HOW ADOLESCENTS PERCEIVE THEIR FUTURE, AND WHY:
A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

G. A. GROOTBOOM

HOW ADOLESCENTS PERCEIVE THEIR FUTURE, AND WHY:

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

BY

GREGORY ALLEN GROOTBOOM

(BA., HDE., B.Ed., M. Ed (Psych))

Dissertation submitted in accordance with the

requirements for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in the

Faculty of Humanities, Department of

Psychology of Education

at the

University of the Free State

Bloemfontein

Supervisor: Dr Z I Swanepoel

NOVEMBER 2007

STATEMENT

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work

and has not previously been submitted by me at another

university/faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the

dissertation/thesis in favour of the

University of the Free State.

……………………………………

GREGORY ALLEN GROOTBOOM

NOVEMBER 2007

SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. **All Honour and Praise to God Almighty who provided both the will and the way to make this research come about.**

2. **To my wife Hilary for her tremendous sacrifice for *'letting me go'* to pursue my dream.**

3. **To my children: Tanya whose adolescence I missed; Adele the dream adolescent; Reagan (Boompie) who showed me the true adolescent and to Allen Jr who will walk the path of adolescence with purpose.**

4. **To my Mother who always believed her doctor would manifest.**

5. **My supervisor Zendre Swanepoel who gave me the reigns and provided the territory and always found time to explore the map with me.**

6. **Professor Walter Allen of the University of California in Los Angeles for his attentive ear and assistance during my tenure at UCLA.**

7. **Dr Evelyn Elizondo my mentor at UCLA a word of gratitude for your undivided attention**

8. **Kate Smith, your dedication in providing the statistical analysis was a great help.**

9. **Ellick Williams my mentor through the years always motivating and believing in my abilities**

10. **Carol Keep for superb editing.**

SUMMARY

Title: How Adolescents perceive their future and why: a cross-cultural study

Student: Gregory A. Grootboom

Degree: PhD

Supervisor: Dr Z. I. Swanepoel

Key Words: culture, cultural capital, future time perspective, identity, ethnic identity, multicultural education, racism, new racism, second racism, possible selves,

After the change to full democracy in 1994, South African society had to transform. Education was seen as the platform from which this transformation was to be launched. This transformation of education however, had differential impacts on the future time perspective of learners in secondary schools.

The purpose of this study was to determine how learners perceived their futures; to determine whether there were cross-cultural differences and what the factors were that impacted on the future time perspectives of learners.

The research followed a mixed method approach, with the participation of 395 learners from different schools in the Northern Cape, South Africa. For the quantitative study the Future Time Perspective measure and the Repertory Grid were used and for the qualitative part, a self designed open-ended questionnaire was employed.

The results showed that the different cultures perceived their futures differently, with the Black and Coloured groups having a shorter time perspective than the White group.

The society in which the school functions also has differential impacts on learners. All learners saw violence as having the biggest impact on their possible selves. Learners demonstrated similarities as well as differences in some areas. The Tswana and Xhosa learners cited health concerns and gangsterism (crime) as negatively impacting factors. Coloured learners focused on gangsterism and racism, whereas White learners saw racism and social justice issues impacting on their futures.

Having noted that racism, violence and health concerns as the greatest threat to learners' future time perspective, the researcher provided a praxis through which educators can deracialise. Guidelines were also suggested as a challenge to education so that these societal issues may be addressed in the school.

Challenges for future research in the field of identity formation after such rapid social transformation have to be undertaken. A new term, second racism, could be explored further. Additionally, the constitutional mandates which afford more opportunities for the female child could also impact on the identity development, as well as the possible selves of the female learner.

OPSOMMING

Titel: How Adolescents perceive their future and why: a cross-cultural study.

Student: Gregory A. Grootboom

Graad: PhD

Supervisor: Dr Z. I. Swanepoel

Sleutelwoorde: identiteit, kultuur, kulturele identiteit, kulturele kapitaal, rassisme, toekomstydperspektief, nuwe rassisme, tweede rassisme, die self.

Na die politieke veranderinge na volle demokrasie in 1994, moes die Suid Afrikaanse samelewing transformeer. Die opvoedingstelsel was beskou as the platform vanwaar die proses van transformasie geloods sou word. Hierdie transformasie het differensiële impakte op die toekomstydperspektief van leerlinge in sekondêre skole.

Die doel van hierdie studie was om vas te stel wat die leerders se beskouinge oor die toekoms was; of daar kruiskulturele verskille was en wat die faktore was wat op hierdie perspektiewe geïmpakteer het.

'n Gemengde ondersoek metode was onderneem met 395 leerders van verskillende skole in die Noord Kaap, Suid Afrika. Vir die kwantitatiewe ondersoek is die Toekomstydperspektief Vraelys en die Repertory Grid gebruik en vir die kwalitatiewe gedeelte is 'n self ontwikkelde gestruktureerde ope vraelys gebruik.

Die resultate het getoon dat die verskillende kulture se toekomstydsperspektief verskil met die swart groepe wat 'n beperkte toekomsperspektief het, terwyl die blanke groep verder toekoms gerig is.

Die samelewing waarbinne die skool funksioneer het ook differensiële impakte op die leerders. Alle leerders voel dat geweld die grootste impak op hulle wording het. Die leerders het ook ooreenkomste en verskille getoon in sommige areas. Die Tswana en Xhosa leerders het gesondheidsfaktore en bendes (misdaad) beskou as negatiewe impak faktore. Bruin leerders het gefokus op bendes (misdaad) en rassisme, terwyl die blanke leerders rassisme en sosiale geregtigheid as impak faktore beskou het.

Teen die lig daarvan dat geweld, rassisme en gesondheidsfaktore as die grootste bedreiging op die leerders se toekomsperspektief beskou was, het die navorser 'n praxes daargestel wat kan help om persoonlike rasse vooroordele aan te spreek. Tweedens, riglyne is voorgestel as 'n uitdaging aan die onderwys sodat sosiale euwels binne klasverband aangespreek kan word.

Uitdagings vir verdere navorsing is ook aan die hand gedoen om identiteitsontwikkeling na so snelle sosiale verandering na te vors onder alle leerders. 'n Nuwe term, tweede rassisme kan verder eksploreer word. Gesien teen die lig van die konstitusionele riglyne om meer geleenthede vir dogters daar te stel, behoort die identiteitsontwikkeling van dogters asook hul toekomstydsperspektief aandag te geniet.

CONTENT

CHAPTER 1: Framing the Field

CHAPTER 2: MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: EDUCATING FOR THE FUTURE

_____

CHAPTER 3:   ADOLESCENCE: A TIME OF CHANGE

_____

CHAPTER 4:   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

_____

CHAPTER 5:   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

_____

_____

CHAPTER 6:   IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE,

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

_____

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

QUANTITATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE:

Background Measure

Future Time Perspective Measure

Repertory Grid Measure

APPENDIX B

QUALITATIVE MEASURE

Open- Ended Questionnaire

APPENDIX C

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES:

1. **Permission to conduct the research**

2. **Supportive document from supervisor**

3. **Letter to school principals**

4. **Letter to parents**

APPENDIX D

Debriefing statement

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

"All education spring from some image of the future.

If the image of the future held by society is grossly

inaccurate, its education system

will betray its youth"

A. Toffler, 1974

CHAPTER 1
Framing the field

1.1 Introduction

Since becoming a democratic society in 1994, South Africa has been faced with the challenge to create a society that will accommodate the country's diverse cultures. Education was envisaged as the stage where the foundations of such a society may be laid. Historically, the South African education system was divided along racial lines. The first challenge therefore, was to transform the education system to include the country's different cultures. Education was thus transformed from a monocultural to a multicultural system. This meant that education was now supposed to be non-discriminatory and integrative.

1.2 Problem Statement

The opening of schools for all learners was supposed to lead the way to a better future for all. However, integrated schools seem to impact on learners' future aspirations. This research will focus on the impact that our changed education system, specifically the institutions of learning, might have on the future expectations of learners in secondary schools. The term Future Time Perspective refers to the ability to plan and organise beyond the present moment. Therefore, by understanding the factors that contribute to the future time perspectives of learners, education will be better able to map a common future for learners across cultural divides.

1.3   Necessity for Research

With the newly established multicultural education system, the doors of learning were opened for all cultural groups. The changes resulted in the movement of black learners from disadvantaged areas to the more affluent white schools. This in turn, increased the racial and cultural diversity of classrooms which posed challenges to both educators and learners.

On the one hand, educators were not prepared for cultural diversity and on the other hand, learners faced adjustment problems as they had to adapt to a second culture mix. Tyson (2006:9a) argues that the impact of a second culture mix on the educational, as well as developmental realities of black students has not been addressed by the instituted changes.

The potentials inherent in cultural and demographic shifts are multiple. Salzman and D'Andrea (2001:341) argue that prejudice and racism, which emanate from such demographic shifts, to be maladaptive responses to the anxiety provoked by cultural differences. Furthermore, the responses to concerns of diversity may also produce conflict (Chang, 1999:377), and provoke responses such as racism or the perception that such issues exist within the school.

However, other research (Davis, 2003:207) has also found positive impacts and mutual enrichment in interracial contact. Davis (2003:207) believes that social contact within the context of education and student teacher relationships plays a significant role in children's cognitive, social development and the development of the self. Allport (1982) argues that the prerequisite of such contact should be equality in terms of goals.

Research has established that educators influence learners' social and personal development (Akande, Ntshanga & Nyanhette 1999:73; Davis 2003:209; Pigott & Cowen, 2000:178; Schwartz, 1998:2; O'Connor, Horvat & Lewis, 2006:18).

Research has also found that in multicultural schools when learners come from disadvantaged homes, teachers make negative judgments about students' potential based on background (Grootboom, 1999:76a; Vally & Dalamba, 1999:33; O'Connor, Horvat & Lewis (2006:15). O'Connor, Horvat and Lewis (2006:15) call this phenomenon the 'anticipation of culture by race' which translates into using own value judgments on a student's race. These negative value judgments by teachers, may also impact on the learners' perception of their sense of self (Akande, Ntshanga, & Nyanhette, 1999:73; Davis, 2003:575; Mpofu, 1999:113).

In addition Gati and Saka (2001:339), Majoribanks and Mboya (1998:572) and McInerney (2004:142) postulate that parents and peers also have an impact on a student's self and future perceptions. The influence of peers on the self perceptions of learners becomes more prominent during the adolescent development phase.

During this life phase, the adolescent starts making decisions concerning the future. Research has shown that educational advancement and future perceptions are of great importance to adolescents (Gati & Saka, 2001:331). The self perceptions of the adolescent learner also become more important as they start developing an identity (Hurlock, 1980:221; Mboya, 1999b:388). Identifying with his/her ethnic group is important in the development of an identity, as the adolescent has to find him/herself among others who are like him/her and different from him/herself (Hurlock, 1980:222; Miller, 1999:497).

Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous and Zimmerman (2004:92) argue that socio-cultural factors, as experienced in multicultural schools, have an influence on the identity formation of adolescents. Failure to resolve the identity issues that emerge during this phase, may lead to adjustment difficulties, and how they perceive themselves in time. Tyson (2006:58b) contends that school experiences are important in shaping students' views of themselves individually and as part of a group (race, class, gender) and this impacts on their future perceptions. Additionally, Tyson (2006:58b) maintains that the impact of the human developmental process on future perceptions has not been adequately addressed. If learners have negative self perceptions, their view of their possible selves may be adversely affected.

The possible self of the adolescent is directly linked to how they experience society, and what society should be in time. The present research will operate from the premise that future time perspective is the extent to which the anticipated future is influenced by the lived present. Tyson (2006:4a) states that every learner in school conveys how the world inside looks from where he/she is positioned and what that view means to both how he/she thinks about school and the direction he/she chooses.

Thus, the present realities which impact on learners' time perception may be internal or external: culture (race), parents, teachers, society and intrinsic factors such as hope and motivation (Majoribanks & Mboya, 1998:573; McWhirter, Torres Salgado & Valdez, 2007:120; Greene & DeBacker, 2004:95; Simons, Vansteenkiste, Lens & Lacante, 2004:124). The effect of motivation and hope on future perceptions will not be explored in this research, but their impact on the adolescent's perception of the future is acknowledged (Husman & Lens, 1999:120).

According to Athawale (2004) and Husman and Lens (1999:115) the future time perspectives of learners are influenced by culture. Western cultures have an extended time perspective (Husman, 1998:3) compared to traditional African communities which are committed rather to the moment, than a dedication to the future (Mwamwenda 1999:1). The research into the time perspectives of adolescents among the different cultural groups in South Africa after the rapid political change that South Africa experienced, needs further exploration (Athawale, 2004:2; Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002:152).

The theoretical framework for this research will be adolescent development as posited by Erikson. This theoretical framework forms the basis on which other developmental theories developed. Against this background, identity development of white, ethnic, and bi-cultural youth will be explored.

1.4   Research Questions

This study will focus on answering the following questions: (a) How do adolescents perceive their future? (b) What factors impact these future perspectives? (c) Does race impact on future time perspective?

Knowledge of what constitutes the future and what impacts on the future of our learners may assist us in developing guidelines for educators to present learners with tools to map their own futures.   The impact of present realities on the adolescent will therefore be important variables in this study.
(Key concepts will be covered in 1.7: Definition of Operational Concepts).

1.5   Research Design

A sample of 395 Grade 11 students was selected for this study through simple random cluster sampling (Fink, 2006:49; Struwig & Stead, 2001:49).   The participants were selected from racially mixed schools and racially homogeneous schools in the Northern Cape.   The term Black is used here as an inclusive racial category.   In the analysis and reporting on the findings, this heterogeneous group, Black, will be broken down to distinguish the groups as Coloured, Indian and African.   The other racial group is identified as White.

The research design followed a mixed method approach.   For the quantitative study the following measures were used (see Appendix A):

- Repertory Grid (Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002:1).   The grid was specifically designed to measure own group preferences and out-group preferences amongst South African school children aged 14 – 17 years.   Degree values derived from the Repertory Grid analysis range from 0 degrees (a correlation of + 1.00), to 180 degrees.
- Future Time Perspective Questionnaire of Stouthard and Peetsma (Otto, 2002:100).   This Likert-type questionnaire has 48 items.   The validity varies between 0.69 and 0.86 for Dutch students.

For the qualitative part of the research, an open-ended questionnaire was developed. The responses were content analysed using the Atlas.ti V5 coding system for qualitative data analysis. This part of the study serves mainly to elucidate the quantitative findings.

1.6　Value of research

Findings from this study may assist in the development of guidelines to address social issues within the context of educational institutions to build a non-racial society. Furthermore, the findings may illuminate learners' experiences of racism and guidelines will be proposed on how to adequately address these issues within institutions. Curriculum planners could use these perspectives when they plan curricula for learners to build a truly inclusive democratic society for the future through the school.

1.7　Definitions of Operational Concepts

A number of concepts will be used in this research. A broad definition of each will be given to explain the context in which they are used:

Culture: sets of values by which society lives and exists.

Cultural capital: the knowledge that learners possess prior to school entry.

Identity: Identity refers to the accomplishment of a coherent and firm sense of self, of whom and what you are physically and emotionally and knowing where you are going.

Ethnic identity: An individual's sense of self as a member of a particular ethnic or cultural group.

Future time perspective: This concept refers to the view of the future (what will/what might be) from the perspective of the present (what currently is).

Multicultural education: Education that teaches the value of cultural diversity.

Possible selves: ideas of what you might become and what you would like to become and what you are afraid of becoming.

Racism: The prejudicial attitudes of people towards others on the basis of their race or cultural practices. Other terms used synonymously with race are: ethnicity and culture.

New Racism: racial superiority and inferiority is substituted with notions of culture.

Second Racism: intergroup attitudes towards those of lighter skin tone.

The terms 'White school', 'Coloured school' and 'African school' are used to categorise schools according to the previous school categorisation and to indicate the existing learner majority in these schools.

1.8   Chapter Outline

Chapter One: this chapter provides an overview of the whole study. Emphasis is on (i) the background and the context of the problem. This chapter shows the inherent problems of integrated schools. This chapter also indicates the necessity for research which may help to explain future time perspectives. It also states the research question that will be explored in the research. The research design and methodologies to gather and analyse as well as the significance of the research is also highlighted.

Chapter 2: This chapter reviews the related literature from anti-racist to multicultural educational strategies. In doing so it relates to theories informing the framework of this study as well as operational concepts in this study.

Chapter Three: This chapter explores adolescent identity development theories and future time perspective. This chapter also looks at various literature informing this study.

Chapter Four: This chapter provides research design and methodologies used to gather and analyse data are discussed. The first stage discusses the procedures related to get permission for the study as well as the sampling procedures employed. The second stage discusses the measures used in the research.

Chapter Five: This chapter presents, analyse, discusses and interprets data gathered through quantitative and qualitative means.

Chapter Six: This chapter restates the research questions and shows how the findings answer these questions. Conclusions covering the whole research are made and recommendations are forwarded. Finally suggestions for future research are made.

CHAPTER 2

Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education: educating for the future

2.1   Introduction

This chapter introduces international and national approaches to the issues of diversity in education. The concept of multiculturalism and multicultural education will be explored within this context. The notions of culture and race embodied in multiculturalism will be deconstructed. Specific attention will be paid to the process of educational transformation in South Africa, the prevalence of racism in schools and the effect it has on the adolescent learner's future.

After becoming democratised, the South African education system which had been divided along racial lines had to be transformed. Each racial group had its own education system vis-à-vis White Education – House of Assembly; Coloured Education – House of Representatives; Indian Education – House of Delegates and African Education – Department of Education and Training. These systems had the following directives: white children were geared towards jobs in the private and public sectors, whilst African children's education was "to rapidly produce large numbers of skilled black employees" for the labour market (Wolpe, 1991:11). The education for Coloureds and Indians was located somewhere in between. The occupational inequalities created by this system made for a particularly gloomy future for black people who were excluded from most major skilled occupations (Pillay, 1991:101, Brock-Utne, 2000:256). This disparity also resulted in inequalities in all spheres of social and economic life, causing a negative psyche which influenced the way in which children saw their future.

