68,75 (n = 4)	59,00 (n = 2)	66,00 (n = 1)
2	0	77,50 (n = 2)	75,00 (n = 2)
3	66,50 (n = 4)	76,13 (n = 8)	70,00(n = 11)

Once again, despite the small cell sizes and coarse 3-point scale, a 2-way ANOVA was computed in an attempt to gain some insight into the extent to which parents' occupational status impacts on the career maturity of their offspring, and the results are diagrammed in Table 14.

Table 14: ANOVA: Career maturity (CDQ) by father and mother's highest levels of education

Source of variation	Sum of squares	DF	Mean square	F	Significance of F
Main effects	412,13	4	103,03	0,603	0,664
FOCC	242,17	2	121,09	0,709	0,501
MOCC	90,07	2	45,04	0,264	0,770
2-way interactions	339,01	3	113,00	0,662	0,583
FOCC MOCC	339,01	3	113,00	0,662	0,583
Explained	757,14	7	107,31	0,628	0,728
Residual	4441,13	26	170,81		
Total	5192,27	33	157,34		

This analysis indicates that there is no significant relationship between career maturity and parental occupational status in this sample ($F = 0,662$; $p > 0,05$).

A comparison of the F ratios of the 2-way interactions of mother and father's educational level ($F = 0,292$) and mother and father's occupational status ($F = 0,662$) suggests that, although neither result is significant, parental occupational status may act as a slightly better predictor of career maturity for this sample. However, all that may be concluded with any degree of certainty from these results is that, for this particular sample, no significant relationship between career maturity and socio-economic status (as derived from parental educational level and occupational status) may be deduced.

This finding of no impact goes contrary to Watson's (1984) and Watson and Van Aarde's (1986) findings in their research on the career maturity of Coloured adolescents in which they report a significant positive relationship between socio-economic status and career maturity. It is in accord though with the results of the following South African studies: Van der Merwe (1993), Van Niekerk (1987), Watson and Stead (1990) and White (1986), all of whom report no significant variance in career maturity across different socio-economic status levels, as derived from father's educational level and occupational status.

To conclude this section then, none of the biographical variables which were hypothesized to impact on career maturity (age, sex and socio-economic status) emerged as significant correlates of career maturity for the sample. Unfortunately,

the small cell sizes and often unequal distribution of cases make it impossible to draw any conclusions from these results with an acceptable degree of certainty.

4.2 Career maturity and career aspirations

It was hypothesized that there would be significant increases in career maturity with increasing career aspirations as assessed in terms of respondent's post-matric plans.

As a result of the small sample size the categories for this variable were collapsed from 9 to 4 with:

- 1 = intending to work after completing matric;
- 2 = intending to enrol at one or other tertiary education institution;
- 3 = no definite plans at all; and
- 4 = intending to work and study part-time or by correspondence.

Career maturity means by post-matric plans were calculated and are presented in chronological order in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Means of career maturity (CDQ) broken down by post-matric plans

	Post-matric plans categories				
	1	2	3	4	Total
X	68,63	74,00	57,40	72,64	71,61
N	8	35	5	11	59

A 1-way ANOVA was computed to investigate the significance of the relationship between respondents' post-matric plans and their career maturity and the results are reflected in Table 16 below.

Table 16: ANOVA: Career maturity (CDQ) by post-matric plans

Source	DF	Sum of squares	Mean squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between groups	3	1292,41	430,80	2,93	0,0417*
Within groups	55	8097,62	147,23		
Total	58	9390,03			

* P < 0,05

This ANOVA indicates a significant relationship between career maturity and post-matric plans ($F = 2,93$; $p < 0,05$). The distribution of mean scores clearly indicates a relationship between career maturity and career aspirations with those respondents with ambitions of tertiary education ($n = 35$) returning the highest mean, followed by those planning to work and study part-time or by correspondence ($n = 11$), followed by those whose intention it is to seek employment ($n = 8$) and finally, with the lowest mean, those who have made no definite plans at all ($n = 5$).

Follow-up analysis with the Tukey test indicates that the 'tertiary education' and 'no definite plans' categories differ significantly from one another in terms of their mean career maturity scores. There is evidently a significant positive relationship between career aspirations and career maturity for this sample of Coloured matriculants. This result may be linked to a previous finding by Van der Merwe (1993) who found a significant "linear progression across degree of goal directedness, with high goal

directedness reflecting higher career maturity" (p.69), although goal directedness was measured on an assessment of self representation derived from Kohut's psychoanalytic theory of self (cited in Van der Merwe, 1993, p.57). Therefore, in the absence of any correlational data the idea that these measures and the results attained share some similarity, is mere speculative.

4.3 Career maturity and perceptions of opportunities for success

It was further hypothesized that respondent's perceptions of their opportunities for success would have a positive determining influence on their career maturity; that is, that career development would be impeded in those who perceived little chance of achieving their goals. This relationship was investigated with a 1-way analysis of variance.

Once again, due to extremely small cell sizes, categories for the 5-point rating of chances scale were collapsed to a 3-point scale where in: 1 (very good) and 2 (good) were combined to form one 'good' category (coded 1); 3 (average) was recoded 2; and 4 (poor) and 5 (very poor) were combined to form one 'poor' category (coded 3). Respondents' career maturity means broken down by their ratings are reflected in Table 17 below and the 1-way ANOVA in Table 18.

Table 17: Means of career maturity (CDQ) broken down by rating of chances for success

	Rating of chances			
	1	2	3	Total
X	76,83	69,03	62,25	71,61
N	23	32	4	59

Table 18: ANOVA: Career maturity by rating of chances for success

Source of variation	Sum of squares	DF	Mean square	F	Significance of F
Rating of chances	1189,01	2	594,51	4,06	0,023*
Residual	8201,02	56	146,45		
Total	9390,03	58	161,90		

* $p < 0,05$

This ANOVA indicates a significant relationship between career maturity and respondent's perceptions of their chances for success ($F = 4,06$; $p < 0,05$). The distribution of means reflects a linear progression across respondent's perceptions of their chances of goal achievement; with those who rate their chances as good returning the highest mean (76,83) and those who rate their chances a poor the lowest (62,25). This finding may be linked to a previous finding by Watson (1984) who investigated the relationship between career maturity and locus of control with Coloured adolescents and concluded that the greater the degree of internal control, the greater respondent's career maturity.

4.4 Social identity

A number of questions were utilized to obtain a measure of respondent's social identity as derived from their Coloured group membership. It was hypothesized that the more positive the respondent's evaluation of and emotional attachment to the Coloured group is, the higher their levels of career maturity will be. The results for each of the variables used to measure social identity will be discussed in turn. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to ascertain which of these variables, if any, would be the best predictors of career maturity and this will be examined at the end of this section.