However, racism is not reserved for the South African collective psyche solely, but is something that manifests itself around the world. The USA and Australia, among others, are not spared this dilemma. Therefore, like South Africa, education was undergoing a change internationally.

2.2   Educational Transformation

Internationally there was a movement towards greater diversity in schools. The aims of this diversity were twofold: to create a caring pedagogy and to educate for the integration of cultures and secondly, to eradicate racism and secure a common future for all groups (Goodlad, 2000:87).

Britain has no formal multicultural policies but pursues pluralist policies.

The British approach is that of anti-racist education and democratic education (Gilborn, 1995:95). The focus was on intercultural education with an emphasis on cultural diversity and respect for differences. This focus changed to an educational philosophy which ensured the acculturation of the youth into the freedoms and responsibilities of a democratic society. Acculturation here is seen as a linear process in which the young person becomes a member of a new culture and disengages from his culture of origin (Coleman, Casali & Wampold, 2001:356). The education of young people is thus directed towards preparing them for participation in all the structures of society.

The European Union represents a diversity of ethnic and cultural groups. Every member state had its own educational system. This places enormous challenges on the general education system in all of the member states. The focus is on building a new identity that will accommodate all groups within the Union. The approach the European Union follows is called citizenship education with the goal of creating active citizenship for a diversity of cultures (www.racismnoway.com.au).

Australia*,* like South Africa, has created a legal framework to institutionalise its existence as a multicultural society (Malik, 2005:361). The focus of the Australian system is Multiculturalism with the aim of providing for all groups an opportunity for schooling (www.racismnoway.com.au). The Australian policy of multiculturalism includes social justice, human rights and anti-racism. This is to create greater educational opportunities for the Aborigines. All these strategies are aimed at combating racism in schools.

The United States of America (USA) is faced with an ever increasing immigrant population for which it must provide equal schooling (Woolfolk, 1998: 161- 165; Sands, Kozlesci & French, 2000:14). Affirmative Action was accepted as a policy in the USA to address the educational imbalances that existed. Affirmative Action in education meant the removal of barriers "that systematically blocked access and prevented the full participation of Blacks and people of colour" from equal participation in the opportunities the country afforded (Allen, Teranishi, Dinwiddie & Gonzales, 2000:4). The underlying principle was rooted in the equality of all US citizens.

When this policy was rescinded, there was a significant decline in disadvantaged youth to institutions of higher learning (Allen, Teranishi, Dinwiddie & Gonzalez, 2000:4). O'Connor, Horvat and Lewis (2006:4) cite cultural ecological theory which posits that an oppositional cultural frame of reference as the root cause of the low enrolment at tertiary institutions. Some researchers call this oppositional culture 'acting white' (Tyson, 2006:64b). Dinwiddie and Allen (2003: 21) conclude that the factors which impede students' educational advancement are both psychological and structural. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995:55) concur with the notion of structural racism and argue that issues of culture and racism in this area have to be addressed. Racism and educational inequality, however, remain a problem which affects the youth in their social and educational development (Allen, Bonous-Hammarth & Teranishi, 2002: 3; Comer, 1989:354; O'Connor et al., 2006:4; Thomas, Townsend & Belgrave, 2003:218; Suzuki, Meller, Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1996:65).

2.2.1 Educational Transformation in South Africa

The school and schooling remains the central point of intervention as education is the arena where the foundations to transform society for the future are embedded (Engelbrecht & Green, 2001:11). Different approaches to address issues of diversity have been initiated to create a society that will accommodate all cultures and educate them for a common future. Although these efforts have created educational equality for all groups, the initiatives fail to recognise that the different groups have differing needs.

Calabrese and Underwood (1994:267), Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995:61) and O'Connor, Horvat and Lewis (2006:5) state that schooling is different for the cultural groups and that these differences are shaped by the relationship between the school, the environment, the students, their parents and peers.

As the education system emerges from the educational needs of the political majority, the changes become politically motivated (Steyn, Steyn, De Waal & Wolhuter, 2001:137). Sands, *et al.* (2000:14) concur that the "foundations of school reform are embedded in vital political, social, and economic contexts". The changes thus initiated, have changed the status quo, with blacks gaining by the reform. It is, however, not clear how this reform will affect learners' future perceptions, being directly affected by this process.

After the end of apartheid, the focus of educational transformation was directed at redressing the imbalances created by the previous government. Although changes were implemented to restructure education, the culture specific needs were not addressed. The changes were driven by the need to level the field of education and to ensure education for all (Styles, 1989:91).

Pienaar (2002:18) is of the opinion that the educational debate has been over politicised and that the "ethical fabric of the disrupted society has not been adequately established". The disruption of South African society was caused by violence, illiteracy and children outside the school system. Unless these issues were addressed, it would be difficult to ensure an inclusive pedagogy that would meet the educational needs of all groups towards a common goal. The aim of an inclusive pedagogy however, would have to meet the needs that the community envisaged as necessary to bring about equality in education. An education system will therefore emerge in the future that South African society hopes to achieve. The educational changes implemented will therefore be underpinned by the changed political system in South Africa, which means that education will be influenced by the needs of the country's racial majority (Steyn *et al.,* 2001:39).

The South African education system will thus have to deal with issues of diversity to meet the needs of all groups. In meeting these needs, the dominant culture will experience a sense of entitlement to better opportunities and resources that the country can afford, whilst other groups may experience being disadvantaged by the instituted changes. It is within these changes that new South African identities will be formed and reformed by the way groups are addressed in the cultural system that governs society. However, within the context of human rights and the equality of all groups, education has to be provided for all cultural groups equally, within the institutions of learning. These institutions are now directed at laying the foundations for a future that is non-discriminatory and inclusive, which prepares the youth for that envisaged future.

The provision of education under one inclusive system has its challenges. One schooling system means that all the country's children have to have access to all schools. Grootboom (DFA, 1999:5b) argues that the merging of schools poses a challenge firstly, to educators and secondly, to the learners themselves. In addition, the challenge that to which educational authorities have to respond, is how educational change may be facilitated without disrupting developmental processes that occur naturally. A question that would flow from the above is how the learners will be affected by this change in terms of their development as education moves from a race-based system to an inclusive pedagogy.

The route that Educational transformation has taken is towards creating an education system that will guide adolescent learners towards non-racialism and the acceptance of all persons, regardless of race or creed. This means a transformation from the race-based education system to non-racialism. The Department of Education (1995) worded its aims for educational transformation as follows: a system "in which all people have equal access to lifelong education … which will … improve the quality of life and build a prosperous society". The main tenet of this aim is to ensure that all children should have access to educational opportunities to build a common future.

This direction that South Africa's Educational policy has taken is in line with the aims for educational integration and the eradication of racism in education stated by the General Assembly of the United Nations. These transformational aims state that:

> *Education is an important means of promoting tolerance and respect for racial ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity and for empowering individuals and groups to defend and promote their rights* General Assembly Resolution 2106 (xx) of 21 December 1965. (World Conference against racism, 2001).

Two processes of transforming education that were instituted simultaneously were the processes of redressing past imbalances by leveling educational provision (Equity in Education) and the opening up of all schools for all racial groups (Multiculturalist position).

Equity in Education was a first step to address past imbalances and to redress the disparities that existed in educational provision. Tooley (1997:103) is of the opinion that educational provision should favour those with greater educational needs. The disadvantaged Black majority's educational needs had to be met. The process that South Africa followed was funding for schools, which was instituted as a policy to redress the imbalances that existed in educational provision (Carrim, 1998:308; Claassen, 2003:76). Educational equity also meant that less would be spent on white education and more on the other groups, as well as making education compulsory for all groups (Carrim, 1998:306). Secondly, equity in education however did not necessarily mean that all groups' education was directed towards a common future. Furthermore, the downscaling of education funding for white and other groups, may have had adverse impacts on general educational aims, as Black learners may have also been disadvantaged, as they sought to enroll in 'white' schools, having to pay more for schooling.

2.2.2 Multicultural Education

Compulsory education for all learners may be viewed as Affirmative Action in education aimed at redressing past imbalances. The opening up of schools paved the way for Multicultural Education, a process that started in the early nineties in South Africa. However, the early steps towards multiculturalism in South Africa were *assimilation strategies.*

The assimilationist position is that the values, traditions and customs of the dominant group must be accepted by the subordinate group (Chisholm, 2004:95; Goodey, 1989:478). The presumption is that the dominant group's culture is superior to that of the subordinate group. In this process, the subordinate group may lose their identity and their uniqueness. Carrim (1998:314) is of the opinion that this approach denies the recognition of people's differences and the existence of cultural diversity. The outcomes of assimilation, is the complete elimination of cultural differences which, in itself, may lead to lowered self-esteem, a poor self-concept and cultural alienation (Chisholm, 2004:96; Spencer, 1998:27).

Multiculturalism is defined as a "theory that can incorporate the multicultural realities of all people regardless of age, race, class and gender" (Onyekwuluje, 2000:67). *Multicultural education* thus envisages education for all cultural groups. Fyfe and Figueroa (1993:23) view multicultural education as being concerned with the development of the whole person, and separately as a human being in a specific cultural, social and historical context.

Spencer's (1998:28) perspective is that multicultural education is used to describe a wide variety of school practices, policies and programmes which are designed to increase cultural awareness and educational equality. This view is however, myopic as it focuses on cultural practices and does not encapsulate the cultural nuances of each culture (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995:61).

Singer's (1994:286) and Kivedo's (2006:10) understanding of multicultural education allows for the exploration of similarities and differences in human experiences and the ability to support, respect, and include all differences. By achieving these overarching aims, the society can move forward to building a future society that will accommodate all groups, equally.

While all learners need to acquire certain values, knowledge and skills from mainstream culture, in order to participate and function effectively in society, learners belonging to subordinate cultures should be able to do so without necessarily surrendering their cultural heritage. They however, also need to learn how to function in their own micro cultures. Multicultural education therefore plays a central role in the empowerment of individuals in developing creative relationships with other groups, as well as their own group. Thus, the aims that multicultural education envisage, may be listed as: the development of positive attitudes towards other cultural groups; the increasing awareness of one's own cultural identity; the reduction of cultural prejudice and stereotyping and the development of a variety of competencies to enable one to participate meaningfully in a diverse society and to secure a common future for all groups (Spencer, 1998:25).

Mda (2003:231) believes that through multicultural education, learners would be educated for a democratic society, in contrast to education that produces, maintains or sustains inequalities. The challenge of multicultural education is therefore directed at the ultimate purpose of changing society and creating a common future for all groups. This system not only teaches the value of cultural diversity, but also imparts to all students knowledge, skills and values that are needed for successful participation in a culturally diverse society.

As education takes place within a particular social and political context, multicultural education would incorporate issues of social justice that would require schools to serve all children within a democratic society (Chapman, 2004:425; Lemmer, 2003:231; Malik, 2005:365).

Another key objective of multicultural education would be to help students acquire the knowledge, skills, power and positive self identity to pursue their life goals and remove barriers that prevent them from achieving the best life has to offer (Chapman, 2004:425).

Multicultural education aims to include the creation of an environment that is flexible to change and adapts to environmental demands, such as the increasing diversity of educational institutions, so that learning may take place.   The environment in which the school exists, shapes the school and gives it its identity, with each classroom bearing the cultural identity of the community, as a school does not exist in a vacuum (Davidoff & Lazarus, 2003:23; Nkomo & Dolby, 2004:3; Tyson, 2006:6a).

Changes should therefore include the incorporation of new national symbols. This is where the difficulty lies, in "the intolerance for the multicultural elements of the child's experience manifested by the dominant culture in the school" (Lima & Lima, 1998: 335). The school climate will greatly influence intergroup relations (Carlson, Wilson & Hargrave, 2003: 211). The dominant culture in the school will set the ground rules for such intergroup relations. Schools should thus be given clear guidelines on how to accept diversity and transform, so as to achieve the aims of multicultural education.

Although education in South Africa is now non-racial and equal, racism and race-based incidences continued to plague multicultural schools at regular intervals. Within the context of multicultural education, the notions of race, culture and identity embodied in multiculturalism will now be deconstructed.

2.2.3   Race and Racism

Although various definitions of *racism* exist, they will not all be analysed tun this research.   The definition of Coleman (2001:346) which views racism from an interpersonal psychological level, states that racism is a belief that races are inherently different from one another, and that people's characteristics and capacities are largely determined by race, usually accompanied by a belief in the superiority of one race over another or others.

Three important points are embedded in this definition, namely (1) one group believes itself to be superior; (2) the group which believes itself to be superior, has the power to carry out racist behaviour and (3) racism affects all racial groups (Bonilla-Silva, 1997: 466; Solorzano, 1997:8).   Racism is therefore a social attitude that points to a like or dislike of any group that is different or perceived to be different from one's own.   Ancis, Sedlacek and Mohr (2000:2), Alexander (2005:30) and Macintyre (2005:30) argue that race must be recognised as a social, cultural and political construct with no scientific basis.

The perspective that the present researcher holds of racism is non-ideological and which perceives racism firstly as power-based, where the dominant group has the power to control and institutionalise its control at all levels of society. Secondly, that race is a social construct.

From these two perspectives, the researcher postulates three uses of race, namely: race as context – this helps to understand the presence of race and racism in our society; race as subtext – this helps to understand the forms of race and racism; and race as pretext – this helps to understand the function of race and racism in our society, which is more structural and covert (Dyson, 2004:59).   With this perspective as a basis for the discourse within this thesis, the following two distinctions made by Timimi (1996:185) and Fanon (1967:83) may best be understood as racism is understood in South African schools and society, past and present.

The two distinctions about race that Timimi (1996:185) makes, is firstly that racism has an internal developmental origin which forms the basis by which differences can be acknowledged, without attempting to control and dominate the object that is felt to be different and separate. Secondly, the relationship between white and black was that of coloniser and colonised, where white was identified as superior and black as inferior. These perceptions of race and racial differences became universal (Fanon, 1967:83). Fanon's (1967:84) argument collaborates with this view, stating that when we negate these feelings as existing within us, we become racist. Therefore, once we acknowledge differences within ourselves as educators, we are better able to help learners accept differences. The acceptance of differences allows us to look forward to a better co-existence.

Better co-existence between races may be achieved by more contact between these groups. Allport (1982) hypothesised that with more contact between races, the perception of differences would diminish "Contact Hypothesis Theory". The prerequisite is that such contact should be under favourable conditions, with equal status and the pursuance of common goals (Hyun & Richards, 2003:1; Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood & Finchilescu, 2004:2-3; Dickie & Dickie, 2004:2; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003:1-2; Dixon, 2001:588; Rex, 1992: 52; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu, s.d:3).

The school, as an institution, is best placed to establish this harmony to build a better future for all (Brockman, Butt & Fisher, 2001:2; Dickie & Dickie, 2004:2). Harris (2003:312) adds that the classroom can be that safe space where notions of race can be deconstructed as the social contact between learners is a natural process, evolving naturally.

However, substantial evidence exists that suggests that the type of inter-group contact influences the cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects of the growing adolescent. Chang (1999:377), Molla and Westbrook (2002:2) and Salzman and D'Andrea (2001:341) contend that the contact between groups that are culturally different, does not necessarily translate into positive outcomes.

The mixing of students from different cultural groups might fuel racial tension. This, in turn, may lead to greater racial tension which has a negative impact on educational outcomes, dispelling the myth of the contact hypothesis theory (Chang, 1999:378). Additionally, Coleman, Casali and Wampold (2001:356) hypothesise that the strategies the adolescent uses to cope with a second culture contact will affect his/her social well-being among others. If teachers are prepared for this diversity, adolescents could be better assisted in their contact with a second culture.

Culture may be defined as a set of rules by which society lives and exists (Goodey, 1989:478). This view of culture encapsulates all aspects of community life that are transmitted socially: value systems, ideologies, norms, traditions and economic systems (Baruth & Manning, 2003:8; Mda, 2003:219; Steyn, et al., 2001:137; Tseng, 2003:5). Culture is therefore a dynamic process and is shaped and reshaped through experiences generated in political and social struggles and group interaction (Singer, 1994:286).

According to Tseng (2003:33) and Manning (1988:17), culture is used as a means to bolster racial separation, thus using the terms race and culture synonymously (Shepperson & Tomaselli, 2001: 41). Whilst race refers to the way a group of people define themselves from other groups because of physical attributes, culture focuses on the practices that differentiate these groups from one another. Baruth and Manning (2003:31), Gilborn (1995:23) and Carrim (1998:302) observed the emerging trend that these differences are not perceived in racial terms, but as ethnic differences.

Gilborn (1995:23) uses the term New Racism which breaks with the notion of racial superiority and inferiority, substituting instead the notion of culture. This type of racism presents itself in the citing of concerns for culture, ethnicity and nationality. Gilborn (1995:23) argues that 'new racism' may be conceptualised as a modification of well-established racist ideas. This type of racism is subtle, covert and pervasive as opposed to overt rejection based on colour.

According to Pettigrew and Martin (1987:41), the term 'new' or 'modern racism' manifests in four ways: (i) a rejection of stereotype and blatant prejudice; (ii) opposition to racial change for non-racial reasons; (iii) group based self-interest and the subjective threats that their group is the one that is subjected to reverse prejudice, and (iv) individualistic conceptions of opportunity being afforded to one group only on the basis of race. If the argument of Gilborn (1995:34) is upheld, namely that race should be denied any special status in education, then our discourse would undermine differences and historical imbalances that continue to exist. Therefore, by acknowledging and researching the perceptions of race and racism that is perpetuated in schools, researchers are better able to present a holistic view of the future as envisaged by educational reform.

Having explored the concepts that are encapsulated by multiculturalism, namely race and culture, the goalposts for racial integration and non-racialism in schools have been moved from time to time, as racism continues to be perpetuated in South African schools in various forms. These forms of racism are briefly explored as they negate the changes envisaged by educational reform.

2.2.4 The Prevalence of Racism

The prevalence of racism in South African schools is well researched (Carrim, 1998: 300; Grootboom, 1999a:104; Vally & Dalamba, 1999:27). Having noted the contribution of these and other researchers, various policies have emerged in which racism has been outlawed in schools.

The most recent is the Department of Educations' document on Strategy for Racial Integration, dated January, 2004, which argues for the promotion of "the values of equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, … and … for the *personal development of our school-going population"* (own italics).

Although the schools are now open to all, some schools have found ways to circumvent these laws. These schools have been driven by the notion that the white ethos is superior. Racism has become institutional and structural but is more pervasive and insidious (Ponterroto & Pedersen, 1996:11). Exclusion policies instituted in some schools which were race based, have sought to preserve white hegemony: *admission policies* – 'white' schools first attempted to refuse entry if learners from other racial groups did not pass certain *entrance examinations* (Carrim, 1998:307); other measures were based on *culture or ethnicity (Afrikaner schools)* – presenting a movement away from race, as race- based admissions have been outlawed (Carrim, 1998:302); and *Language* has also been used as an exclusion measure, as it was based on cultural norms and the exercise of power (Gilborn, 1995:19).

Black learners in desegregated schools, have themselves described language as a mechanism for alienation (Mda, 2003:229; Gophe, 2005:6; Grootboom, 1999a:156). This alienation is further accentuated by the location of these schools which are geographically distant from the disadvantaged communities. *Place or location* has become a cultural marker, citing that schools service (feed) the community in which they are located (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003:1). Still another measure has been the *high admission fees* of schools. Parents from disadvantaged communities cannot afford these schools and large numbers of these disadvantaged learners have been resultantly excluded from what they perceived to be quality education.

In preserving the white ethos, most of the multicultural schools have held on to past symbols, citing school culture and historical heritage. Black learners are not able to identify with these symbols. In addition, the Black learners are expected to adapt to a youth culture which is foreign to them namely "sokkie" (a form of dance) and "ontgroening" (initiation when becoming a learner). Within this cultural structure, learners also have had to cope with the expectations of both educators and learners and the school ethos.

These school experiences affect the attitudes and behaviours of learners, in that they have felt left out of the mainstream culture of the school. In addition, they have experienced rejection as the ethos of the school has not been explained to them, some of the school practices, i.e. 'sokkie' are alien to them (Tyson, 2006:6) and experiences of micro aggression in the form of negative remarks (Solarzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000: 62).

2.2.5 Challenges for Education and Educators

The process to facilitate the democratisation of schools in South Africa was not without major *challenges*. When schools did desegregate, it was done for different reasons. Jansen (2004:12) notes that the desegregation of former 'whites only' schools, welcomed the black learners who now flooded the Model C schools. The acceptance of the black learner was a means of survival to keep their educators, through the number of new enrolments of black learners.

Cross movement of teachers is, however, necessary for the process of desegregation to be successful for two reasons: to build educator cross-pollination as a means of creating a national pedagogical input, and secondly, to provide role models for learners. Curriculum planners failed to assess the impact the integrated schools might have on learners' psycho-social development and they also failed to adequately plan for educator movement to parallel learner migration. Jansen (2004:12) argues that the Government had no viable strategy to advance democratic education inside schools in a sustainable and meaningful way. This lack of strategy is noted in the existing tension between and among differences which presumed a unity of difference – that is, the interests of groups may be seen to be competing but their perspectives may be at odds. This may be viewed as an oversight by educational planners who choose to ignore the existing differences. The critical race theorists argue this point by stating that all differences should not be seen analogous and equivalent (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995:62).

Van Niekerk (2003:21) maintains that educational reform operates on three levels, namely symbols, frames of reference and ultimately, behaviour. These symbols represent the school culture in a historical context. Many 'whites only' schools keep portraits of the Apartheid era figures, stating that it is part of their cultural ethos.

New national symbols have to be introduced to promote an inclusive culture. Wren (1999:59) is of the opinion that educators in these schools tend to overlook the school climate created by these symbols which are the socialising agent for overall student development and the impact of culturally foreign symbols on learners from a different cultural orientation. Thus, learners enrolling at schools culturally different may feel increasingly culturally alienated (Dickie & Dickie, 2004:1). The alienation is particularly accentuated by schools which are geographically distant from the learners' homes. This alienation could impact on learners' educational and emotional development.

With educational reforms being instituted, schools and educators are expected to adapt to a changing society, but have not been equipped for this change. Chevalier & Houser (1997:427) believe that there is a need for *educators* to confront their own roles to assist others in perpetuating their life chances. Multicultural education therefore acknowledges the more subtle racism that white teachers translate to their learners of colour, causing learners to receive unequal treatment in class (Chapman, 2004:429).

As a result of the enrolment of learners of other cultures in schools, a number of issues have been exposed. The educators have not been properly sensitised to education in a multicultural context. Moreover, all people have relational schemas of other groups (driven by stereotypes). These schemas translate into mapping rules – the expectations we have of learners, based on the categories into which we have placed them (Coloured, African, Indian). These categories activate meanings which are constructed by society (i.e. Africans are lazy, Coloureds are rowdy, Indians are good at mathematics). Based on the meanings attached to these categories, educators alter their interaction when they face learners of a different culture in a multicultural school.

Furthermore, teachers are no longer able to use the same methodology, as learners are culturally and socio-economically different. These learners have also been educationally disadvantaged, coming from township schools where education is generally of a poorer standard (Gollnick & Chinn, 1994:28). Teacher expectations are generally lower for black learners than for white learners (Lagasse, Partolan-Fray & Fabiano, 1994:4; Manning, 1988:20; Mpofu, 1999:113).

Lee (2002:11) adds that social integration affects students' cognitive development and academic performance and thus, how learners see their future. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995:61) express the same notion vis-à-vis the growing tensions that exist between and among groups that are gathered under the one umbrella of multiculturalism and this may impede future understanding. These tensions are also found in the interests of groups which may be competing or their perspectives may be at odds. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995:61) conclude that the tensions between and among these differences are rarely interrogated.

2.2.6 Challenges for the Learners

Educational reform has influenced learner demographics as schools responding to change. Learners from disadvantaged schools have enrolled at more affluent schools, as these schools are perceived as being better resourced, thereby increasing the future chances of those learners in society. However, coming from a disadvantaged sector of the community, learners may feel unequal in terms of educational attainment. Black learners have developed negative self-concepts from these feelings of not being educationally on par with their white counterparts (Comer, 1989:354).

Research indicates that learners in multicultural schools experience a myriad of problems as a result of this cultural mix (Brockman et al., 2001:2; Carrim, 1998:313; Grootboom, 1999a:76; Spencer, 1998:26). The most pertinent of these is racism, adjustment issues, socialisation and developmental issues. Comer (1989:352) concurs that racism interferes with the normal development of children. Furthermore, racism curtails their ability to function at their full potential as children and later as adults.

If the premise is that when children are affected negatively by racism and that racism influences the reaching of their full potential as adults, the conclusion is that racism may adversely affect the future perceptions of learners. Following racism, adjustment issues have affected learners, as these learners from disadvantaged schools have been expected to adjust to and adopt the 'white' schools' culture (Carrim, 1998:310). These learners have experienced rejection from both learners and educators of the dominant group (Adams III, Rand, Kahle, Snyder, Berg, King & Rodriuez-Hanley, 2003:88; Pettigrew & Martin, 1987:53).

Lee and Davis III (2000:110) and Bacor (2002:2) are of the opinion that it is natural for learners to feel alienated when they find themselves in situations where their cultural group is demographically dominated by another group. Lee and Davies III (2000: 110) refer to these feelings of alienation as lack of belongingness, where belongingness is defined as "a subjective feeling or interpersonal closeness within a given context".

The feelings of isolation also impacts on the self concept of learners and places them at risk of social and academic challenges. Research has found a low positive correlation between a global self concept and academic achievement (Marjoribanks & Mboya, 1998:576; Mboya, 1999a:390; Mboya, 2003:43). Therefore, the impact of this alienation on the learner's global self-concept explains that adjustment issues impact on the self concept and ultimately the development of identity, thus placing achievement motivation outside of the scope of this thesis.

The above-mentioned researchers argue that a sense of belonging is critical for adjustment in student life and the development of a positive self. In addition, Mwamwenda (1999:1) asserts that the "self is a cultural construction and as such, is bound to differ from one culture to the next". Schools and educators should therefore be cognisant of these different cultural developments as they are key elements in assisting the adolescent in the development of the self (Akande, Akande & Odewale, 1999: 73) and in constructing a future to fit the self.

Furthermore, learners bring to school relational schemas about the nature of social relationships and their social world. These models influence future relationships as learners are guided by these models in understanding what is correct or wrong about such relationships (Davis, 2003:209; Hunt, 1997:2). Both educators and fellow learners are important in the role they play in these relationships, as they shape the social contexts of learning through their beliefs, judgments, goals and attempts to regulate social behaviour (Hemmings, 2006:91). Thus, some learners in the multicultural school may perceive the educators to be racist or their fellow learners as not accepting them as equals. This, in turn, impacts on how they see themselves and accept their personal selves. Comer (1989:352) contends that whilst learners may be struggling with racial issues and school culture, they also have to contend with development issues.

The present researcher notes that while research areas focusing on the self concept, achievement, motivation and career development (Comer, 1989:353; Mboya, 1999a:390; Mwamwenda, 1999:1) have received much attention, areas such as hope and future time perspectives have not received the same attention. Should we fail to direct our energies towards these areas that fall outside of the scope of achievement, we would miss the opportunity to identify areas which could promote the creation of a common future for all learners and a society that fosters racial consonance.

These are some of the challenges that the new South Africa continues to face in building a multicultural society through education and a sense of dignity and professional pride for teachers and of future possibilities for students. While the literature indicates that multicultural education in SA affects our school-going youth in a number of ways, the effect on their future perspectives is grossly neglected.

In conclusion, the impact of racism on learners may be best understood by the words of Jones (1997:339), namely that "racial differences create cavernous divides in our psychological understanding of *who we are* and *who we should be*" (own italics). The next chapter on the literature review explores "who we are" (identity formation) and "who we should be" (future perspective).

2.3   Summary

A change in society necessitates a change in the educational system. The different cultural groups within a diverse society have to be educated under one unitary system of education to create a common future for all learners. A multicultural education system has been instituted as a vehicle to facilitate these aims for all learners.

A number of issues have emerged with this change to multicultural education in South Africa. The most important of these is the migration of learners to the newly integrated schools. However, educators have not migrated in the same way. This has left learners of colour without educators with whom they could identify, culturally.

Not being able to identify with their educators in terms of background and culture has left learners with no one to turn to when they experience problems in their new environment. This, in turn, has affected learners academically as well as in their emotional development. In addition, research is replete with examples of how the school environment, educators and parents influence adolescent development. Although the system of multicultural education seeks to address issues of racial integration, it fails to address the issues that may secure a positive future for all learners.

The focus of the next chapter will be on adolescent development with specific reference to identity development cross-culturally. An exploration of this aspect of development is necessary as the formation of identity leads to how the future is perceived by individuals. Furthermore, how identity development impacts on the creation of a future perspective will be explored. The concept future time perspective will be explored as a construct that is influenced by adolescent development.

CHAPTER 3

ADOLESCENCE: A time of change

"The only constant in the universe is change"

3.1   Introduction

South Africa as a young democracy is focusing attention on building a non-racial future for all its citizens.   The institutions of learning have been identified as the arena where this future is to be built. Within the institutions of learning, multicultural education has been implemented as a tool for building a common future for all learners. Most adolescents are in secondary school and these years are a critical time during which adolescents structure and shape their sense of self and make decisions about future goals (Chavous, Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood & Zimmerman, 2003:1076; McWhirter, Torres, Salgado & Valdez, 2007:119; Gushue & Whitson, 2006:113).

Different cultural groups see the future differently, but an impoverished imagination of those futures will cause education to suffer what Lima and Lima (1998:342) call a "crisis of identity".   The challenge that SA education is undergoing will not be explored in this thesis, but the future time-perspective of South African youth, will be investigated, with specific reference to the development of their identity and the factors affecting that identity.

A number of key aspects which affect adolescents' identity development in multicultural secondary schools will be explored cross-culturally, as identities based on race may affect their identity development and the resultant perspectives about their possible selves (Gurin, Nagda & Lopez, 2004:19). These perspectives will be viewed against the theoretical framework of Erikson (Salkind, 1985: 107) as they pertain to adolescent identity development. Although the theory of Erikson does not account for all the nuances of identity development across cultures, it will be used as a starting point against which other cultural identity development models will be viewed.

3.2   Adolescence

The term 'adolescence' is derived from the Greek term 'adolescere' which means "to grow" or "to grow to maturity" (Hurlock, 1980:391).   Two central aspects in this phase can be identified, namely: it is about development and it is directed towards a position or stage in the future.   In addition, development by implication means 'moving forward' from a position in the present to a position in the future.

Various researchers have defined adolescence, each emphasising different aspects of this life stage.   Badenhorst (1997:82) and Roche (1976:18) believe that adolescence should be seen as the beginning and end in terms of development, which starts at puberty and ends with adulthood.   The definitions that place adolescence within time frames (Hurlock, 1980:392) have become obsolete, as a number of researchers agree that this period is transitional in nature and is influenced by the cultural milieu in which the adolescent grows up (Badenhorst, 1997:83; Donald, Lazarus and Lolwana, 2002:54; Pellebon, 2000:19; Ponterotto, Utsey & Pedersen, 2006:8; Schostak, 1991:53).   However, research concurs that adolescence manifests itself in different ways and times with individual and cultural variations (Aapola, 2002:298).

From a developmental perspective, the end of adolescence is signaled by the end of growth in terms of physical maturation.   Engelbrecht and Green (2001:104), and Buchholz and Catton (1999:203) view this stage as transitional, where the growing person is neither a child nor an adult. Therefore, instead of viewing this period as a risk-ridden time of 'storm and stress' (Conger, 1984:267), adolescence should be seen as a stage that presents both opportunities and concerns for the future (Takanishi, 1993:460; Heaven, 2001:2).   Hall and Carter (2006:122) argues that careful attention needs to be paid to understand the unique and universal developmental processes and influences which may offer particular strengths or risks for children within particular cultural contexts, influencing concerns and opportunities for the future.

Takanishi (1993:460), Malgas (1998:15), and place the focus of this period on formative aspects with changes in the physical, cognitive, moral and social spheres. The emotional volatility of this stage is emphasised by Van Aarde and Watson (1994:159) who agree that this life stage is replete with physical, cognitive and social changes. Salkind (1985:107) is of the opinion that during this period, most adolescents focus on individual and personal needs, rather than on larger social issues. This internal focus on personal needs has been coined adolescentrism by Saldana (2000:16).

The views on adolescent development as expressed by the aforementioned researchers, agree on the following tenets about adolescence: that this period is transitional, that the development is influenced by economic and social conditions, that the adolescent period is characterised by change leading to a different stage in time and that the perspectives of adolescents are influenced by socio-cultural factors. It is amidst these changes that the adolescent has to make decisions about the future.

Thus, with the onset of adolescence there is an increase of elements that affect the shaping of future goals and goal-orientated behaviours. These perspectives provide adolescents with suggestions and options of ways to think about the future. They also provide the adolescent with tools of how to engage in school in reaching the goals they have set for themselves. Their actions, behaviours and evaluations of the conditions within this setting are important in realising their futures. These perspectives also serve to sustain or change adolescent motivation and engagement in a possible future. In conclusion, whatever the perspectives of adolescents, young people are faced with the tasks of relating their personal identities and their life goals to social time structures (Oechsle & Geissler, 2002:80). These time structures which Aapola (2002:301) calls institutional age determine the age of compulsory schooling and the age of entry into the workplace; thus, adolescents have to structure their futures according to these time structures.

3.2.l   Erikson: Life span development

Erik Erikson (Boshielo, 2002:2; Craig 1986:44; Gerdes, Ochse, Stander & van Ede, 1981:264; Salkind, 1985: 110) divide human development into eight stages, with adolescence at the centre of this process of development. Each stage has its unique developmental characteristics, which have to be negotiated successfully to allow the individual to move to the next stage of development. Grootboom (1999:26) is of the opinion that the success of each life stage will depend on the nature and quality of interactions with other individuals and significant others in the environment. The environment of the adolescent is the home and school which enable them to build an identity (D'Alessio, Gaurino, De Pascalis & Zimbardo, 2003:333; Ryan, 2000:102). Both parents and educators have a profound influence on the adolescent as they start forming their identity. As the adolescent matures, the home loses importance at the expense of school and peer relationships (Buchholz & Catton, 1999:203).

The different perceptions on adolescence as posited by Erikson's theory indicate that adolescence marks the end of childhood and the beginning of puberty; the defining and the finding a sense of self; mastery and acceptance of their physique (physical self); gender roles, social and future projections; ideal life situations and the importance of peers and adults; and trustworthiness. These roles allow the adolescent the opportunity to form a sense of self which may either be rejected or accepted. The unsuccessful negotiation of any of these life issues that guide the adolescent's development to the formation of a personal identity, leads to the problems which are typical of this particular life phase. The importance of this stage is the formation of an identity. It is during this stage that the adolescent begins to develop a personal identity that fits his/her family and culture.