(i) Feelings about being Coloured

Respondents were asked to indicate how they felt about being Coloured and the responses were coded on a 3-point scale wherein 1 = positive, 2 = ambivalent and 3 = negative. The frequency of responses in the three categories are reflected in Table 19 below.

Table 19: Percentage of responses re: Feelings about being Coloured

Scale		
1 (positive)	2 (ambivalent)	3 (negative)
61%	20,3%	18,6%
(n = 36)	(n = 12)	(n = 11)

The majority of the respondents (n = 36) have positive feelings about their Coloured status, but a significant number (n = 23) indicate either ambivalent or negative feelings associated with their being Coloured.

Respondents were also asked to indicate, if given the choice, which race group they would choose to belong to, and why. Their responses are summarized in Table 20 below.

Table 20: Breakdown of respondents' race groups of choice and reasons for choices

Reason for choice	Race group of choice				
	African	Indian	Coloured	White	Total
1) Pride in Coloured identity	-	-	15	-	15
2) Acceptance of Coloured identity	-	-	15	-	15
3) Better opportunities	2	1	-	15	18
4) Positive regard	5	-	-	-	5
5) Escape confusion associated with Coloured identity	1	-	-	1	2
6) Other	-	1	2	-	3
TOTAL	8	2	32	16	58

Note: The 'other' category included the fact that most family members belonged to that racial categorisation (n=1) and the perception of the Coloured group as unique (n=2).

Almost 50% (15 out of 32) of those respondents who indicated that they would choose to remain Coloured, identified pride in their Coloured identity as the reason for this choice. By contrast, on the 20 Statements Test, where respondents were

asked to provide 20 responses to the question 'Who am I?', only 33,8% (n = 20) identified themselves as Coloured.

The majority of respondents (69%; 18 out of 26) who indicated a preference for alternative racial categorization, cited their perception of better opportunities for members of those racial categories as the reason for their choice.

As stated previously, although a 3-point scale is admittedly a very coarse one, it was felt that it would be interesting to compute an ANOVA to investigate the relationship between respondents' feelings about being Coloured and their race group of choice. As expected, the results showed a highly significant association ($F = 9,93; p < 0,01$). Those respondents with the most positive feelings about being Coloured (n = 23) indicated the Coloured group as their race group of choice, while those with the most negative feelings about being Coloured (n = 24) indicated the White and African racial groups as their choice, and finally, those whose feelings about the Coloured group fell somewhere between positive and ambivalent (n = 2) indicated the Indian group as their race group of choice. A significant number of respondents (n = 26; 45%) are obviously dissatisfied with their Coloured group membership status and would choose to belong to one or another racial category.

(iii) Social distance scale

On the social distance scale respondents were asked to indicate the closest relationship they would be willing to enter with members of each racial category. Only their responses in terms of Coloureds will be discussed here.

Table 21: Percentages of closest relationship willing to have with Coloureds

Relationship	Percentages
1. Marry them	78% (n = 46)
2. Have them as close friends	15,3% (n = 9)
3. Have them as neighbours	6,8% (n = 4)

The large majority (78%) of the sample chose the closest possible relationship (marriage) provided on the scale as the closest relationship they would be willing to enter into with a Coloured person. None of the respondents chose relationships on the negative extreme of the scale.

A Pearson Product Moment Correlation of feelings about being Coloured by desired social distance to or from Coloureds revealed a positive tendency but the correlation did not reach significance ($p = 0,072$; $p > 0,05$). All that may be concluded therefore is that there is a relationship between how individuals in this sample feel about being Coloured and the closest relationships they are willing to enter into with Coloureds, but that the relationship is not a statistically significant one.

(iv) Group stereotype test

Respondents were asked to indicate their perception of the different racial/ethnic groups in terms of a specified set of six positive and seven negative traits. A count

was made of the total number of positive and negative attributions with each attribution being given a score of 1. The score for positive attributions was out of a maximum of six, and that for negative attributions was out of a maximum of seven. These score-totals for each respondent were therefore divided by six and seven respectively, to give comparable mean numbers of positive and negative evaluations. A sign test was then computed to get the mean differences between the total number of positive and negative attributions for each race/ethnic group. These mean differences are presented in Table 22 below.

Table 22: Mean differences in positive and negative attributions for each race/ethnic group

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Minimum	Maximum	n
Dif. Coloureds	0,08	0,32	-0,57	0,83	59
Dif. Indians	0,15	0,28	-0,86	0,69	59
Dif. Afrikaans-speaking Whites	-0,29	0,26	-0,86	0,36	58
Dif. Africans	0,24	0,34	-0,43	1,00	58
Dif. English-speaking Whites	0,18	0,32	-0,57	1,00	57

Briefly, these results indicate that the respondents in this sample evaluated Afrikaans-speaking Whites most negatively and Africans most positively. The difference of +0,08 with respect to Coloureds, shows a tendency to give marginally more positive than negative attributions to the Coloured group. These differences in positive and negative attributions for each group were tested for significance

using the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test. The results indicate the following:

- (i) Respondents' tendency to give marginally more positive than negative attributions to the Coloured group did not reach significance ($z = -1,7072$; 2-tailed $p = 0,0878$; $p > 0,05$).
- (ii) There was a highly significant positive difference in respondents' evaluations of the Indian group ($z = -4,3357$; 2-tailed $p = 0,000$; $p < 0,001$). The respondents in this sample therefore show a significantly high positive regard for the Indian group.
- (iii) There was a highly significant negative difference in respondents' evaluation of Afrikaans-speaking Whites ($z = 5,7564$; 2-tailed $p = 0,000$; $p < 0,001$). The respondents in this sample evidently have a generally negative attitude towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites.
- (iv) Respondents' evaluation of English-speaking Whites showed a highly significant positive difference ($z = -3,8058$; 2-tailed $p = 0,0001$; $p < 0,001$).
- (v) Respondents assigned a significantly larger number of positive attributions to the African group ($z = -4,6638$; 2-tailed $p = 0,000$; $p < 0,001$).

The respondents in this sample therefore are significantly more positive in their evaluations of the Indian, African and English-speaking White groups than they are of their own membership group; that is, the Coloured group. A correlation matrix was computed to investigate the degree and direction of the correlations between

the social identity variables discussed in this section and career maturity, and is represented in Table 23.

4.5 Career maturity and social identity

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, only the total CDQ scores were used since the subscale reliabilities computed for this sample proved somewhat questionable.

Table 23: Correlation matrix

	CDQT	DIFCOL	RGOCCE	SDSCOL	FRECOL
CDQT	1,000 (58)	0,0071 (58) $p = 0,479$	0,0122 (58) $p = 0,464$	-0,3526 (58) $p = 0,003^*$	-0,1490 (58) $p = 0,132$
DIFCOL	0,0071 (58) $p = 0,479$	1,000 (58)	0,0272 (58) $p = 0,420$	-0,3759 (58) $p = 0,002^*$	-0,1897 (58) $p = 0,077$
RGOCCE	0,0122 (58) $p = 0,464$	0,0272 (58) $p = 0,420$	1,000 (58)	-0,0814 (58) $p = 0,272$	-0,5794 (58) $p = 0,000^{**}$
SDSCOL	-0,3526 (58) $p = 0,003^*$	-0,3759 (58) $p = 0,002^*$	-0,0814 (58) $p = 0,272$	1,000 (58)	0,1978 (58) $p = 0,068$
FRECOL	-0,1490 (58) $p = 0,132$	-0,1894 (58) $p = 0,077$	-0,5794 (58) $p = 0,000^{**}$	0,1978 (58) $p = 0,068$	1,000 (58)

* $p < 0,01$; ** $p < 0,001$

Key:

CDQT = Total CDQ score

DIFCOL = Mean difference in positive and negative attributions towards the Coloured group

RGOCCE = Race group of choice

SDSCOL = Desired social distance from Coloureds

FRECOL = Feelings about being Coloured

The correlation matrix suggests that respondents' desired social distance from Coloureds (SDSCOL) is the only index of social identity which correlates significantly with the total career maturity score of this sample ($p = 0,0003$). It was decided to compute a multiple regression analysis using the social identity variables presented in the correlation matrix as predictor variables, and CDQ total score as the dependent variable.

Multiple regression analysis was selected for use on the basis of Keppel's and Zedeck's (1989, cited in van der Merwe, 1993) contention that it is more accurate than analysis of variance for use with correlated predictors and samples with unequal numbers. It was therefore anticipated that a multiple regression analysis would be a more sensitive measure of the degree of impact of social identity on career maturity. Four variables (mean difference in respondents' positive and negative attributions towards the Coloured group (DIFCOL); race group of choice where Coloured = 1 and African, Indian/White = 0 (RGOCCE); desired social distance from Coloureds (SDSCOL); and feelings about being Coloured (FRECOL) were computed in an attempt to ascertain the degree to which the different variables act as predictors of career maturity as measured on the CDQ. The regression analysis was run on SPSS using the Enter method of analysis. Examination of the resulting analysis (see Table 24) reveals that once SDSCOL is in, no one of the other variables add anything much by way of additional prediction accuracy.

Table 24: Multiple regression: indices of social identity predicting career maturity

Multiple R 0,40107
 R Square 0,16086
 Adjusted R Square 0,09753
 Standard Error 12,05556

F = 2,54
 Signif. F = 0,0505

Dependent variable: Career maturity

Variables in the equation				
Variable	B	SE.B	BETA	Signif. T
DIFCOL	-6,65	5,404282	-0,169246	0,2239
RG0CCE	-2,89	3,926323	-0,113145	0,4692
SDSCOL	-8,39	2,936381	-0,391987	0,0061
FRECOL	-2,69	2,532739	-0,169161	0,2925
Constant	88,57	6,778938		0,0000

The adjusted R square on this multiple regression analysis indicates that approximately 9,8% of the variance in career maturity may be predicted by indices of social identity. However, social distance from Coloureds is the only variable that emerges as a significant predictor of the variance in career maturity.

The means of career maturity by social distance indicate a negative relationship between career maturity and desired social distance from Coloureds. Those respondents who desire the least social distance from Coloureds returned the highest mean (73,43; n = 46) while those who desire some social distance from

Coloureds returned a lower mean (70,22; n = 9). The lowest mean was returned by those who desire a large degree of social distance between themselves and Coloured people generally (53,75; n = 4).

The implication in the above analyses is that there is the tendency for positive evaluation of, or feelings about, their Coloured group membership (that is, social identity) to be associated with higher career maturity for the respondents in this sample. Unfortunately the lack of a reliable and valid instrument for the measure of social identity precludes the extrapolation of anything more from these results than hypotheses for future research.

4.6 Reliability of the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ)

Cronbach's Alpha (α) reliability coefficient was computed to measure the reliability of the CDQ. Cronbach's Alpha is a measure of reliability based on the internal consistency of a test or scale; that is, the degree to which the items in the scale are measuring the same variable in a given population.

Table 25: Reliability of the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ)

Sub-scales	Alpha	Langley's (1990) Alphas for high school pupils		
		English	Afrikaans	African languages
CDQSI	0,55	0,76	0,78	0,71
CDQDM	0,65	0,79	0,79	0,74
CDQCI	0,75	0,82	0,82	0,66
CDQI	0,70	0,77	0,79	0,73
CDQC	0,69	0,82	0,79	0,79
TOTAL	0,90	0,92	0,94	0,88

Although the Alpha coefficients on the subscales which ranged from 0,55 to 0,75 were generally significantly lower than those reported by Langley (1990) for English- and Afrikaans-speaking high school pupils, the composite total score rendered a reliability of 0,90 which compared very favourably with the instrument's reported reliability coefficients for all language groups. This result bears out O'Hare's (1990) conclusion that the subscales of the CDQ are not as reliable as the total scale. O'Hare correlated the subscales of the CDQ and found intercorrelations ranging from 0,433 to 0,688 (O'Hare, 1990). She therefore cautions against the use of the individual subscales either for making differential diagnosis or for research purposes and hence the use of the CDQ total only.

Table 26: Comparison of this samples' mean CDQ total score with Langley's (1990) national means for English- and Afrikaans-speaking and Black high school pupils

Sample Mean	Langley's (1990) National Means		
	English	Afrikaans	Black
71,61	72,14	71,02	62,90
(12,72)	(14,71)	(14,71)	(13,03)
n = 59	n = 1843	n = 1712	n = 1795

The size of this sample does not allow for any broad generalisations to other coloured populations, so all that may be concluded from this comparison of mean career maturity scores is that the Coloured matriculants at schools in

Pietermaritzburg, represented in this sample, compare very favourably in terms of career maturity with Langley's (1990) national sample of English- and Afrikaans-speaking high school pupils.