When working with adolescents within multicultural schools, educators have to be aware that differences in culture will elicit different behavioural responses in the same school context (Baruth & Manning, 2003:91; Pellebon, 2000:10). Furthermore, the way in which other cultures relate to the adolescent, may influence his/her behaviour and how he sees him-/herself in time.

Should these cultures relate to him/her in a culturally demeaning way, he/she may experience his/her culture negatively and develop a negative self. Takanishi (1993:459) emphasises that "all adolescents, regardless of economic background, race and ethnicity, gender and country, have needs that must be satisfied to become competent individuals who can cope with the exigencies of everyday life and to believe in a promising future". In order to meet these needs, the adolescent has to be provided with an education that forms a basis for making informed decisions about his/her future.

3.3   Identity Development

According to King (2006:1) and Boshielo (2002:2), identity refers to the accomplishment of a coherent and firm sense of self; a sense of being free in one's own body, of being comfortable with what one has become and a sense of knowing where one is and where one is going. In essence, identity development is about finding your own place in the world in relation to others like you or who are different from you. Identity may thus be understood "as the symbolic restructuring of social relations" and affiliation in that context (Lima & Lima, 1998:323). It is not only about your fit in society, but also about where you want to be in time. Schwartz (1998:2) adds that adolescents need to be helped in acquiring culturally linked coping skills that include ways of dealing with discrimination and transcending adverse situations in the process of becoming who they want to be. Salkind (1985:110) states that during adolescence the total personality is under scrutiny and the young person moves from a stage of knowing, to a stage of confusion as he/she tries to find him-/herself in the presence of others who are different.

In a diverse society such as South Africa, adolescents will come into contact with different ethnic groups. How they collaborate with these different groups, will be influenced by how they feel about themselves and how their parents and teachers refer to these groups (Burnet, 2002:6; Harris, 2003:311). These discussions take place within a particular cultural context in which the adolescent finds him-/herself.

This context will determine how the adolescent negotiates this particular developmental stage; specifically, how his/her identity is shaped according to the needs of his/her group. These needs may be met by providing the adolescent with an education that provides a basis for making informed and wise decisions about his/her own identity (Takanishi, 1993:459). The role of the school in this process should not be underestimated.

Gaganakis (2004:59) identifies socio-historical periods and local contexts as impacting on identity formation; therefore, identities have to be continuously reconstructed depending on the specific social situation that is prevalent in that society. In South Africa, the formation of adolescent identity before 1994 would thus have been different from those identities formed after the democratic elections of 1994. This aspect is highlighted in the research of Dawes and Finchilescu (2002:148) namely, that the Afrikaner for example "grew up in an atmosphere of pervasive and unquestioned racism" but since 1994, has had to rethink his/her social position. Furthermore, in South Africa shifts in self perception have occurred after the changed political system. Blacks changed from being oppressed into people with positions of power and the negative selves that permeated black society may have shifted to positive selves. It is thus that these notions of race and society will have to be reconstructed in the black psyche. The positive selves in terms of future time perspectives may be identified in these research findings.

Weider (2004:30) asserts that the identities of teachers, and those of learners "were forged through their joining of pedagogy and politics", while South Africa was in political transition. These identities have been shaped differently from what they would have evolved into, in a politically stable climate. Gaganakis (2004:60) states that under apartheid, the state imposed racial identities and group identities on people legally constituting these identities. Presently, these identities are being revisited and new cultural identities such as place, language and culture among others, are being formed (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003:3; Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez & Finchilescu, 2004:5). The adolescent's culture therefore influences both the identity formation and orientation towards the future, depending on his/her culture's position in society.

Theorists have articulated the benefits of a positive racial identity in developing an individual's sense of self and others within and outside of the individual's group (Scott & Robinson, 2001:415). Gloria and Hird (1999:159) also argue that the experience of being racially or ethnically different may arouse anxiety, which in turn, influences self-efficacy. Self-efficacy refers to the individual's perception and conviction of the self in a given domain of functioning (Bong, 2003:288), and his/her ability to accept this position. In addition, cultural orientation affords a place or position in society which in turn could be a crisis that characterises the adolescent. Gloria and Hird (1999:160) further contend that individuals "whose racial standing is not that of the dominant racial group have different experiences than those individuals whose racial standing is that of the dominant group". Culture is thus the lens through which social stratification and discriminatory experiences are interpreted and identities formed.

Parenting, family dynamics and children's development within families are influenced by culturally based beliefs and practices. Hall and Carter (2006:115) is of the opinion that everyone has culturally based experiences and in a diverse society such as South Africa, adolescents from the different cultures will experience the same life situations differently as each of these cultures has its own specific value system (Ackerman & Botha, 1997:180). It is these culture specific experiences that will determine how adolescents see their future. Takanishi (1993:459) argues that differences in cultural orientation threaten the adolescent's capacity to grow up well educated. His/her cultural frame of reference and his/her cultural experience in terms of race will influence this process. This ability to grow up holistically is influenced by racial salience which is defined by Gloria and Hird (1999:159) as "the extent to which a person perceives race as a significant definer of one's work options and experiences". It is, therefore, these perceptions about race and position in society that influence the formation of a positive identity and a resultant positive future. Furthermore, cultural differences and experiences, and the perceptions of these differences help shape the formation of adolescent identities. Schwartz (1998:2) concurs that cultural differences have a significant impact on children's social development. In addition, culture impacts on children on both the proximal and distal levels (Hall & Carter, 2006:116). White culture endorses individualism, whilst African families often value interdependence, security, collective goals and common interests (Mwamwenda, 1999:1). It is within these contexts that identities are shaped.

3.3.1 Cultural Identity Development: South African overview

Culture refers to the way of life of a group (how they do things and act), which include shared norms, beliefs, values and language as well as shared organisations and institutions (Guerra & Jagers, 1998:169). This view proposes culture to be a complex social structure. Grootboom (1999:40) views culture as an integral part of any person. Whilst the development of an identity is focused on finding yourself within your culture, cultural identity refers to finding your cultural identity among other cultures different from yours. Scott and Robinson (2001:415) conceptualise race or culture as one component of psychosocial identity that intersects with other identities, such as sex, ability and class. A major aspect of this mixing of cultures is the impact that they have on the formation of identities in young people.

The different cultural groups have their own traditions and social norms, as well as family structure which influence their psychological development. The formation of an identity will therefore be different for the different cultural groups (Baruth & Manning, 2003:91; Schwartz, 1998:2; Takanishi, 1993:459). Schwartz (1998:2) concludes that "racial and ethnic group differences have a significant impact on children's social development" and therefore, their cultural development. However, this impact differs with age and ethnic group.

According to Macintyre (2005:29) South Africans are working with "identity based cultural markers". Language, for example, is one such cultural marker; thus, for example, the division between Afrikaans speaking and Xhosa speaking South Africans. Macintyre (2005:29) argues further that South Africa describes populations in racial terms and their identities are defined by habit rather than by thought. This perspective is stated differently by Nsamenang and Dawes (1998:80) who contend that "every developmental phenomenon or human action is embedded in a specific eco-cultural niche". Therefore, how we describe others attributes a specific identity to them based on our self identification.

Having gone through a process of rapid political transformation, Black South Africans have gained political freedom which has meant that a transformation in their collective psyche would take place. White South Africans lost political power and their collective psyche was also affected by this change. In addition, this change also transformed the way in which the different groups viewed themselves and how they viewed others who were different from them. It is therefore against this background that all South African children have had to reconsider their identities (Schwartz, 1998:3), which have changed after the transformation of South African society. Dawes and Finchilescu (2002:152) state that research on racial orientation among South African adolescents after democratisation, seems to be absent. This kind of research is particularly relevant after such rapid political change which has affected all population groups and challenged previously established identities. Prins and Van Niekerk (2001:9) argue that the issues that have altered the psychological future of South African society are not only the recent political changes, but also intra-psychic changes, i.e., who they were as a South African nation and the resultant identities that have emerged.

The adolescent either accepts or rejects these new identities as these identities are still driven by stereotypes. According to Bee and Boyd (2003:13) this is where the difficulty lies in the process of identity formation, which is commonly referred to as the identity crisis. This crisis is central in adolescent development (Engelbrecht & Green, 2001:109; Donald, Lazarus & Lolwana, 2002:78; Miller, 1999:497). The resolution of the identity crisis has to be resolved to assist the adolescent to develop a personal identity. The issues experienced by adolescents during this crisis stage, have been formalised by Marcia (Bee & Boyd, 2003:317) who divided this stage into four statuses: (Figure p37).

	High	Low
High	Identity Achievement Status (crisis past)	Foreclosure Status
Low	Moratorium status (in midst of crisis)	Identity Diffusion status

Degree of crisis

Figure 1: Stages of Identity Development.

Adapted from Bee and Boyd (2003:312):

1. Identity achievement – the adolescent has been through a crisis and has reached a commitment to follow a certain path: being Coloured, Black, White or Indian;

2. Moratorium – the crisis is in progress, but no commitment has been made: expectations of educators, peers, and social perceptions;

3. Foreclosure – a commitment has been made before going through the crisis (the adolescent accepts parental or culturally defined commitments) in finding an identity to fit his culture; and

4. Identity diffusion – the adolescent does not experience a crisis and has not made a decision about life goals.

Engelbrecht and Green (2001:110) argue that if an adolescent is unable to negotiate the identity crisis successfully, it may lead to a number of problems which are referred to as identity diffusion. Identity diffusion is the inability of the adolescent to arrive at a social task of self definition. The adolescent shows a lack of purpose, exploration, decision-making and planning regarding the future and has low self regard. The problem the adolescent also experiences in this stage is that of a negative identity. The final stage in this process of diffusion is identity foreclosure. The adolescent makes decisions about his/her life and makes commitments without deliberate exploration. It may be concluded that the process of identity formation is a composite process and cannot be worked through alone. Deliberate intervention by educators can guide the adolescent through this critical period.

School experiences will ultimately shape adolescent identities and future expectations (Tyson, 2006:6b). Becker and Luthar (2002:198) concur that teachers, the classroom and school experiences, critically affect future educational opportunities.

Miller (1999:497) believes that for adolescents who are racially or socially of a lower standing, this task is complicated by their environment and the need to develop a strong racial identity in order to overcome the stigma of negative racial stereotypes. Miller (1999:497) posits that racial identity develops through racial awareness. Thus, if adolescents have a negative racial awareness, it will negatively affect identity development. When the adolescent does not develop a strong sense of self, a sense of worthlessness and self devaluation develop. The individual's position in society and his/her participation in societal institutions which could help to create a future might be adversely affected (Miller, 1999:497). The social group's position in society is of particular importance to SA youth in developing a positive identity.

However, their identities are negatively affected by a number of factors. Firstly, a number of youth grow up with no guidance or models to follow within multicultural schools. Secondly, public figures are distant from them and do not necessarily provide evidence in respect of what they could be in the future. Thirdly, affluent black people move to the suburbs, away from the township and its culture, leaving the youth without role models. Fourthly, the implementation of affirmative action policies may affect the adolescents' perceptions of a future career, specifically Coloured, Indian and White youth. These aspects make it difficult for the adolescent to develop a firm sense of self and to find a common future with other groups. How the last-mentioned youth are affected by racial salience may emerge in this research.

The above is a broad overview of South African identity development. Within this broad framework, culture specific identity development as proposed by various models will be explored.

3.3.2 African Identity Development

Ethnic identity development is an aspect of an individual's general identity which is a multidimensional construct that includes feelings of ethnic pride and a sense of group membership and positive feelings towards one's group (Gushue & Whitson, 2006:115). The development of identity is universal with culture specific differences. These differences are influenced by the struggle for identity congruence within diverse societies. In South Africa the development of an African identity was influenced by political suppressions which changed to political supremacy. Gloria and Hird (1999:160); Pellebon (2000:10-11) and Sue and Sue (1999:124) concur when they assert that socio-political issues play a significant role in the shaping of identities.

A Black identity is used to express the notion of sameness, likeness and oneness, as well as an affiliation to African ethnicity or culture (Trimble & Dickson, 2006:1). Ethnic identity is thus an affiliate construct denoting attachment to a particular ethnic group, as well as a multi-dimensional construct (Phinney, 2003:63). Tseng's (2003:33) definition illuminates the above perspective when he defines ethnic identity as the psychological way in which a person identifies with his/her own ethnic background and his/her feelings about his/her own ethnic group. These feelings will be influenced by social position in a diverse society. In addition, these feelings may be on a personal level (influenced by school, peers, educators), or on a group level (the recognition of racial differences and political position). These factors are however, also embedded in historical contexts and may change over time (Trimble & Dickson, 2006:5; Tseng, 2003:34). Any changes in this context will influence how the adolescent develops psychologically within the school, the home and society. If an ethnic group is looked down on by other groups, its members will tend to develop an inferior image, thus forming a negative ethnic identity (Pellebon, 2000:10).
This in turn, will greatly influence their psychological well-being and how they see themselves in time (Prins & Van Niekerk, 2001:109; Schwartz, 1998:2; Tseng, 2003:4; Yeh & Haung, 1996:646). Therefore, self identify has a direct influence on the psyche and the perception of the future within that particular context.

Furthermore, African adolescents have to deal with an identity which is shaped by the perception of people around them, such as educators, class mates and their peer group (Marjoribanks & Mboya, 1998:573; Malik, 2005:365). These adolescents also have to contend with a number of identities: their own racial identity, the identity he/she assumes when he/she is among his/her peers in the school, and the identity he/she takes on when he/she is at home and in the township. The way in which the adolescent adapts to these situations influences the self concept (Sedlacek, 1999:539). The African adolescent has to rework his/her identity on more than one level. The first level is the shift from being disadvantaged to equal status with all groups; secondly, although being an ethnic majority, the values and norms of the minority group prevail and thirdly, the black adolescent has yet to understand the dynamics of social change and his/her role in determining his/her own future.

The identity development of African youth finds a strategic fit in the four stage model as proposed by Cross (Davis, Liu, Ledesma-Jones & Nevit, 2000:99-100; Vandiver, 2001:168-170; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross Jr., & Worrel, 2001:171-173) which has much to do with the struggle for identity congruence across cultures. This model is used as an interpretive lens through which African identities within the South African context are developing. Each stage is characterised by self-concept issues, which have implications for a person's feelings, thoughts and behaviours:

> *Stage 1: Pre-encounter* – this stage operates from an assimilation-internalisation paradigm. The black person assimilates the white culture and acts accordingly while his/her own culture is rejected. The identity is based on mainstream values as embodied by the dominant white culture.

> *Stage 2: Encounter* – the individual comes into conflict with the positive aspects of his/her own culture and the negative aspects of white culture, like indices of racism. This stage also represents fluidity as identities are continually changing as the encounters with others widen.

> *Stage 3: Immersion/Emersion* – the individual adopts the tenets of his/her culture and his/her views become more balanced as the individual begins with self acceptance.

Stage 4: Internalisation – the individual embraces a positive view of his/her culture and commits to social justice. The individual also develops a multicultural identity, which includes gender and sexual orientation.

3.3.3   White Identity Development

White individuals are those individuals who self-identify or are commonly identified as belonging exclusively to the white racial ethnic group, regardless from which country their ancestors come (Gloria & Hird, 1999:160). Proweller (1999:776) is of the opinion that the development of white identity models has not received the same research time as that of other groups and that "whiteness has remained invisible as a social category and location of social identity". Other cultural groups have always been perceived against whiteness: i.e. being non-white or being black in contrast to being white. Whiteness was regarded as an identity in itself. Sue and Sue (1999:146) argue that white culture was everywhere, "it *was* so interwoven in the fabric of everyday living that whites *could not* step outside and see their beliefs, values, and behaviours as creating a distinct cultural group". A white identity is said to refer to a set of meanings and practices that provide white people with a perspective through which they experience the world (Proweller, 1999:776). Fanon (1967:82) holds a different argument when he states that white people experience the world from the perspective of being the coloniser and the other groups the colonised. White racial identity development is defined (Helms, 1995:181) as the process that whites undergo when formulating identification with their own socio-racial group.

Helms (Leach, Behrens, & La Fleur, 2002:67; Ponterotto, Utsey & Pedersen, 2006:94; Scott & Robinson, 2001:415; Sue & Sue, 1999:150 – 156) developed a white racial identity model which is widely applied to all white racial identity formulations. The model proposes the following statuses in which a white racial identity develops:

1. *Contact status* – white people are not conscious of themselves as racial beings and are misinformed about other races; they are also not aware of being privileged and will avoid racial debates.

2. *Disintegration status* – the individual experiences conflict regarding preconceived notions about race and between loyalty to their own group and other groups.

3. *Reintegration status* – the individual starts believing in white superiority and seeks to protect his/her privileges, while blaming other non-white groups for their own problems.

4. *Pseudo-independent status* – the individual justifies loyalty and commitment to his/her group.

5. *Immersion/ Emersion status* – the individual tries to gain personal understanding of racism and how it affects him/her.

6. *Autonomy status* – the individual is ready to accept differences and has a willingness to relinquish the privileges of racism, but remains proud of his/her racial identity.

For the white South African, this identity model of Helms (1996:144) has to be reworked, as these stages are challenged by socio-political changes. In the development of an identity, white learners' parental and societal attitudes, play a significant role. There is an increasing awareness of language group identity in younger adolescents. In later adolescence, the influence of parental attitudes is reduced and there is a greater orientation towards the peer group. The adolescent may also form multiple peer group relations as he/she seek ardently for an identity (Ryan, 2000:101).

As the adolescent develops, prejudice also decreases when he/she becomes part of a subculture within other cultural groups in multicultural schools. Allport (1982) calls this reduction of prejudice due to proximity on equal terms; the contact hypothesis theory which is based on equal status and common goals between individuals from different cultures.