The results presented in this section will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The main aims of this study were: firstly, to measure the career maturity of a sample of Coloured matriculants at high schools in Pietermaritzburg; and, secondly, to determine the applicability of current career development theory and research to this population group with specific reference to the following variables: age, sex, socio-economic status, and social identity as derived from racial group membership. The results of this study will be discussed below; a brief overview of the findings will be followed by a discussion of the results in terms of each of the hypotheses.

However, prior to discussion of the actual findings it must be noted that due to a number of methodological limitations, which will be discussed in more detail in the last section of this chapter, the results of this study cannot be accepted as conclusive and must be interpreted with caution. At most, the results may be interpreted as suggestive, as raising questions and generating hypotheses for future research.

Stated briefly, the findings suggest that Coloured matriculants at schools in Pietermaritzburg compare favourably, in terms of their career maturity, with Langley's (1990) national sample of high school pupils; that there is no significant variation in career maturity on the basis of either age, sex or socio-economic status; that achievement motivation and individuals' perceptions of their chances of goal achievement seem to facilitate career development; and finally, there are some

indications that social identity is at least partially related to career development in this sample.

The fact, as reflected in Table 27, that the career maturity of the sample is on par with that of the English- and Afrikaans-speaking high school pupils in Langley's (1990) national sample suggest that these adolescents have generally been quite successful at coping with the demands of earlier stages of career development. Thus the career development of this sample apparently does not reflect the discontinuity in career development that some researchers have alluded to in disadvantaged or minority populations (LoCascio, 1974; Osipow, 19..; Smith, 1975, 1983). However, as Watson (1981) notes, it is not enough to establish that career development does occur; Osipow (1975, cited in Watson, 1984, p. 191) "suggests that the next step in studying the career development of any specific group is to begin sorting out the important factors influencing such development." With this objective in mind, the results of this study will now be discussed in terms of the hypotheses stated in Chapter Three.

5.1 Discussion of hypothesized results

5.1.1 Hypothesis 1

"Career maturity as measured on the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) will be positively related to age and sex" (3.1.1)

This hypothesis was not confirmed by the findings and had to be rejected. The results suggest that there is no significant differentiation in the career maturity of this sample on the basis of either (see Table 8) age or sex (see Table 9).

There are some indications, in the distribution of the mean career maturity scores, that males ($X = 72,44$) are slightly more career mature than females ($X = 71,30$) but this difference does not reach the level of statistical significance ($F = 0,91$; $p \geq 0,763$). However, Richardson (1974) in her discussion of the career maturity of girls and young women, asserts that one should expect similarity in boys' and girls' career maturity scores considering the sophistication of the measuring instruments used as well as the manifest similarity in the career process for males and females during the school years. She contends that male and female career maturity differences are only likely to emerge in late adolescence and young adulthood as progress through these stages is accompanied by increasingly divergent sex-role development.

Richardson (1974) therefore recommends that "vocational maturity instruments be used with women only in conjunction with a separate measure of sex role attitudes or career orientation" (p.140). This will allow counsellors to ascertain the meaning of the vocational maturity scores for females within the context of their career development. This idea is supported in the work of O'Brien and Fassinger (1993) who argue for the examination of "career and family commitment simultaneously in young women to aid in understanding the balance of family and work responsibilities" (p.456).

The implication is that, instead of focusing on finding and explicating career maturity differences in male and female career development, counsellors and researchers should shift their focus to examining the meaning and possible outcomes of these scores for the different sexes. That is, how sex role development might impact on the way career maturity translates into occupational choice and the establishment of vocational preferences for the different sexes.

Unfortunately, all that may be concluded from the results of this study is that the males and females in this sample do not show any significant career maturity differences. Similarly, neither O'Hare (1990), Van der Merwe (1993), Van Niekerk (1987) nor Watson and Van Aarde (1986) in their research with South Africa students found a significant relationship between sex and career maturity.

With respect to age, the results of this study give some suggestion of an inverse relationship between age and career maturity, but this tendency is neither statistically significant nor systematic ($r = -0,1348$; $p > 0,05$). A large number of previous studies have cited school standard as a more reliable index of time, than age, in career development research, since, particularly amongst disadvantaged populations, developmental level and school standard are often less a function of age than of circumstance (Cloete, 1980; Crites, 1965; Guthrie and Herman, 1982; Van der Merwe, 1993; Watson, 1984). Watson and Van Aarde (1986) in their discussion of the results of career maturity research with Coloured adolescents, note that "mean differences between age groups are small and a linear progression does not occur in several instances" (p.14).

This finding neither lends support to nor contradicts the developmental assumption underlying Super's theory of career development. As Super (1990) states, the timing of transitions from one developmental state to the next is a function of the individual's personality and abilities, as well as his/her situation and not necessarily chronological age. LoCascio (1967, cited in Watson, 1984) has suggested that the continuity of an individual's career development is more likely to be a function of socio-economic status than increasing age. This brings us to discussion of the next hypothesis.

5.1.2 Hypothesis 2

"Career maturity will be positively related to the following indices of socio-economic status: parental educational level and occupational categorization/status." (3.1.1)

The results of this study which are reflected in Tables 11, 12, 13 and 14, offered no confirmation of this hypothesis. The findings suggest that no significant relationships exist between either parental educational ($F = 0,292$; $p > 0,05$) or occupational level ($F = 0,662$; $p = > 0,05$) and the career maturity of this sample. In fact, once again the results suggest an inverse association with pupils from families in the lowest socio-economic status bracket achieving the highest career maturity mean.

This suggestion may be explained in terms of the possibility that disadvantaged adolescents are compelled, by their social and economic circumstances, to acquire work values and commitment to the work role more rapidly than their peers in the

higher socio-economic status brackets. As Krau (1987) in his discussion of the work values of adolescents from low socio-economic levels says:

... a growing involvement with work values may be expected of them toward late adolescence, when the strengthening link with the occupational world imposed on them promotes the increase of commitment to work values (Scharmann, 1966; Wollack, Goodale, Wijting & Smith, 1971) in their specific, concrete context (p.106).

However, research on the relationship of socio-economic status to career maturity has not been consistent. A number of studies have found no differentiation in career maturity across different socio-economic status levels (Crites, 1978; Super & Nevill, 1984, 1988; Van der Merwe, 1993; Van Niekerk, 1987; White, 1986; Watson & Stead, 1990).

Finally, there is the possibility that socio-economic status will have a greater impact on career development at the point of actual implementation of career plans and goals. As Baron (1964) stated, although the goals of individuals in lower socio-economic status brackets may be similar to those of their peers in the higher brackets, their self-confidence and expectations of achieving these goals will frequently be lower.