Whilst the research of Hyun and Richards (2003:1-2) concurs with the Allportian construct of contact hypothesis, Pellebon (2000:11) argues that the reduction of prejudice through contact is not conclusive. Lee (2002:1) agrees that social integration impacts on students' development, specifically in the form of racial tension within schools.

Molla and Westbrook (2002:1) are of the opinion that the nature of the first encounter will determine whether further contact will be experienced positively or negatively. Ancis, Sedlacek, and Mohr (2000:5) believe that white students are less aware of racial tension than are black students, and that ethnic groups have different perceptions and experiences of these in the cultural climate at institutions (Lee, 2002:5).

With the changes South African society has undergone, white adolescents' identity development may be affected. In addition, the existing identity development models are being challenged. For example white adolescents experience a sense of guilt over their political past of their having been advantaged (Grootboom, 1999:76). Arminio (2001:241) ascribes these feelings of guilt to whites who abandon racist attitudes and behaviours as they move towards an identity that is free from racist attitudes.

Since democratisation, South Africa has changed from a white lead government to a black lead majority government. White adolescents have thus to redefine their place in South African society. How this will impact on their future perceptions, specifically to being in the same schools with other cultural groups, remains unclear.

3.3.4 Multi-racial Identity Development

> *After identifying with Whites for a while, I went through a period of*
> *rejecting the White race and trying to compensate for what I felt was*
> *lacking by totally immersing myself in Black culture (or what I thought*
> *was Black culture). This was no resolution either. Eventually, I came*
> *to accept myself as a product of both races and realised the futility of*
> *trying to fit anyone's expectations of me.*
>
> *(Ponterotto et al., 2006:109)*

This quotation aptly captures the dilemma that individuals with a bi-racial or multiracial identity face. Being multiracial negatively affects normal ethnic socialisation and developmental problems that these adolescents have to face (Shih & Sanchez, 2005:570). Herring (1995:31) contends that these children have additional pressure placed on them when deciding which singular ethnic identity to choose. Multiracial identity also impacts on their self concepts and they generally display behavioural problems (Herring, 1995:31; Shih & Sanchez, 2005:570). These challenges faced by bi-racial youth will ultimately negatively affect their perspectives of a future within a multicultural society.

Thornton and Wason (1995:55) posit that no single identity label can be applied to all multiracial individuals and identified two types of approaches towards understanding multiracial identity: *1. Problem approach*: This approach focuses on the problems and deficits associated with having a multiracial background. These individuals experience problems from both majority and minority individuals in their society. They are literally caught between two worlds. *2. Equivalent approach*: The belief is that bi-racial and mono-racial individuals are equivalent, with identities developing along the same lines (Shih & Sanchez, 2005:571). However, being of mixed descent implies a difference in ethnic identity development. In addition, these individuals also have to self identify with only one of their comparative races. They also have to contend with feelings and experiences of rejection from both these comparative races.

Herring (1995:31) suggests that bi-racial individuals have to successfully complete three fundamental tasks to develop a positive identity: firstly, the integration of dual racial and cultural identities to develop a positive self-concept; secondly, the integration of previous identities and the establishing of positive peer interactions. During this process of establishing positive peer relations (integration of identities of other groups), Coloured youth loses identifiable cultural markers and may experience alienation, of not being with any group, and being given an identity as coloured, thus perpetuating the identity struggle (Scott & Robinson, 2001:417).

The five stage model proposed by Herring (1995:33) of how a bi-racial identity develops operates from a life span focus:

> 1. *Personal Identity* – this identity is primarily based on factors such as self-esteem and feelings of self worth within their primary reference group, especially when they observe outside prejudices and values.

> 2. *Choice Group Categorisation* – youth are pushed to choose an identity of one ethnic group. This choice is influenced by various factors such as status, and social support.

> 3. *Enmeshment/Denial* – confusion and guilt characterise this stage through having to choose one identity that is not fully expressive of one's background. They may also experience feelings of alienation during this phase.

> 4. *Appreciation* – individuals begin to appreciate their multiple identities.

> 5. *Integration* – the experience of wholeness and integration.

The acceptance of Coloured adolescents into the larger fold of being black in South Africa is not without problems. Firstly the Coloured adolescent cannot choose either identity as it is already politically, socially and ancestrally (for some) determined. Secondly, the Coloured group has developed as a separate group because of their skin-tone. Harvey, LaBreach, Pridgen and Gocial (2005:238) see skin-tone as a form of "intra-social stigma", a characteristic "that renders its bearers a spoiled social identity".

Skin-tone among Coloured adolescents therefore has a lot to do with their racial identification and because of this classification, they meet with little acceptance in both groups. Hence being of a lighter skin tone may tend to divide these groups. This is referred to as colorism (Crawford, 2007:1). This marginal acceptance into the larger South African society may impact on how they see themselves in school. Schostak (1991:12) is of the opinion that educators could play a central role in the empowerment of individuals in the development of creative relations with others and in the creation of a common future. Whatever the identity, it cannot be worked through alone (Hook, 2004:3).

How educators guide all learners regardless of racial background will ultimately affect how their futures may come about and how they will be affected by social issues. These social issues may adversely affect their future time perspective.

3.4   Identity Development: Implications for Education

Deliberate intervention by educators and significant others could help guide the adolescent through this critical life phase. The aim of educational intervention is to create a South African identity geared towards a common future. The adolescents' experiences in school will shape their self concepts and future expectations. Seltzer and Waterman (1996:464) argue that "it may well be assumed that parents and teachers influence the process of socialisation and the future orientation of the child on account of their own future orientation". Therefore, what parents and teachers perceive the future to be, will impact on the perceptions of the adolescent about what constitutes that future.

Black learners in multicultural schools find themselves in the dilemma of how to gain respect in a white society without giving up their black identity. They struggle to be accepted and to be respected members of the major culture without facing retribution from those in township schools. The African adolescent also faces adaptation problems when they meet with conflicting norms and values within multicultural schools and the society in general (Esau, 2004:7; Fuchs, 1976:135; Govender, 2007:10; Grootboom, 1999:48; Motshabi, 1995:114).

These norms cause conflict as they are pulled away from parental guidance and have to contend with school culture, teacher expectations and peer attitudes.

However, positive peer relations can be a refuge over time. As the self matures the need for concordance with peers become less (Seltzer & Waterman, 1996:466). The inability of the adolescent to deal with school stressors affects his/her identity development. Societal violence and other stressful events to which adolescents are exposed in society, not only leads to negative consequences in their psycho-social development, but also to their perceptions about the future (Tancred, 2005:3). How societal violence impacts on their perceptions about the future are explored in this thesis.

3.5   Career Identity

Erikson posits that the development of a career identity is a major task during adolescence (Manning, 1988:96; Salkind, 1985:111). Ackerman (1995:138), and Seltzer and Waterman (1996:461) concur that a career identity is a cornerstone in the development of a positive future. The development of a career identity is not a single global undertaking, but rather a series of particular interrelated tasks that range from parental inputs, social expectations, internally driven needs and social changes. In South Africa, the change to democracy transformed the way the Black adolescent sees his future evolving. The career identity of adolescents from different cultures and ethnic groups have been influenced positively by these socio-political changes which include expectations, aspirations and values where the school and parents play a major role (Ackerman & Botha, 1997:180). However, the socio-political situation may also have led to perceived occupational boundaries, specifically those of the White adolescent and to a lesser degree the Coloured adolescent. Gloria and Hird (1999:67) maintain that the "perception of opportunities and workforce diversity issues are influenced by the environmental context in which one's identity is shaped". Ackerman and Botha (1997:180) believe that the obstacles now faced by disadvantaged youth are the absence of career guidance, lower educational standards, and lack of educational facilities in 'African' schools. These factors will negatively affect career identity and restrict future aspirations.

Black adolescents in 'White schools' may have now developed positive identities. It is disconcerting however that the Black adolescent has to establish a career identity without the support of a stable and clear cultural frame of reference (Ackerman, 1990: 284; Botha & Ackerman, 1997:72; Rollins & Valdez, 2006:180).

This frame of reference could be the Black educator in a multicultural school as he/she has not migrated to these schools, whereas Coloured learners are increasingly experiencing a negative career identity, because they find themselves in an increasingly dichotomous socio-cultural position. On the one hand they share the same cultural practices of the dominant white culture but are not regarded as white. On the other hand, they share the same history of being disadvantaged as the African majority, but are not accepted as being black; this phenomenon is referred to as 'ethnic gloss' (Trimble & Dickson, 2006:1).

Prins and Van Niekerk (2001:94) and Slabbert (2001:127) concur that Coloureds have to deal with "marginalisation once more despite the transformation" that has benefited their counterparts. Their position in society remains static with no benefits from affirmative action (DFA, 2006:4; Prins & Van Niekerk, 2001:15) and this negatively influences their future perceptions. This group has, therefore, developed negative self beliefs which are referred to as racial salience. Thus, racial status is perceived as a barrier to career development (Roese, 1997:135) and this ultimately leads to career foreclosure within this group. This in turn, contributes to the perceived limited future time perspectives which are influenced the by the perception about these career barriers (Sanna, Chang & Meier, 2001:1025). This perception also seems to be growing amongst white adolescents.

The Coloured adolescent may be influenced by parental and educator perceptions of society. Van Beest and Baerveldt (1999:195) concur that parental inputs should provide a buffer against the negative consequences of societal perceptions. However, if parents and teachers perceive the future negatively, this negativity will permeate through their psyche and lead to the general problems experienced by multiracial youth, such as gangsterism, drug abuse and other social ills (Herring, 1995:31; Shih & Sanchez, 2005:570).

Dinwiddie & Allen (2003:67) argue that poverty may also play a more significant role than ethnicity or culture in adolescent career goals and in the perceived barriers to these goals. Allen et al. (2002:3) suggests that good quality education places learners in a better position to create an image of what or where they would like to be in the future.

The adolescent's behaviour is further shaped by how education and other experiences have been organised. Takanishi (1999:461) believes that how adolescent experiences are organised in schools and elsewhere, should match their developmental needs. This could be a powerful tool in shaping desirable outcomes for adolescents towards a positive view of the future.

3.6   Future Time Perspectives

The construct of future time perspectives has two elements viz time and future. These two elements will be unpacked separately. Kavanagh (2005) defines *time* as the indefinite continued progress of existence and events in the past, present and future, regarded as a whole. Progress and existence describes human being's progression from a place and time in the present to a place and time in the future and is crucial to all human interactions (Jones, 1988:21; McGrath, 1988:7; TenHouten, 2005:57). All human events occur therefore, in time and space (Geibler, 2002:137; Jones, 1988:21; Nilsen, 1999:175). The individual's perspective of time will be influenced by culture, social background and the environment in which the individual finds him/herself (D'Alessio, Gaurino, De Pascalis & Zimbardo, 2003:334; Flaherty & Fine, 2001:48; Jones, 1988:22; Pouthas, Droit & Jacquet, 1993:199; Jones, 1988:21). Thus time is tied to a person's social environment (culture, socio-economic position and past experiences) which will impact on how man anticipates the future. This environment continually changes and evolves through processes of learning from the past to create a better future. This perception of time is cyclical as time is seen as unfolding in an endless scroll. TenHouten (2005:57) describes the cyclical nature of time as the fusion of past and present.
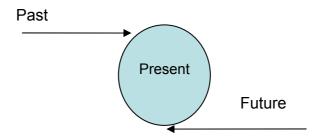
FIGURE 1: Markimono's Time Perception Pattern (TenHouten, 2005:58)

On the other hand, in the linear view of time, the future is fused with the present. This concept of time is socially institutionalised on a global scale according to TenHouten (2005:57). In this thesis, the researcher operates from the perspective that time is both cyclical and linear. The future is seen as being nurtured in the present based on past experiences.

Future refers to a specific moment in time (not yet reached). A decision or thinking about the future may only be made in the present. The length of that future will depend on how the present is perceived as a building block for that future. This research explores how the present experiences of the adolescent impact on his/her orientation towards the future. The experiences of the past will come into play through the perceptions of educators and parents who bring past realities into the present to sketch a future for the adolescent.

Seijts (1998:154) makes a distinction between future orientation and future time perspective, as these constructs are at times used interchangeably. Future orientation is a person's preferred mode of thought and behaviour and highlights objectives not yet in the present (Motshabi, 1995:93). Future orientation include evaluative components which interact: *involvement* – the degree to which the individual focuses on future events; *anticipation* – how well the individual prepares for future events; *occupation* – the amount of time the individual thinks about the future; *speed* – the rate at which an individual perceives the future approaching (Husman & Lens, 1999:116). Future Time Perspective on the other hand, refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of the relationship between large blocks of time and the ability to plan and organise activities beyond the present moment (Trad, 1993:542). Decision-making and planning (the organising for future possibilities) are important skills throughout the lifespan (Trad, 1993:542).

Boshielo (2002:4) describes future time perspective as the individual's vision, aspirations and anticipation about the future. Future time perspective therefore, is the degree to which and the way in which the chronological future is integrated into the present life-space of an individual through motivational goal-setting processes (Husman & Lens, 1999:115). These views illuminate two aspects of future time perspective; firstly, that it is future goals which are integrated into present life spaces and secondly, that future time perspective constitutes hope as a construct on which future aspirations are built into present realities (Otto, 2002:1).

Amidst the complex changes that occur during adolescence, young people are expected to make decisions about commitment to their future. The commitments an adolescent makes, will depend on personality variables which may differ between adolescents (Dapkus, 1984:417).

Thus, an individual with a well-developed future time perspective will also be motivated sufficiently to make that future come about. Stouthard and Peetsma (1999:99) concur that a positive perspective on goals in the future, may lead to a person performing better in order to reach these goals. The individual plans in the present for the anticipated goals which may be temporal or extend beyond the individual's lifetime (Husman & Lens, 1999:120; Lewin, 1942:116; Otto, 2002:1). The individual may, however, misjudge the time in which that future will happen, which is a general problem among adolescents as they often have a problem in anticipating the future, because it takes too long or is too far away (Roy, Christenfeld & McKenzie, 2005:741). Secondly, gender and age are important variables in generating images about the future (Allen & Mitchell, 1998:48; Gjesme, 1983:447; Everingham, 2002:330; Hantrais, 1993:140; Motshabi, 1995:77). Boys have a longer perception of time than girls and the older adolescent has a longer perception of time than the younger adolescent. Thirdly, the social circumstances of the adolescent will influence how he/she sees the future approaching as the future is dependent on how the present is experienced (Otto, 2002:1). The adolescent's cultural background will thus have a huge impact on how anticipated future possibilities are viewed.

Seijts (1998:155) contends that the individual's ability to bring the future into the present will also depend on the individual's planning capacity. Individuals who are unable to plan, often present with psycho-social dysfunction and a lack of motivation to realise future goals. Should such goals not be realised or the anticipated time of completion does not happen as envisaged, the adolescent will experience the future negatively. Lastly, the ability to make that future come about or for future goals to be realised, depends on the how the adolescent thinks about hi/herself and his/her potential in the future.

These possible selves of the adolescent represent the individual's ideas "of what they might become, what they would like to become and what they are afraid of becoming" (Markus & Nurius 1986:954). According to Markus and Nurius (1986:954), the possible selves of individuals are important as they function as motivation for behaviour and they provide an "evaluative and interpretive context for the current view of the self". The individual will thus continually evaluate not only his/her potential to make the future come about, but also society's systems which may allow him/her to realise that future, as there may be cultural and gender imperatives forming a barrier to the possible selves.

Zimbardo and Boyd (1999:271-3) propose five time perspective constructs:

past negative – the individual with negative past experiences will view the future negatively; *present hedonistic* – the immediate gratification of goals; *future* – how the future is unfolding; *past positive* – positive experiences in the past that may yield a positive view of the future; *present fatalistic*- if the present is experienced as negative, the future will hold nothing for him/her. These perceptions of the future are also influenced by the perceptions of parents and educators. Barbarin and Richter (2001:41) state that "enthusiasm (or lack of) about the future is tempered by the realisation that problems of the past will (not) be resolved easily". The future perceptions of the adolescent will thus be changing constantly depending on social-cultural issues, economic issues and also the psychological as the individual develops with time.

3.6.1 Future Time Perspective and Culture

McInerney *et al* (1997:208) and Seltzer and Waterman (1996: 461) among others, explore the nature of goals held by different cultural groups, as well as the impact that achievement and motivation have on the goals held by these groups. Western culture is said to be competitive, seeking power to control and of individual success (McInerney *et al.*, 1997; Fuchs, 1976:67) whereas, non-western cultures are strongly present and past oriented and seek commitment to family, community and culture; the needs of the community being considered as more important than individual needs (Athawale, 2004:8; Mwamwenda, 1999:1; Silvestri & Richardson, 2001:69).

Differences in time perspective among the cultural groups may also be traced to differences in socio-political status (Athawale, 2004:8). Dodds and Chong-de (1992:486) found in their research about Chinese teenagers' concern about the future, that the adolescent's future concerns can be a good index of a country's current social, political and economic problems.

The image of the future reveals the cultural dynamics in which the adolescent operates (Motshabi, 1995:40; Tate, 1997:199; Yosso, 2005:77). The cultural group to which the adolescent belongs has a major influence on how the individual perceives his/her life chances to be. Allen and Mitchell (1998:48) argue that "conflict may arise to the disparity between the disadvantaged adolescent's aspirations and expectations". However, the maintenance of high aspirations in the face of a discouraging present reality may also be related to other factors such as hope and self esteem, achievement and motivation. Dawes and Finchilescu (2002:161) for example, report fear and anger to be prevalent among White, Coloured and Indian groups, thus presenting a negative perception of the future. Grootboom's (1999:176) findings concur that white adolescents see the future as "catastrophic" and "everything (is) going down the drain."