5.1.3 Hypothesis 3

"Career maturity will be positively related to career aspirations; that is, the more achievement motivated respondents are the higher their career maturity will be."

(3.1.1)

The results suggest confirmation of the above hypothesis with this sample of Coloured matriculants. The means indicate a linear progression of career maturity across career aspirations; that is, those pupils who aspired towards tertiary education showed a substantially higher mean score than their peers who had made no definite plans at all. It appears therefore that, for this sample, the greater the desire to achieve and the higher career goals and aspirations are the higher levels of career maturity will be.

Some support for this relationship is offered by Khan and Alvi (1983) who assert that "[I]ndividuals who have set higher educational and vocational aspirations, ... have more positive estimates of their own ability and academic attainment, enjoy higher self-esteem, exercise more internal locus of control, and cherish more intrinsic work values will tend to exhibit greater career and vocational maturity" (p.363).

Van der Merwe (1993) found a significant relationship between career maturity and goal directedness in a select group of Black South African students. Citing Kohut (1977) he concludes that the mature individual is one with an integrated and cohesive sense of self which translates into the internalization of mature goals and values which are "reflected in late adolescence by an overarching sense of self" (Van der Merwe, 1993, p.87).

Both of the above quotes reflect the idea that achievement motivation, which manifests in career aspirations, and self-efficacy are closely intertwined, and that both are significant determinants of individuals' career maturity and values. The next

hypothesis investigates the extent to which self-efficacy impacts on the career maturity of this sample of Coloured matriculants.

5.1.4 Hypothesis 4

"Career maturity will be positively related to self-efficacy; that is respondents' perceptions of their chances of success at the achievement of their goals." (3.1.1)

This hypothesis was supported in the results summarised in Table 17, which indicated a progressive decrease in career maturity scores as respondents' evaluations of their chances of success decreased (sig. of $F = 0,023$; $p < 0,05$). The fact that 61% of the sample rated their chances for goal achievement as average or below average suggests that the majority of these pupils do not have much confidence either in their personal ability to succeed or in being given the opportunity to achieve success. Reasons for poor ratings of chances ranged from individual failure to meet the requirements for jobs or tertiary education to the expression of fears of a political and economic nature. That is, that the democratization of South Africa is going to engender reverse prejudice in terms of the opportunity structure, with Black South Africans being awarded first priority with respect to training and job opportunities.

A study by Breton (1972, cited in Khan & Alvi, 1983) on the factors impacting on the career decisions of Canadian youth, found that:

... vocational indecision and lack of a career goal were associated with the perception of a future with meagre opportunities, a sense of powerlessness about the future and dependence upon others for one's vocational decisions (p.357).

The suggestion therefore is that individuals' career maturity is directly related to their perception of the extent to which their vocational future is self or situationally determined. Some support for this idea is offered by Watson (1984) who, in his study with Coloured adolescents, found a negative relationship between career maturity and locus of control with greater career maturity associated with greater internal control.

Smith (1983) cites Griffith (1980) who says that researchers need to analyze more carefully whether the patterns observed in ethnic minorities' career behaviour should be attributed to the minorities themselves or to the effects of a restricted opportunity structure. The results for this particular sample suggest that career development progress is determined by a multiplicity of factors including individual career aspirations, the perception of a restricted opportunity structure and, to some degree, the impact of a negative or ambivalent social identity on self-concept formation. This test will be explored in the discussion of Hypothesis 5 which follows.

5.1.5 Hypothesis 5

"Career maturity will be positively related to social identity' that is, the more positive respondents' social identity is, the greater their career maturity will be." (3.1.1)

For the purposes of this study, social identity was measured in terms of (i) the value, either positive or negative, that these pupils attach to their Coloured group membership, and (ii) the feelings they associate with membership in this group. The results, on these two dimensions, suggested some support for the hypothesized relationship between social identity and career maturity, albeit not a strong one.

Firstly, the results indicate that a significant number of these Coloured adolescents evaluated the Coloured group and their status as Coloured group members somewhat negatively. Analysis of the results of the Group Stereotype Test, summarised in Table 22, on the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed Ranks Test indicated that while their evaluations or perceptions of the African ($z = -4,6638$; 2-tailed $p = 0,000$), Indian and English-speaking White ($z = -3,8058$; 2-tailed $p = 0,0001$) South African groups was significantly positive, their evaluation of the Coloured group ($z = -1,7072$; 2-tailed $p = 0,0878$) was only marginally so. Only 33,8% identified themselves as Coloured on the Twenty Statements Test; 45,8% stated that they would, given the chance, change their racial group membership, and 39% indicated either ambivalent or negative feelings associated with their status as Coloured group members (see Table 19). This has serious implications for the social identity of this group considering that Tajfel (1981) defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.255). Thus individuals with a positive social identity are more likely to have a positive self-concept. "... 'the social climate of group differentials' in the society moulds the way in which even young children come to think to themselves and their group" (Tajfel, 1981, quoted in Pettigrew, 1983, p.51).

This will, in turn, have implications for individuals' career development if, as Super (1990) asserts, "the process of career development is essentially that of developing and implementing occupational self concepts" (p.207), and if the self-concept is a

product of the interaction between genetic endowment and social and economic factors.

This study attempted to measure the nature and extent of the relationship between social identity and career maturity. A correlation matrix (reflected in Table 23) was drawn up and the results suggested a significant negative correlation between respondent's desired social distance from Coloureds and their career maturity ($r = -0,3526$; $p = 0,003$); that is, those respondents indicating a desire for greater social distance from Coloureds returned lower mean career maturity scores. Although none of the other social identity variables used in the study emerged as significant predictors of career maturity, on the multiple regression analysis computed, and reflected in Table 24, there emerged a slight overall tendency for positive social identity to be associated with greater career maturity. These results may only be interpreted as raising questions and suggesting hypotheses for possible future research however, as the social identity of this sample was not measured on a previously validated and reliable instrument.

No validation for these tentative findings could be found in any of the career maturity research undertaken in South Africa. As Watson and Van Aarde (1986) noted, the few studies conducted in South Africa have, for the most part, adopted a pre-post test experimental design with small White adolescent samples (Bergh, 1980; Laubsher, 1977; Newman, 1982). Watson (1984) and Watson and Van Aarde (1986) in their research on the career development of Coloured adolescents, found little evidence of discontinuity in the career development of their samples on the basis of their minority status. The implication is that the career maturity of the

adolescents in their samples was not significantly affected by factors associated with their Coloured group membership. This is no more than an implication however as neither study set out to measure the impact of social identity on career development.

Some support for the influence of social identity on career maturity is offered by Phinney and Chavira (1992, p.273) who state:

Low levels of racial identity of Black students have been found to be associated with low self-esteem (Parham and Helms, 1985a) and feelings of inferiority and anxiety (Parham and Helms, 1985b); ethnic identity development among minority adolescents from various backgrounds is positively associated with self-evaluation (Phinney, 1989) and self-esteem (Phinney and Alipuria, 1990).

Add to this Super's idea that career development represents a "time extended effort to build and implement a self-concept" (Watson, 1984, p.37) and what emerges is the existence of a relationship between social identity as derived from racial group membership and career maturity.

There have however been some researchers who have found no support for racially determined differences in career development (Achee, 1982; Cosby and Ficou, 1973; Kishor, 1981). Van der Merwe (1993) found partial support for his hypothesized differences in career maturity according to the different identity status of Black students; Ideological Identity status was significantly related to career maturity for this sample, but Interpersonal Identity status (which sought to measure the social component of identity) was not. He does however, note that this result cannot be accepted as conclusive, as there were indications that the

appropriateness of the instrument for a Black South African sample was questionable. In conclusion, then, additional research on social identity and its impact on career development with all South African racial or ethnic groups should prove extremely interesting.

5.1.6 Hypothesis 6

"Career maturity will be best predicted by the following socially determined variables: socio-economic status; self-efficacy in terms of perceived opportunity structure, and social identity as derived from emotional investment in and evaluation of their Coloured group membership" (3.1.1).

The intention had been to test this hypothesis by entering these variables as predictors in a multiple regression analysis. This proved a fruitless exercise however, as the sample size did not justify the use of the multiple regression analysis technique with such a large number of variables. The result of this analysis was not therefore included in the results of this study. The regression was run anyway, but the results proved non-significant; none of these variables emerged as significant predictors of career maturity for this sample.

Encapsulating on the results discussed previously in this section, there are some suggestions that a larger and more stratified sample may have resulted in at least some of these variables showing up as predictors of career maturity. The results suggest that while socio-economic status is not significantly related to career maturity, self-efficacy and social identity show some indications of a positive relationship with career maturity. In addition, although not pertinent to this particular

hypothesis, there are indications that career aspirations or goal directedness may too have emerged as a significant predictor variable considering the significant linear progression of career maturity across career aspirations.

It is hoped that the relationships alluded to and questions raised in the discussion of these results will stimulate further research, since as Herr and Cramer (1979, p. 106, cited in Watson, 1984, p.186) say:

It is simply not enough to say to a student: 'Be career mature'. If this is what we want individuals to become, one needs to understand what being career mature means, what the consequences of career maturity are, how one obtains career maturity, and what opportunities are available to aid such an effort.

This is particularly so for the Coloured population of South Africa, whose career development has not been adequately researched (Nel, 1990; Watson, 1984).

5.2 Limitations of this study

This study has a number of methodological limitations which have to be borne in mind during the interpretation and application of the results. These limitations, relating to the sample and the instruments used, will be discussed under these headings below.

5.2.1 The sample

Two major limitations with respect to the sample are the size and nature of the sample, each of which carries with it particular consequences:

- (a) *Sample size:* The sample for this study was extremely small and limited to a small segment of the Coloured population, as a result of factors beyond the control of the researcher. The findings cannot therefore be generalized to a wider population except with extreme caution. Furthermore, the sample size limited the statistical analyses possible because of the large numbers of either empty cells or cells with exceedingly small frequencies. In an attempt to make meaningful statistical analysis feasible, many of the original categories had to be collapsed. Although this was the best analysis possible under the circumstances, it nevertheless resulted in important distinctions between levels of categorisation being lost. In addition, the small sample size significantly increased the probability of both Type I and Type II errors.

A number of the statistical analyses undertaken, for example 2-way ANOVAs, multiple regression analysis, were not really justifiable with the small frequencies which increase the possibility of inaccuracy. Despite this limitation, a multiple regression analysis using the social identity variables as predictors was run, but a final regression analysis using all the hypothesized variables as predictor variables was not possible with such a small number of cases. As a result, the study must of necessity remain somewhat inconclusive as it was not possible to determine the degree to which each of the variables used in this study impacted on the career maturity of this sample.

- (b) *Sampling method:* The sampling method used would fall under the heading of non-probability sampling which Pedhazur and Schmelkin (1991) refer to as:

... a catch-all term referring both to samples of convenience (also termed accidental, accessible, haphazard, expedient, volunteer), where allusions to sampling method is but a euphemism, as well as to more purposive methods of selection ... (p.321).

The sample used in this study was a volunteer one simply because it appeared the only feasible solution to the problems of accessibility and time constraints. Non-probability sampling however, makes it impossible to estimate sampling errors with the result that validity of inferences to a wider population cannot be ascertained.

A second limitation created by the sampling method was that subjects could not be matched for sex and age; as a result, the cases for these variables were not evenly distributed making the findings in terms of these variables somewhat questionable.

5.2.2 Instruments

- (a) *Limitations of the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ):* O'Hare (1990) found that while the total score of the CDQ proved a fairly reliable measure of career maturity, the reliability of the subscales remains questionable. Reliability analysis for the subscales of the CDQ in the study adds confirmation to this caution with reliability coefficients ranging from 0,55 to 0,75. This limits the application of the results since it precludes reliable comparison of performance on the subscales of the CDQ.
- (b) *Limitations of the devised questionnaire:* The independent variables in this study were assessed using a questionnaire devised by the author. No pilot

study was conducted to assess the validity, accessibility and accuracy of the questions. This limitation was combatted to some degree by the availability of the author, during the testing, to respond to any queries and clarify any misunderstandings in relation to the questions. Despite this, ideally, post-test interviews ought to have been conducted with the respondents to validate the interpretations of the results, but time constraints did not make this a viable option. The interpretations of the results of this study should therefore be seen as hypotheses rather than concrete facts.

Finally, a reliable instrument for the assessment of social identity could not be located; as a result, the social identity of this sample was assessed using items with questionable reliability.

For all of the above reasons, the results of this study must be interpreted with extreme caution. The findings may however be interpreted as raising questions and generating hypotheses for research with a more representative sample.

5.3 Recommendations

On the basis of the results generated by this study, the following recommendations are proposed:

- (1) That a reliable and valid instrument for the assessment of social identity be developed.
- (2) That the impact of social identity on the development of the self-concept be more extensively researched. The literature review undertaken for this study

revealed that the majority of research on self-esteem and the self-concept focuses almost exclusively on the impact of individual or personal identity on the development of these.