McInerney et al. (1997:225) argue that all groups express a strong sense of hope in the purpose of schooling. However, the present school system does not recognise the knowledge that learners from disadvantaged backgrounds possess. Yosso (2005:76) calls this knowledge 'cultural capital'. This concept differs from the Bourdiean (2005:76) concept of cultural capital which refers to economic advantages such as financial resources and a history of schooling. The advantage of schooling is that it brings past, present and future together. An appropriate futures education therefore, would facilitate the adolescent's development of future time perspective (Motshabi, 1995:5). The school should assist the adolescent to gain a perspective of changes in society and guide the adolescent to an anticipated future which should be substantiated with intentions and plans within the education system.

3.6.2 Future Time Perspectives and Goals

The setting of goals is an attempt by the individual to plan in order to achieve some future or long-term outcome (Jones, 1988:23; White, 2002:285). Goal-setting is thus a cognitive and behavioural process which starts during adolescence and it is during this period that the adolescent attempts to plan and organise his/her activities, in order to achieve some long-term outcome in the future (Kidman, 2003:1; Jones, 1988:23; Lang & Carstensen, 2002:131; White, 2002:285). Havighurst (1976:167) states that attitudes towards the future are important aspects in the lives of adolescents. Whilst working towards the kind of person he/she would like to be, the adolescent is also looking towards the kind of life he/she would like to live. The choices that are made during adolescence will ultimately affect his/her future. Athawale (2004:6) concurs that the study of time perspective is especially relevant to adolescent development in respect of goals, which can be intrinsic, as well as extrinsic (Husman & Lens, 1999:122). Allen & Mitchell, (1998:45) maintain that teacher expectations may propel or derail positive goal trajectories of adolescents. A major concern is how to align and promote the goals of the different groups within a unitary education system within educational institutions.

3.6.3 Future Time Perspective and Motivation

Pintrich and Schunk (2002:198) assert that there are levels of commonality between motivation and future time perspective. Motivation and goal-directed action are closely linked and an integral part of future time perspective and that action towards future goals which result from the present, can be met. The rewards which motivate action towards the future can be internal or external (Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2002:234), and may also impact positively or negatively on the future time perspective of adolescents (Becker & Luthar, 2002: 197). Research is replete with evidence that individuals with higher future orientation exhibit higher levels of achievement motivation. Moreover, students who are orientated towards the future, perceive schooling to be instrumental in reaching these goals (Brown & Jones, 2004:251; Jones, 1988:22). Although the role of the school and the educators, in the process of motivation and achievement has been researched extensively, the same cannot be said about the role of the educators in the learners' perception and processing of time.

3.6.4 Future Time Perspective and Locus of Control

Bee and Boyd (2003:319) define locus of control as a "set of beliefs about the causes of events". Locus of control is also referred to as a dispositional variable which refers to the tendency of perceiving events as being a consequence of own or outside factors. The level of responsibility an individual thus takes to events in his/her life, determines his/her locus of control (Karatzias, Power, Flemming Lennan & Swanson, 2002:37).

The adolescent with an external locus of control will depend heavily on those around him/her. These goals are extrinsic and immediate. Success or failure at school may be attributed to the locus of control issues. The adolescent with an external locus of control will procrastinate and look for the immediate gratification of his/her needs. Should they encounter adverse conditions, it is never his/her fault. The individual with an internal locus of control looks towards him/herself if he/she is unable to perform certain tasks or reach set goals.

The adolescent with an internal locus of control, will delay gratification and focus on his/her ultimate goal, despite adverse conditions in the environment. As the adolescent becomes older, he/she starts to take more responsibility for his/her actions. Adolescents with an internal locus of control believe that they can assert significant control over their fate and determine what they would like to be in time. Furthermore, Donald *et al.* (2002:148) and Karatzias, *et al.* (2002:37), believe that a strong internal locus of control is linked to the presence of a strong future perception, higher life satisfaction and the belief that anticipated future goals can be met.

Trad (1993:547) states that interpersonal relationships and the taking of responsibility are significant factors in the lives of adolescents. However, both internal and external factors have an influence on the adolescent's ability to orientate themselves towards the future and the envisioning of adaptive outcomes within the school (Trad, 1993:550). If disadvantaged youth in school settings meet with negative expectations they may become demotivated and will not see themselves as being able to attain any future (Turner, Husman & Schallert, 2002:82).

3.6.5 Future Time Perspective and Parents

Gjesme (1983:452) posits that future time perspective is a cognitive structure, rather than a stable disposition because it gradually develops with age and parental involvement or lack thereof. As the adolescent matures, he/she gradually develops from goals that focus on immediate gratification to goals that are set in the future. The adolescent may have multiple goals which may come both from within and from without. However these goals might vary from pleasing parents, to the peer group, or to preserving his/her own identity (McInerney *et al.*, 1997:208).   Charles, Dinwiddie and Massey (2004:1) find that family stress and stressful life events negatively impact on learners' performance and ultimately on how they will perform in the future.

Additionally, Levine (1988:43) states that parents who live in rural surroundings compared to urban settings, may not always be able to project possible futures for children as the life pace in these communities is much slower and there seems to be a lack of urgency towards goal attainment. Secondly, when children are exposed to fewer social issues and future possibilities, they may not pay attention to those issues and also have limited aspirations. Thus, when children are not aware of possibilities or impediments within society, they may not pay attention to such (Dodds & Chong-de, 1992:485).

3.6   Summary

Adolescence is generally recognised as a time of change as the young person develops from childhood to adulthood. It is during this time that the adolescent develops an identity that fits his/her culture. This identity develops differently for the different cultural groups and the factors that impact on the formation of an identity are racism, society, the school, teachers, parents and peers. These factors impact differently on each group.   Other variables that impact on the adolescent's perception of the future are his/her culture, age and gender, and personality variables such as locus of control, behaviour and goals.

The following chapter will focus on the research methodologies employed to determine what factors may impact on the future time perspective of adolescents.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1   Introduction

This research investigated Future Time Perspectives (FTP) of adolescents cross-culturally from schools in the Northern Cape South Africa.

> *Research Question 1*: How do South African adolescents view
>   their future ?
> *Research Question 2*: Does Future Time Perspective vary cross-
>   culturally?
> *Research Question 3*: What are the factors that impact on these
>   Perspectives?

4.2   Research Design

The research design follows a quantitative and qualitative approach. For the quantitative data, two instruments were used: The Repertory Grid (*Appendix A)* which included the background measure, and The Future Time Perspective Measure (*Appendix A).* The qualitative measure was a self designed open-ended questionnaire (*Appendix B*).

4.3   Procedures

4.3.1 Permission to Conduct Research

The permission for the research was granted by the Northern Cape Department of Education. In agreement with school principals, access to ten (10) schools was gained.

The following standardised procedures were followed to obtain permission to conduct the research in Northern Cape Schools: A formal letter seeking approval to conduct the research was presented to the Head of Education. The signed approval was forwarded to the schools that were selected for the research.

The formal letter of approval was forwarded to the selected schools. The principals were contacted personally to inquire about the availability of time on their schedule to allow for the research to be conducted.

Grade 11 learners in the selected schools were identified for the research. The learners in the selected schools were informed about the research project and they voluntarily agreed to participate.

4.3.2   Sampling Procedures

At the time of conducting the research, there were 400 schools in the Northern Cape. The Northern Cape is the largest geographical area in South Africa with great distances between schools with the schools cross-culturally divided into four geographical districts, namely Namaqua, Siyanda, Pixley kaSema and Frances Baard. The distances between schools in the rural areas, as well as the learner composition, affected the sampling procedures. These demographics informed the sampling procedures (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006; Fowler, 2002:11; McTavish & Loether, 2002:115). Coloured learners constituted the majority of the learners.

(**Note**: *The distinction of White, Coloured and African schools is made purely to signify the majority learner population of the school. These racial divisions are theoretically non-existent.*)

A Sample of 395 learners was drawn from the Grade 11 classes in three of the four districts. The sample was drawn from ten schools across these three districts:

Namaqua District: This rural district has mostly 'Coloured' and 'White' schools. Two schools, one 'White' and one 'Coloured' were selected. In the 'Coloured' school which had five Grade 11 classes, one class was randomly selected. The 'White school' had only one Grade 11 class. This class had an equal distribution of Coloured and White learners. The whole class was drawn into the sample.

Siyanda District: Three schools were selected from this rural district, one 'Coloured' and two 'White' schools were selected. The Coloured school had seven Grade 11 classes and one class (strata) with a mixed racial composition was randomly selected. In the two 'White' schools there was a richer racial diversity which included White, African and Coloured learners. Each of these schools had two Grade 11 classes which were both drawn into the sample.

Frances Baard District: This urban district is by far the largest district with the majority of African learners and schools. Four schools, two African and two Coloured were randomly selected. The two African schools each had ten Grade 11 classes, from which two classes from each school were randomly selected. From the two Coloured schools selected: one school had an equal distribution of African and Coloured learners. The other school had mostly Coloured learners. The white schools in this district chose not to participate, while others were busy with mid-term examinations.

4.3.3 Administration Procedure

The researcher worked closely with the teachers to schedule a time when the questionnaire could be administered and to collect class lists a day before the administration.

The researcher was the collector of data. The researcher read students a briefing statement before the administration the questionnaires. Learners were given an opportunity to ask questions prior to the administration (see briefing statement). All learners were informed that their participation was completely voluntary and independent of their school report.

The quantitative survey was administered in two parts:

Part 1: The students were instructed to complete Section 1 which included the *Demographic data* and *The Repertory Grid* measure. Each survey item was read out aloud to students in order to ensure that the items and instructions remained clear. This part of the survey took 35 minutes to complete.

Part 2: *The Future Time Perspective* measure took 20 minutes to complete. After completion of the measures, the students were requested to go through the questions again to ensure that all items were responded to.

The Qualitative measure consisted of an *Open-ended questionnaire schedule.* This measure was presented to a random sample of 10% after the learners had completed the quantitative survey (44 learners from different schools). After the completion of the measures, all the learners were debriefed. The debriefing was necessary as learners had to answer questions that may have challenged their racial preferences. As learners do not normally think about racial issues, the questionnaires may have generated feelings about their group and that they had been put "on the spot" in this regard. The learners were thanked for their participation and ensured of confidentiality (see Debriefing Statement).

4.4   Measures Used in the Research

4.4.1 Background Measure (see *Appendix A)*

Personal information such as age, sex, race, type of school, parental education, urban or rural background and home language were measured. Participants, for example, had to check the highest educational level of their parents. For each educational achievement a parent had obtained, values of 1 to 5 were assigned respectively to: primary education, some high school, high school completion, college diploma and completed bachelor's degree, which would be assigned a value of 5.

4.4.2 The Repertory Grid Measure (see Appendix A)

The Repertory Grid was constructed to measure in-group and out-group attitudes. The grid consists of six subscales, and is as follows:

1.   *Group Preference Index (GPI)*: The 8-item measure was designed to assess students' perception of the degree to which they preferred their own racial/ethnic group as compared to other ethnic/racial groups (Dawes & Finchilescu, 2002:155). Students ranked their responses to statements such as "The person I would like to live next door to" from 1 (most favoured) to 4 (least favoured).

2.   *Perspectives on Racism*: The 20-item measure was designed to assess students' perceptions of their groups' social status. Students ranked their responses on a 7-point Likert-type scale to statements such as "If all races mixed freely they would certainly live in peace" by marking 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

3.   Group Identity and Personal Identity: The measure was designed to assess identity, or feelings of belonging and pride and a secure sense of membership. The measure comprises two sections: ethnic identity and belonging. For this part, 20 social identities such as "White", "Jewish", "English", "African" and "Black" were listed. Students marked all the identities they related to. The second section, personal identity, required students to rank personal identities in order of importance from 1 (most important) to 5 (least important). If being South African was more important than being English, then they would write South African in slot number "1" and English in slot number "2".

4   *Present and Future Perspective Index*: The 9-item measure was designed to assess students' perspectives of the present and the future. Students rated their responses on a 7-point Likert-type scale to statements such as "Do you agree that South Africa is a very violent country?" from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

5.   *Social Consciousness Scale:* The measure was designed to assess social consciousness. The measure comprises two sections. The first section lists fifteen organisations such as "Churches", "Taxis", and "Unions" purported to be responsible for the violence in South Africa. The students mark as many organisations as they think to be responsible.   The second section required students to respond to suggested solutions such as "Reintroduce race segregation" on a 7-point Likert-type scale from 1 (not important) to 7 (very important).

4.4.3 Future Time Perspective Measure (see Appendix A)

The Future Time perspective questionnaire contains 48 items, 6 items for every subscale.   Responses were given on a 5-point scale indicating the degree of appropriateness from 5 (this always applies to me) to 1 (does not apply to me at all). Per subscale, responses sum up to a subscale score ranging from 6 to 30, with negatively directed items recoded, so that a high score indicates a positive perspective. Students were asked to rate their feelings to a statement like, "In my present life other people are of little importance to me" by circling what was applicable to them.

The psychometric properties of the different subscales in this measure are given. *Short term time perspective*: Short term perspective refers to immediate goals set by the individual.   The Cronbach's of each subscale is given: University and professional career (α .83), social relationships (α .76), personal development (α .71), leisure activities (α .86). *Extended time perspective:* Extended time refers to the individual's perspective on time that may be bound to a career in the future, or that may stretch beyond the individual's lifetime. The domains are, university and professional career (α .71), social relationships (α .76), personal development (α .81), leisure activities (α .85) (Stouthard & Peetsma, 1999:102). The reliability, both in terms of internal consistency (Cronbach's α between .69 and .86) and stability over time (Pearson product moment correlations of test-retest between .46 and .60, period: one year), were adequate (Stouthard & Peetsma, 1999:100).

4.4.3 Qualitative Measure (see Appendix B)

Qualitative research implies that the emphasis is on process and meanings that are not rigorously measured and seeks answers to questions that emphasise how social experiences are created and given meaning (Carney, Joiner and Tragou, 1997; Henning, 2005: 67; Miles & Huberman, 1984:59).

By employing this research method the present researcher will look for ways in which the adolescents from the different groups express their perceptions which may not be evident from the quantitative measure. The important value of this method is that research is undertaken in a natural setting – the classroom - from which the researcher will gather perspectives from the learners – in this case, the future time perspectives - and then inductively focus on the meaning that the learners may ascribe to their perception of the future (Babbie, 2004:159; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998:38; Cresswell, 1998:14; Mertens, 1998:3; May, 1993:65).

In the present research, the focus is on the opinion of the respondents and their reporting on their perception of how they perceive their futures to be. These opinions are formed against their perception of their present situation which may be the mono-cultural or the multicultural school. The perspectives of learners will also allow the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of how the learners perceive society and how their social surroundings influence them in terms of their futures.

For this part of the research, the present researcher designed a structured open-ended questionnaire (see Appendix B) which was randomly administered to 10% of the group which completed the quantitative measures.

The questionnaire schedule consisted of 5 items which was designed with the aim of gaining a deeper understanding of learners' perceptions. The learners responded to questions such as: 'How do you see the future?'; 'What are the things that you worry about in your school, your community and your country?'; 'What are your parents' views about the future?' and 'What are your educators' views about the future?', by writing in the spaces provided. The responses to this schedule were content analysed using the Atlas.ti Version 5 coding system (Brewer & Hunter, 1989:103).

4.5   Conclusion

The research was conducted using learners in secondary schools in the Northern Cape. The school setting is a natural setting for the learners in which they feel comfortable. A mixed method approach was employed to conduct the research. This research design will allow for both statistical and interpretive analysis.

The next chapter focuses on the conducting of the research, the findings and the interpretation of the findings.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

"If a man does not keep pace with his companions

perhaps he hears a different drummer."

(Levine, 1988:30)

5.1   Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study was to determine the future time perspectives of adolescents cross-culturally.   The research questions were aimed at eliciting answers (i) to determine how South African adolescents see their future and why? (ii) to determine whether there are any cross-cultural differences? and (iii) to see what the factors were that impacted on these perspectives.

In addition to these overarching goals, the aims were also to contribute to the limited literature in South Africa on the topic of time perspective cross-culturally, and to gain perspectives on adolescents' self identification after the process of rapid political transformation.   It is also noteworthy to see how the interactional patterns of adolescents (inter-group relations) unfold within the school setting, helping to illuminate how broader society operates.   What happens in school is usually an indication of what happens in society.   Thus, the perspectives of adolescents within the school may provide the researcher with these answers.

5.2   Background

The data were collected from both urban and rural schools. The schools consisted of a diverse learner population. The drawn sample was representative of both the number of learners in the province and the population distribution of the province.

In this section, the demographic data of learners are presented graphically with pie charts. Firstly, background information is given and the relevance of this information will be summarised. Secondly, the three research questions will be addressed.

5.2.1 Learner Distribution

The sample size was 395 learners. This sample constituted White, African and Coloured learners. The African learners did not present a homogenous group and was made up of Xhosa, Setswana and other learners who's language percentage was not significant.

The majority population of the Northern Cape is Coloured (over 50%). Africans form the second largest group in this province. Since the start of the research, areas of the North West province have been incorporated into the Northern Cape (Kgalagadi Region). The changed demographics are not presented in this thesis.

Table 1: Learner Distribution

The learner sample was representative of the population distribution of the Northern Cape. Coloured learners (54%) were the largest group, followed by African (28%) and White learners (18%).

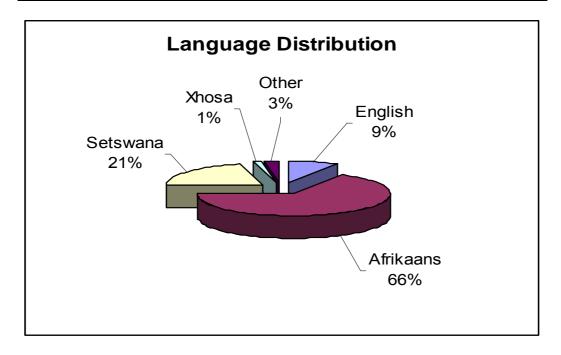| Cultural Group	%
1 Coloured	54
2 African	28
3 White	18
Total	**100**

Learner Distribution

18%

28%

54%

□ 1 Coloured
■ 2 African
□ 3 White

5.2.2 Language Distribution

Afrikaans is the majority language spoken by the participants (66.6%), followed by Setswana (20.8%). Although English is the third major language spoken in the Northern Cape, most schools have English classes to cater for the needs of the African learners. Xhosa is the other language of instruction in a number of schools across the province.

Table 2: Language Distribution

Category	Frequency	%
English	34	8.6
Afrikaans	263	66.6
Setswana	82	20.8
Xhosa	5	1.3
Other	11	2.7
Total	**395**	**100.0**

Language Distribution

Xhosa 1%
Other 3%
English 9%
Setswana 21%
Afrikaans 66%

5.2.3   Gender Distribution

Female learners constitute more than half of the learner population in the province. This is also reflected in the gender distribution of the sample. The female learner constituted 54.2% of the sample with males totaling only 45.6%.   The gender distribution of the population is reflective of the gender population for all the schools in the province.

Table 3: Gender Distribution

Category	Frequency	%
Male	181	46
Female	214	54
Total	**395**	**100.0**

5.2.4 Age Distribution

The highest number of students fell in the age range of 16 – 17 years (66.6%). There was also a high concentration of learners in the higher age range of 18 – 20 years (29.1%), with some learners being older than twenty years (4.1%).

Table 4: Age Distribution

20 yrs	4.1
18 – 20	29.1
16 – 17	66.6
14 – 15	.3

5.2.5 Parent Education

This study used the parents' educational background as a socio-economic indicator. More than thirty-five percent of the parents' level of education was clustered around having completed either Std 9 or Std 10. A substantial number indicated their parents' educational level (33%) as being post-matric.

Table 5: Parent Education

Category	Percent
Degree	17
College Dip.	16.7
St 9 – 10	35.7
St 7 – 8	20.0
St 6	10.6

Parent Education

5.2.6 Urban/Rural Distribution

Schools were selected from both urban and rural environments. More than 70% of adolescents measured came from an urban setting.

Table 6: Urban/Rural Distribution

Category	Frequency	%
Urban School	117	29.6
Rural School	278	70.4
Total	**395**	**100.0**

5.2.7 Place of residence

Most of the students drawn for the sample were from rural towns (52.7%). A high number was also found in suburbia (41.8%), with only a limited number living on farms.

Table 7: Place of Residence

Category	Frequency	Percent
Town	208	52.7
Suburb	165	41.8
Farm	21	5.3

5.2.8 The relevance of Demographic data

A number of variables have an influence on Future Time Perspectives. These variables are predetermined categories such as race, gender and age. Other variables that may come into play in this study are urban, rural environments, and parent educational background.

Table 1: Learner distribution: the majority of learners in this study were Coloured (54%), followed by African (28%) and White (18%) learners. These data will provide a perspective, showing differences in these views which will allow for the generalisation of findings within the broader learner population of the Northern Cape.

Table 2: Language Distribution: the majority of learners in the Northern Cape are conversant in Afrikaans (66.6%). The second largest language group in this province is Setswana (20%) followed by English (8.6%). The questionnaires were administered in English to allow for inclusiveness of all groups as these groups preferred English.

Table 3: Gender Distribution: Research in this area has indicated that there are gender differences in time perspectives. Boys have been found to have a more extended time perspective than girls (cf. p52, par. 3). Other studies have found the opposite, which indicate that gender differences in time perspectives are not conclusive. Although this study did not have gender differences in mind, these differences are noted.

Table 4: Age Distribution: In most studies concerning time perspective, age seems to play a significant role (cf. p52, par. 3). The older adolescent has a more extended time perspective, focusing on distal goals rather than on proximal goals. In order to eliminate the variable of age, this thesis chose one particular group falling within the same age range (16 – 17yrs). This age range represented 66.6% of the respondents. The older adolescent, represented by the age group 18 – 20 years (29.1%) is able to plan or start thinking about the future more constructively than the younger adolescent. This variable has however, not been explored fully in this study.

Table 5: Parent education: This study uses parental education as a socio-economic indicator. The educational backgrounds of the parents will therefore be a good indication of the adolescents' future perceptions in the form of heightened expectations for themselves. However, despite the relatively low educational level of parents (35% having an education of between Standards 9 – 10 and 30% with an education lower than Standard 8), parents from disadvantaged communities continue to have high expectations for their children. Conversely, it is the children themselves that may limit themselves to what they can become when evaluated against their parents' educational attainment.

Table 6: Urban/ Rural Distribution: the majority of the learners came from urban schools (70.4%). The urban setting has an impact on people's perception of time. Firstly, the tempo of life in rural areas is much slower which suggests that there is a perception that there is always time to attain your goals. Secondly, children in rural communities may not have an expanded vision of future possibilities because what they see is suggestive of limited opportunities. Thirdly, due to a slower life pace and limited opportunities in this environment, these adolescents may procrastinate as there always seems to be 'enough time' to finish tasks and therefore also enough time to pursue life goals. Conversely, in the suburban areas there seems to be a time urgency to reach personal goals (cf. p58, par. 1) and move quickly towards goal attainment. The student in these settings will therefore have a greater urgency in attaining life goals than the adolescent in the rural setting. Urban adolescents are also exposed to greater future possibilities, and will be more motivated to pursue and focus on the attainment of life goals and will also have at their disposal the means to achieve these goals as rapidly as possible.

Conversely, being in a rural setting also presents the possibility that most parents work outside the town where the children are at school. Parents are thus absent due to work commitments and may therefore not have regular interaction with their children in respect of motivating them for future possibilities. This will have an impact on how they are influenced by their social surroundings.

The following section focuses on adolescent self identification. This is important for this research because the way adolescents perceive themselves paves the way for the perception of the possibility that an envisaged future can be realised.

5.3   HOW DO ADOLESCENTS SELF IDENTIFY?

Given the types of schools, mono-cultural and multi-cultural, one of the key aspects in this research is to ascertain how the school context shapes the time perspectives of adolescents.   The self perceptions of adolescents within this context may illustrate how these adolescents see themselves within broader society. Additionally, within this context, multicultural school racism was identified as prevalent (cf. p22, par. 1).   The researcher endeavoured to ascertain how these adolescents self identify as there is a paucity of such research after the rapid socio-political transition.   How adolescents self identify is important as adolescent self identities offer perspectives on psycho-social issues pertaining to racial polarisation and how adolescents integrate in the school system and to what extent racial polarisation has an influence on these identities.   A crucial question that will therefore receive attention, is how South African adolescents self identify after such rapid socio-political transformation.

The opening up of society opened schools and opportunities for all young people. These opportunities can only be realised against the backdrop of how they see themselves as people; how they see themselves fitting into the new society and how they perceive their possible selves being realised within this society. The realisation of possible selves will be pursued within their own groups and groups different from themselves within the same societal contexts.
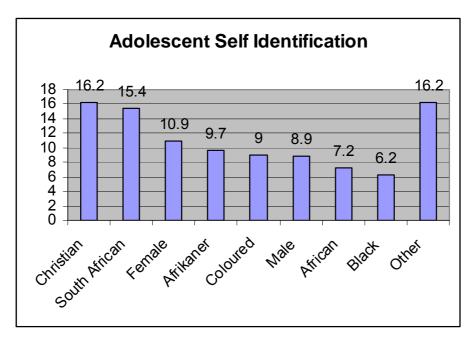
Bar charts will be used to demonstrate the findings graphically.

5.3.1 Adolescent Self Identification

Each of us has a number of identities. They are part of how we describe ourselves. Table 21 below represents the main categories of how SA adolescents currently identify themselves. Only percentages higher than 6% are plotted.

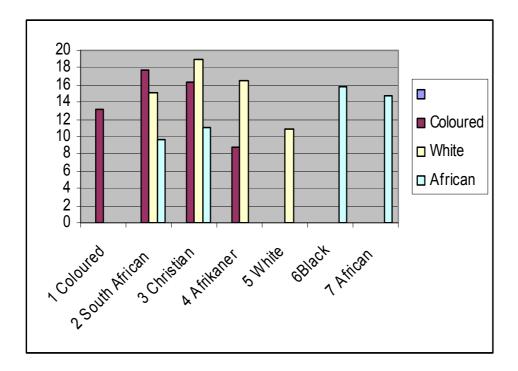**Table 8: Adolescent Self Identification**

Christian	**16.2**
South African	**15.4**
Female	**10.9**
Afrikaner	**9.7**
Coloured	**9**
Male	**8.9**
African	**7.2**
Black	**6.2**
Other	**16.2**

The above (Table 8) shows that a common South African identity seems to be developing among the youth. The adolescents first see themselves as Christians (16.2%) and then as South Africans (15.4%), followed by their cultural identity. Being Black or African does not feature high on the list of identities. This may be because Africans are not a homogenous group. Coloured (9%) adolescents, on the other hand, seem to have a stronger sense of identity as a distinct group. When the self identities are analysed by group, a different pattern emerges.

Table 9: Self Identities by Group

All three groups indicated a South African identity and identified with the Christian religion. They show further a different identity pattern (as expected).

5.3.2 Discussion of Adolescent Self Identification

The data indicate that the White and Coloured groups share similar identities, placing their identity of South African and Christian higher than their cultural identity. The difference in their shared identities is that of being either Coloured or White. The Coloured adolescents' indicating an identity of being Afrikaners could be a direct translation of being African. This perception was evident in the qualitative analysis where some students indicated that they were "all from Africa", thus seeing themselves as Afrikaners (in this case also Africans).

The African students showed a different identification. These adolescents perceived their cultural identities of being Black and African, much higher than being a South African or Christian. This is cause for concern as the country strives to build a common South African identity of which everyone can be proud.

Time perspectives of adolescents are subject to their possible selves that result from how they self identify. The possible selves represent the adolescents' ideas of what they might become and what they would like to become. This type of self knowledge is indicative of how adolescents think about their potential and about their future. In addition, the possible selves come from the categories made salient by the individual's particular macro socio-cultural context and from the models provided by the media and the adolescent's immediate social, cultural and environmental experiences.

Moving from these broad contexts to a micro context, in which the adolescent derives meaning, consist of the school, teachers, peers, parents and his/her social environment. The socio-cultural (including political) changes that South Africa has experienced, and the changed context of schooling, are the major agents against which the possible selves of adolescents are constructed and measured. The researcher is of the opinion that the heightened sense of group identity among Coloured learners could be attributed to their not being able to choose any specific identity other than Coloured, like the Whites being Jewish or English and the Africans being Zulu or Xhosa. These choices have been made for them politically, socially and by ancestry (cf. p.34, par. 3).

The self identification of adolescents is important if we are to engage purposefully in creating a common future for all within the school system and in creating a distinct South African identity. Additionally, how adolescents identify themselves, influences the way they see themselves in relation to other groups: how they relate to others and how they find areas of commonality with other groups or to what extent they distance themselves from other races. An analysis of these identifications modes helps us to understand why they distance themselves and why they hold certain perceptions.
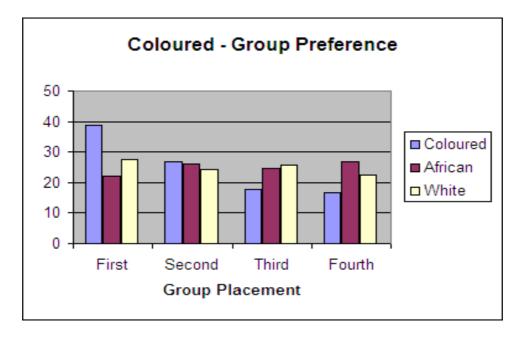
5.3.3 Group Preference Index (GPI)

The GPI measured the level of intergroup relations and how the groups distance themselves or seek others' company within the school setting. This index is, in essence, a racism scale indicating to what extent a group prefers its own and rejects another group. This measure also reflects a racially homogenous bias. This means that this measure indicates the probability that individuals will select members of the same racial group to be strong among adolescents.

Table 10: GPI – Coloureds – Group Preference

The table below shows the Coloured adolescent's racial preference. The table indicates firstly the percentage of adolescents placing their group first, second, third and fourth. The table also indicates the percentage that placed Africans first and then Whites first, second, third and fourth – in that order.
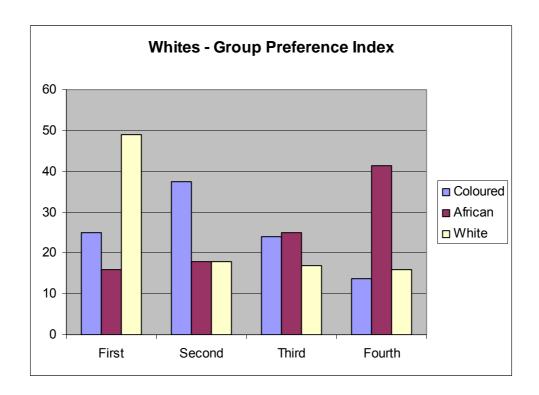
Category Coloureds	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Coloured	38.7	26.8	17.6	16.8
African	22.2	26.2	24.8	26.8
White	27.4	24.3	25.8	22.5

The percentage of Coloured learners (38%) who showed own group preference was high. This group also showed a relatively strong preference for association with Whites, placing them as a first group of preference above Africans. As expected, preference for their own group was clustered around the first two preference places (26.8%). Preference for the other two groups was clustered within the last two groups in their order of preference. Own group rejection was low at 16.8%.
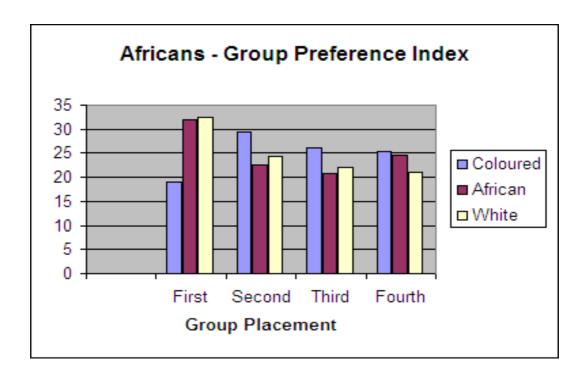
Table 11: GPI Whites – Groups Preference Index

Category Whites	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Coloured	25.1	37.4	23.9	13.6
African	15.9	17.9	24.9	41.3
White	49.1	18	17	15.9

White learners displayed a very high preference for their own group (49%). The second group that was preferred was the Coloured group, by more than 20%. The second ranking (37%) placed the Coloured on top in the order of preference – higher than their own group (18%). The least preferred group was the African students. Own group rejection was very low (13.6%). The African group was ranked as the lowest preferred group (a high 4th place ranking of 41%).

Table 12: GPI - Africans – Group Preference Index

Category Africans	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Coloured	19.1	29.5	26	25.3
African	31.9	22.6	20.8	24.7
White	32.4	24.3	22.1	21.1

The African group showed a higher preference for Whites (32.4%) than a preference for their own group (31.9%). The second and third preferred group of choice was the Coloured group (29.5%) and (26%), respectively. This was higher than the preference they had for their own group and the White group. Own group rejection was very high (24.7%).

5.3.4 Discussion of GPI

The findings of the GPI has a lot to do with intergroup relations and the way groups structure themselves within the multicultural school setting. A key element in the facilitation of intergroup contact is not only equal status and the pursuance of common goals, but that such contact should be supported by the educational authorities (cf. p.2, par. 1).

The high own group preference of Coloured and White adolescents is not surprising. Racial homogeneity seemed to be high among these two groups. Given the socio-political reality, these results are not surprising. It is interesting to see how these findings are entrenched in factors that impede the time perspectives of these learners.

The surprising find, is the high own group rejection (negative homogenous bias) in the African group. Own group rejection is contrary to the significant socio-political changes. One would expect that preference for the own group, specifically among African learners, to be high.

Racial polarisation was found to be present between all groups. Although such contact may be supported by the Education Department, schools were currently not actively engaging in or promoting race relations within or outside of the curriculum. For educators it seems to be about teaching with little or no concern for engaging in race or socio-political debates.

Reasons for this inability to exploit the curriculum in promoting race relations, is that the educators have not been trained in diversity and school principals seem to sidestep the promotion of race debates in school in the belief that should they talk about race in schools, they could be promoting racism or stirring up racist attitudes (which may be lying dormant and could erupt at any given time at the slightest provocation).

Having explored the demographic data and how adolescents identify themselves, the following section focuses on the research questions which have been forwarded. Each will be discussed separately: first the findings and then the discussion. Although the questions are addressed separately, the whole is bigger than the sum of its parts.

5.4 FINDINGS AND THE DISCUSSION OF RESULTS ACCORDING TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research follows a mixed method approach which integrates the qualitative and quantitative data. Both data sets will thus be presented concurrently. The source of data in the quantitative study came from a schedule of measures: The Future Time Perspective (FTP) measure and The Repertory Grid (RG) measure (cf. p.63 - 4). The source of the qualitative data set was the structured open-ended questionnaire. The responses of the learners were content analysed using the Atlas.ti V5 system for qualitative data analysis.