- (3) That career development research investigate the importance of social identity in the development of occupational self-concepts as well as individual efficacy of coping with career developmental tests.
- (4) That some effort be made to improve the subscale reliability of the Career Development Questionnaire (CDQ) so that comparably low areas of career maturity may be identified with a view towards facilitating the development of relevant career guidance programmes.
- (5) That more research on the career development process, as it occurs in the Coloured population, be undertaken. Although the results of this study suggest that this sample of Coloured matriculants compares favourably with other population and language groups in terms of their career maturity, the report of the Central Statistical Services (1993) reveals that only 7,8% of the economically active segment of this population group in Pietermaritzburg is employed in semi-professional, technical or professional occupations. This suggests that there might be a missing link between career maturity and its translation into the implementation of occupational choices. This possibility requires further investigation; this might assist in identifying ways to assist Coloured adolescents in the fulfilment of their occupational potential.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

As leading advocates and romantic individualism, vocational theorists have concentrated their attention almost exclusively on those characteristics of the individual that can be exploited in the individual's search for self-realization (Warnath, 1975, p.425).

The study represents a small attempt to draw attention to factors other than the individual characteristics Warnath (1951) refers to, which might impact on individuals' career development. Therefore the introduction of social identity as a possible predictor of the success with which individuals' are able to resolve various career developmental tasks and develop and implement occupational self-concepts.

It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research on the career maturity of all South African adolescents for the purpose of developing a theory of career development applicable to all racial categorizations or ethnic groups, from all socio-economic strata and of both sexes. The question of the applicability of career theories to diverse groups is an important one. As Picou and Campbell (cited in Smith, 1983, p.185) state:

Theories provide the basis for clarifying and organizing phenomena, explaining past events, predicting future events and understanding how specified structures of relationships merge in a meaningful manner (p.1).

This is particularly important to the South African context where, for decades, racial discrimination has had devastating influence on people's work and training opportunities, socio-economic status, and personal and social identities. Current

career development theories, especially the concept of career maturity, cannot therefore be assumed to apply equally to all categories of people in this country; fairly extensive research is required before any such assumption may be made. Despite the fact that South Africa now has a newly elected democratic government with its promise of equal opportunity for all, the effects of Apartheid are likely to be felt for many years yet. Furthermore, it is unlikely that racial discrimination will be completely eradicated and career development theories must take cognisance of its effects with respect to the process of career development.

This study attempted to acquire a better understanding of the factors that either aid or hinder the career development of Coloured matriculants. Unfortunately however, due to the methodological limitations discussed in the preceding chapter (6.2), the results of this study cannot be interpreted conclusively but only as hypotheses which it is hoped will be thoroughly explored at some later date.

The results of this study suggest that sex, age and socio-economic status are not significant correlates of career maturity in this sample of Coloured matriculants at schools in Pietermaritzburg. On the other hand, achievement motivation, individuals' perceptions of the prevailing opportunity structure as well as the extent of their confidence in their ability to succeed do seem to have a fairly significant impact on their career maturity.

Of some concern is the suggestion, in the results, that a significant number of the matriculants in this sample have negative perceptions of their Coloured membership group and negative feelings about their status as Coloured group members. A

number of writers have suggested that this group's marginalised situation in the status hierarchy of groups in South Africa has resulted in group members' failure to develop solidarity and positive identification with the group (Dickie-Clark, 1966; Edelstein, 1974; Marais, 1937; Van der Ross, 1979). This is certain to hamper the development of a positive self-concept since, according to social Identity Theory, the self-concept is a product of both personal and social identity. The pupils in this sample offer some confirmation for this assertion as the results suggest the tendency for negative social identity to be associated with low career maturity.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the results of this study will prove to be of some use and that they will generate further research on the impact of social identity on career development; a subject likely to prove both interesting and beneficial.

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APPENDIX A

**LETTER FROM THE REGIONAL CHIEF INSPECTORATE: HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES GRANTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT THE
STUDY USING SCHOOL PUPILS AS SUBJECTS.**

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION LEAFLET

INFORMATION LEAFLET

I am presently doing a research dissertation to complete my masters degree in counselling psychology. The topic of my dissertation is: **'The impact of social identity on the career development of Coloured matriculants in Natal'**. This is a fairly sensitive topic, particularly considering the current political situation, but there are valid reasons for the choice of focus on Coloured matriculants which will be explained below.

i) It was necessary to focus on a single racial/ethnic group to ensure that the study is focussed and sufficiently small to be feasible.

ii) As a Coloured person employed as a vocational counsellor, I have a particular interest in the career development of Coloured pupils - since this is an area that has been little researched, it was my opinion that it might prove interesting and reasonably beneficial.

iii) The socio-political history of the Coloured people in South Africa is unique and might have important consequences for their social identity, which might in turn have implications for Coloured people's career development and behaviour.

iv) Despite the recent political changes in South Africa, the Coloured people in Natal remain a minority group with unique needs that will have to be addressed at some stage in the future. Hopefully this research will contribute in some small way to informing the clarification of those needs and the means of addressing them.

Please note that the specific focus on Coloured pupils is in no way intended to be discriminatory and I sincerely hope that no one will find it offensive.

I have acquired permission from the Regional Chief Inspector to conduct this study using the matriculants at Haythorne and Eastwood High Schools as my sample population. This has numerous advantages: it will allow me relatively easy access to a fairly large sample in an environment that allows for group testing with greater control of extraneous variables, thereby limiting the amount of time and effort spent on data collection.

Unfortunately, consultation with the principals at the schools has revealed that, due to the time losses experienced with the numerous unforeseen public holidays this year, it will not be possible for me to conduct my assessments during school times. It is therefore necessary for me to confine my sample to pupils willing to volunteer to stay on after school hours. The size of the sample will therefore not be as big as I had hoped. The pupils who volunteer to participate in this study will be requested to stay on after school

on one or other afternoon. The relevant school will be informed of the details in terms of date, time, and venue, and will be requested to forward this information to the parents of the pupils concerned. In addition, each pupil will be provided with a parental consent form for his/her parents to sign, granting permission for their son/daughter to participate in the study, prior to its commencement.

Every effort will be made to ensure that the information provided by the respondents will be treated with the strictest confidentiality. Respondents will not be required to reveal their names or surnames on the questionnaire. In addition, no particular individuals will be referred to either by name/surname, or otherwise, in the discussion of the results of this study.

On completion of my dissertation, I would be more than willing to give feedback on my findings to the schools concerned.

The co-operation of everyone involved in this endeavour - that is, the headmasters, teaching staff, parents and pupils - is greatly appreciated!

Suzannah R. Freeman

(M. Soc. Sci. [Couns. Psych.] Student)

C. Basson

(Associate Professor)

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

To be completed by the parent/legal guardian of the pupil concerned, giving them permission to participate in S.R. Freeman's M.Soc.Sci.(Counselling Psychology) research study.

(See attached information leaflet for details.)

I, _____ parent/guardian of
(name of parent/guardian)

_____ who is presently a pupil at
(name of matriculant)

_____ hereby give my consent for
(name of school)

_____ to participate as a subject in
(name of matriculant) the following research study:

'The impact of social identity on the career development of Coloured matriculants in Natal'.

I understand and accept that the information provided by the pupils in this study will be treated as strictly confidential - that is, that no references to individual's names/surnames will be made in the dissertation.

(signed)

(place)

(date)

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS:

- a) Answer all the questions as accurately as possible.
- b) Read the relevant instructions carefully before answering.
- c) If you have any queries raise your hand for clarification.
- d) Erase neatly should you wish to alter an answer.
- e) Please print your responses in block capitals.

IMPORTANT! i) The information you provide in this questionnaire will be treated as strictly confidential.
 ii) Any and all references to race are purely for statistical purposes and are not intended to be discriminatory.

SECTION A:

1. Home address: _____
 _____ (001)

2. Is this the address of... (Place a cross in one box only)

- i) Your parents
- ii) Your grandparents
- iii) Your brother/sister
- iv) Your legal guardian
- v) Other (specify)

(002)

(003)

3. Is the home mentioned in Question 2 owned or rented? _____

SECTION B: PERSONAL INFORMATION

(Please fill in your responses in the spaces provided)

4. Age: _____ (yrs)
 (004)

5. Date of Birth: ____/____/____
 (005) day month year

6. Gender: (Male/Female) _____
 (006)

7. Racial Classification: (Place a cross in the relevant box)

African	Indian	Coloured	White (007)
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8. Home Language/s: (I.e., what language/s do you speak most often at home - place a cross in the relevant box/boxes.)

English (008)	Afrikaans	Zulu	Other.....
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17. i) How would you rate your chances of achieving your goal/s as stated in Question 15 above?
(Place a cross in the relevant box.) (067)

Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Very Poor
-----------	------	---------	------	-----------

ii) Please explain why you rate your chances as you do:

_____ (068)

18. Assuming you could do anything you wanted to, what occupation (if any) would you choose to enter into?

_____ (069)

19. Considering your real life circumstances, what occupation (if any) are you planning to enter into?

_____ (070)

20. If your responses to Questions 17 and 18 are different, state the reasons for this difference:

_____ (071)

21. Is your family's financial situation such as to make it essential that you find a job and start contributing towards their support as soon as possible? (Yes/No)

_____ (072)

22. Assuming you were interested in studying further after matric:

i) Would your parents/legal guardians be able to afford to pay all your tertiary education expenses? (Yes/No) _____ (073)

ii) Would your parents/legal guardians be able to pay some of your expenses if you were given a partial bursary or scholarship? (Yes/No) _____ (074)

iii) Would your parents/legal guardians be able to provide the collateral to cover the acquisition of a study loan from a bank? (Yes/No) _____ (075)

SECTION E:

The following questions relate to your feelings and attitudes about being Coloured. I realise that this is a contentious and sensitive issue, but this information is central to a proper understanding of the topic. It is therefore important that you answer these questions as honestly as possible.

23. How do you feel about being a coloured person?

(Place a cross in the relevant block/s).

- | | |
|----------------|-------|
| i) Contented | (076) |
| ii) Frustrated | (077) |
| iii) Confused | (078) |
| iv) Proud | (079) |
| v) Indifferent | (080) |
| vi) Inferior | (081) |

24. What do you prefer to be called? (082)
(Place a cross in the relevant box.)

- i) Black
- ii) South African
- iii) Coloured
- iv) Coloured South African
- v) Brown
- vi) Other (Specify)

25. If you had been given the opportunity to choose, what race group would you have chosen to be born into? (Place a cross in the relevant box.) (083)

African	Indian	Coloured	White
---------	--------	----------	-------

26. Why would you choose this particular race group? (084)

SECTION F: 20 STATEMENTS TEST

27. Complete the following list of statements in response to the question 'who am I?'

(085-104)

- i) I am _____
- ii) I am _____
- iii) I am _____
- iv) I am _____
- v) I am _____
- vi) I am _____
- vii) I am _____
- viii) I am _____
- ix) I am _____
- x) I am _____
- xi) I am _____
- xii) I am _____
- xiii) I am _____
- xiv) I am _____
- xv) I am _____
- xvi) I am _____
- xvii) I am _____
- xviii) I am _____
- xix) I am _____
- xx) I am _____

SECTION G:

28. i) The following represent the relationships you might enter into with various racial groups. You could:

1 Marry them	2 Have them as close friends	3 Have them as your neighbours	4 Have them live in your area as temporary residents	5 Keep them out of your area
------------------------	--	--	--	--

ii) Indicate the closest relationship you would be willing to enter into with each of the following as a group (not with any particular member of the group you might know) by writing the appropriate number below each ethnic group.

Ethnic Group	Indians	Afrikaans-speaking whites	Africans	Coloureds	English-speaking whites
Nearest Relationship allowed	(105)	(106)	(107)	(108)	(109)

SECTION H:

29. Indicate by a cross in the appropriate square the traits that apply to each ethnic group as a whole:

Group \ Traits	Indians	Afrikaans-speaking whites	Africans	Coloureds	English-speaking whites
Hardworking	(110)	(124)	(138)	(152)	(166)
Intelligent	(111)	(125)	(139)	(153)	(167)
Tolerant	(112)	(126)	(140)	(154)	(168)
Generous	(113)	(127)	(141)	(155)	(169)
Cultured	(114)	(128)	(142)	(156)	(170)
Materialistic	(115)	(129)	(143)	(157)	(171)
Peace-loving	(116)	(130)	(144)	(158)	(172)
Prejudiced	(117)	(131)	(145)	(159)	(173)
Colour Conscious	(118)	(132)	(146)	(160)	(174)
Cruel	(119)	(133)	(147)	(161)	(175)
Backward	(120)	(134)	(148)	(162)	(176)
Lazy	(121)	(135)	(149)	(163)	(177)
Oppressive	(122)	(136)	(150)	(164)	(178)
Impossible to Characterise	(123)	(137)	(151)	(165)	(179)