The findings of both the quantitative and qualitative data sets will be addressed as they pertain to the research questions. The findings of the FTP questionnaire will be addressed first, followed by the RG (selected sections). The qualitative responses will follow in order to augment and give deeper meaning to the numeric data. Two types of presentations will be used to illustrate the findings; *viz* for the quantitative findings bar charts will be employed and for the qualitative findings, the researcher will plot the frequencies on a table. A brief conclusion will follow on these findings.
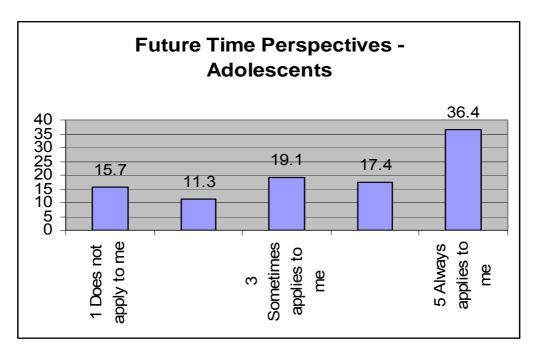
5.4.1 HOW DO ADOLESCENTS PERCEIVE THEIR FUTURES?

A number of studies have argued that the experience of time is an entirely human construct (cf. p50, par. 3) and that time perspectives vary between individuals and between cultures (cf. p50, par. 3). In South Africa this construct has commanded limited research. Such research may be valuable after the political transformation which changed the social, economic, educational and personal landscapes for all South Africans.

5.4.1.1 Future Time Perspective measure:

Table 13:   Future Time Perspectives - Adolescents

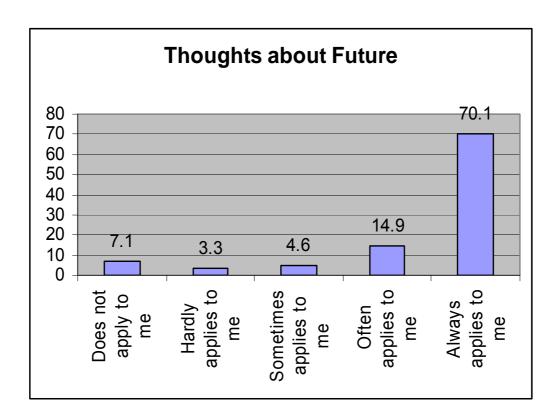| 1 Does not apply to me	15.7
2 Hardly applies to me	11.3
3 Sometimes applies to me	19.1
4 Often applies to me	17.4
5 Always applies to me	36.4

The above results (Table 13) of the FTP questionnaire show that the respondents had an overall positive future perspective. More than a quarter of the students (27%) were negative compared to the 52% who were positive about future outcomes. A large number of students seem to be indifferent about the future (19%) or have not thought much about their futures.

The answers to specific questions (the same measure) regarding their thoughts about the future yielded a different pattern. In response to question 6 – *I like to think about my future career or studies*, the following was found:
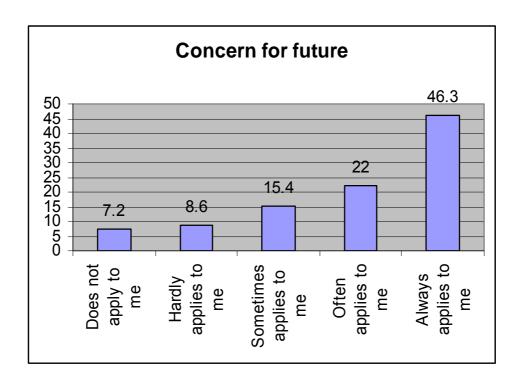
Table 14: Thoughts about the future

Categories	Percent
Does not apply to me	7.1
Hardly applies to me	3.3
Sometimes applies to me	4.6
Often applies to me	14.9
Always applies to me	70.1

The above (Table 14) shows that adolescents do reflect on their futures. More than 85% indicated that they liked to think about their future career or studies. A similar question, worded differently also yielded a congruent response (Question 44: *I am a bit concerned about my future life).*

Table 15: Concern for future

Category	Percent
Does not apply to me	7.2
Hardly applies to me	8.6
Sometimes applies to me	15.4
Often applies to me	22.0
Always applies to me	46.3

Concern for future

A concern for the future (66.3%) – *Often* and *Always applies to me* - is indicative that adolescents seriously consider what the future holds for them.
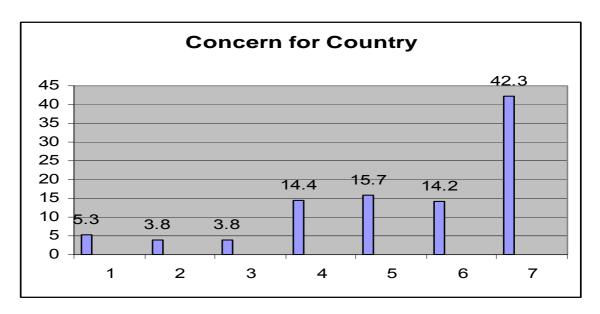
5.4.1.2   The Repertory Grid (RG)

Items in the RG focused on thoughts and feelings on a number of aspects about the future. Section 5 (Social Consciousness Scale) of the Repertory Grid included questions which referred to students' present as well as future perceptions. How students perceive their present circumstances is an indication of how they perceive their futures to unfold.

Table 16: Feelings about the future of the country

The students had to respond on a 7-point Likert-type scale which indicated the extreme points "Not at all worried" to "Very Worried" on the following question:
Question 2: How do you feel about the future of this country?

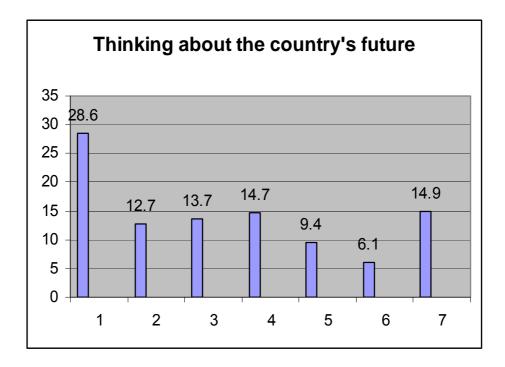| Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very
worried	5.3	3.8	3.8	14.4	15.7	14.2	42.3	worried

More than 72.2% of the adolescents indicated a great concern for the future of the country (a concern for the country is also a show of personal concern). Only a marginal 13.4% were not at all worried, with 14.4% indicating that they were somewhat worried.

Responding to the question: *How often do you think about the future of this country?* the responses were somewhat varied. However, the majority were giving the future serious thought (55%) with 30% not thinking about the country's future.

Table 17: Thinking about the country's future

Very often	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Never
	28.6	12.7	13.7	14.7	9.4	6.1	14.9	

The above questions regarding concern for the future of the country, translate into a concern for a personal and a global future. 'Global' refers to a future that includes family and community concerns.

5.4.1.3 Open-ended Questionnaire Schedule

The responses to each question on the schedule were coded. The table below (Table 18) gives a global view of coded responses which indicate the adolescents' thoughts about the future. The number of responses does not represent the number of respondents to a particular question; thus, a variance in the number of responses compared to the number of participants in each group can be seen.

Table 18: Future positive vs Future negative

	Nr	Future Positive	Future Negative
African	12	14	9
Coloured	27	27	20
White	5	11	2
		52	**31**

There is a high frequency of responses (Table 18) which indicate that adolescents are generally positive about the future. The frequency table indicates that there was a higher positive response density than a negative response.

In response to the question: *How do you see the future?* one White adolescent responded: "I look forward to it; I have big plans for the future and I see South Africa developing into greatness".

A female responded by replying that the future is a "challenge".

A Coloured adolescent's response to the same question was: "I see the future as very challenging, because you never know what to expect from the future".

An African adolescent's reply was: "I see a bright future for our youth if all of us just stand together and work together".

These adolescents are aware that their future is brighter than the future that their parents had: "I see the future as much brighter than it was before". These answers are also evidence that their personal futures are tied to the future of the country.

5.4.1.4   Discussion of findings

This positive response pattern is also congruent with the quantitative data findings. This emphasises that the youth measured, believe that their anticipated futures will be realised. The quantitative findings corroborate, with other research in this area, that young people, during their adolescence, are worried what they might become (cf. p53, par. 2).

Both data sets, qualitative and quantitative, indicate that adolescents are generally optimistic about the future.   These findings corroborate perspectives on adolescence which posit that amidst the complex changes that this life phase represents, adolescents are expected to make decisions about commitment to their future (cf. p52, par. 2). Being positive about the future may, however, also be seen as a way of adapting to anticipated life demands.

Research into the future orientation of adolescent learners is important as an invaluable tool for educational authorities to map educational interventions that will focus on future perspectives. Such perspectives are necessary as the country is in a building phase to ensure that the youth of this country make use of the freedoms offered. In addition, an orientation towards the future is characterised by a concern with future outcomes embodied in personal and community goals and a willingness to strive for those goals, despite negative circumstances.

5.4.1.5   Summary

The findings of both the quantitative and qualitative data have been explored.
The quantitative findings corroborate, with other research, that young people during adolescence are concerned about future outcomes.

This research found that South African adolescents are generally positive about future prospects. Both quantitative and qualitative data sets are congruent in this regard. Concern for the future translates into concerns for a personal future, as this country is where these futures will find expression. The findings indicate that South African adolescents are generally positive about the future.

5.4.2 ARE THERE DIFFERENCES IN TIME PERSPECTIVES CROSS-CULTURALLY?

All three cultural groups indicated a generally positive attitude towards the future. However, both the quantitative and qualitative data sets pointed to a difference in perspective between the cultural groups. This corroborates international research (cf. p.50, par. 3) which indicates that time perspectives vary cross-culturally. Although research is replete with examples of cross-cultural differences, not much research has been generated in identifying cultural differences within the same geographical context.

This research attempted to ascertain whether there were such cross-cultural differences. The researcher however, acknowledges that there may be other differences that could impact on time perspectives, such as personality differences (motivation, locus of control, goal setting, self esteem), as well as intellectual variables which could play a role in these perspectives (cf. p.56, par. 1; cf. p.56, par. 3; cf. p.55, par. 2; cf. p.54 par. 3).

In addition to these variables, socio-economic variables could also play a significant role as aspirations are developed through familial contexts and move away from the inferiority paradigm that sees disadvantaged groups lacking in aspirations (cf. p.54, par.3). From this perspective, the aspiration capital that the disadvantaged families possess drives disadvantaged parents to seek a better future for their children. They therefore instil in their children cultural capital that helps them overcome adversity.

The present researcher is of the opinion that this change from a pervasive feeling of being disadvantaged and being lesser privileged when compared to Whites (cf. p.49, par.2), may have shifted towards a positive view of the future, as a result of the socio-political changes the country has undergone. Additionally, these positive changes may have resulted in positive changes amongst the Black groups' identities, and this in turn, may also have impacted on their perspectives of what the future holds for them.

The findings are accordingly discussed by first presenting the results of the Future Time Perspective measure (the same questions highlighted in the first analysis will be compared according to racial group); then the Repertory Grid (following the same pattern of highlighting specific sections), followed by the open-ended questions as they elucidate the above findings.
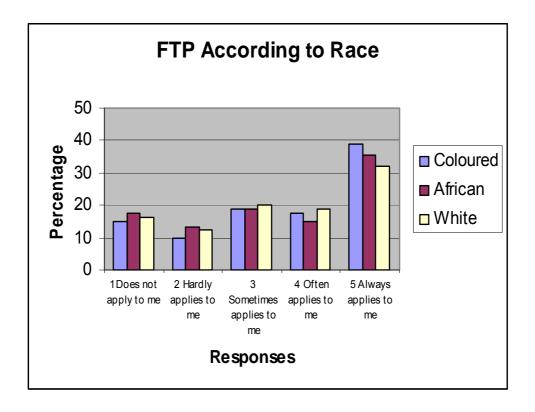
The findings will be further discussed as they affected each distinct racial group. This is done to emphasise differences and why such differences seem to be prevalent as manifested in the data that were gathered. The discussion of the findings will be approached as presented for each cultural group. From a cultural perspective the findings illuminates the differences in time perspectives. The different cultural groups demonstrated differing conceptions of time from the immediate gratification of needs to perceptions that may extent beyond the present time.

5.4.2.1   Future Time Perspective Measure

The first question is: Are there cross-cultural differences in time perspective? The above FTP measure yielded the following results:

Table 19: FTP According to Race

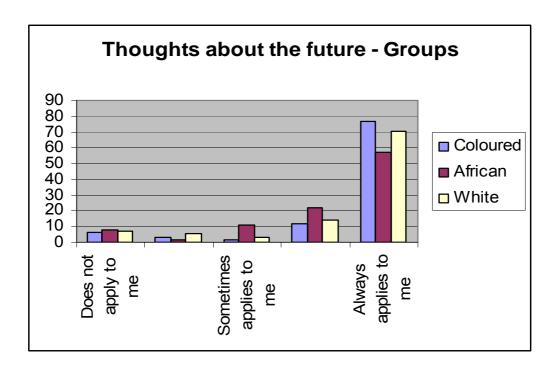| Category	Coloured	African	White
1 Does not apply to me	14.8	17.5	16.3
2 Hardly applies to me	10	13.3	12.5
3 Sometimes applies to me	18.6	19	20.2
4 Often applies to me	17.6	14.9	18.7
5 Always applies to me	39	35.3	32.2

The quantitative data indicate that there are differences in the time perspectives of South African adolescents. Coloured adolescents were marginally more positive about the future (56.6%). African students were less positive (50.2%) about the future than the White students (50.9%). A large number of responses crowded the 'Sometimes applies to me' category. This indicates that a large number of adolescents have not given the future much thought.

Table 20: Thoughts about the future - Groups

In response to the first question presented, the responses from the different cultural groups are: (*Question 6: I like to think about my future career or studies*)

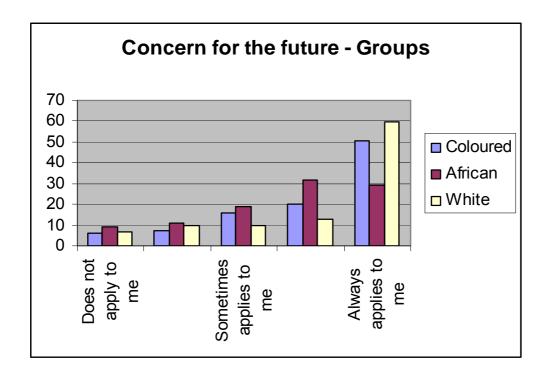| Category	Coloured	African	White
Does not apply to me	6.6	8.2	6.9
Hardly applies to me	3.3	1.8	5.6
Sometimes applies to me	1.9	10.9	2.8
Often applies to me	11.8	21.8	13.9
Always applies to me	76.4	57.3	70.8

The responses in the above (Table 20) showed that the Coloured adolescent was marginally more positive (76.4%) than the White adolescent (70.8%). Only 57.3% of the African adolescents were applying their minds towards the future.

Table 21: Concern for the future - Groups

The same question worded differently, *(Question 44: I am a bit concerned about my future life)* showed a somewhat different pattern.

Category	Coloured	African	White
Does not apply to me	6.2	9.1	7.0
Hardly applies to me	7.1	10.9	9.9
Sometimes applies to me	15.6	19.1	9.9
Often applies to me	20.4	31.8	12.7
Always applies to me	50.7	29.1	60.6

In responding to this question (Table 21), White adolescents showed a greater concern (60.6%) for the future followed by Coloured adolescents (50.7%), with African adolescents (29.1%) showing the least concern. (The reasons for this variance is discussed when the groups are discussed separately.)

Table 22: Career chances after studies

In another question on the FTP measure *(Question 14 – I think that the chances of finding a job after my studies are poor),* looked specifically at schooling as a way of realising possible selves and highlighted this seemingly lack of concern for the future of the country as demonstrated by Coloured learners.

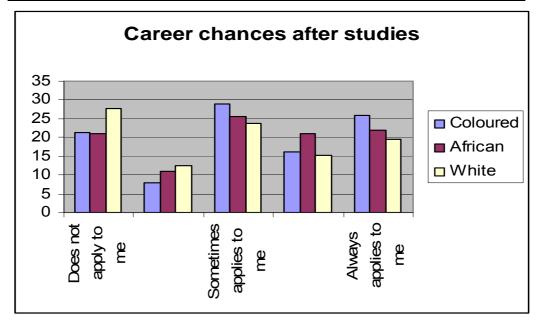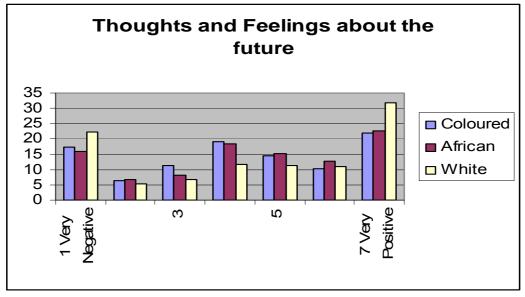| Category	Coloured	African	White
Does not apply to me	21.2	20.9	27.8
Hardly applies to me	8.0	10.9	12.5
Sometimes applies to me	28.8	25.5	23.6
Often applies to me	16.0	20.9	15.3
Always applies to me	25.9	21.8	19.4

Table 22 shows that the Black group of learners did not see schooling *per se* as a vehicle for securing a future career. There seemed to be a belief that education will get you nowhere; 25.9% of Coloured learners and 21.8% of the Africans believed this. The White learners continued to see schooling as a vehicle for securing a future.

5.4.2.2   The Repertory Grid Measure

The RG measure focused on thoughts and feelings on a number of aspects about the future. Section 5 (Social Consciousness Scale) of this scale included questions which referred to students' present, as well as future perceptions. How students perceive their present circumstances is an indication of how they perceive their futures unfolding.

Table 23: Thoughts and feelings about the future

	Coloured	African	White
1 Very Negative	17.2	16	22.1
2	6.3	6.6	5.2
3	11.2	8	6.8
Somewhat Positive	19	18.5	11.7
5	14.4	15.3	11.4
6	10.1	12.9	11
7 Very Positive	21.8	22.8	31.8

The (Table 23) above gives the response pattern on the Repertory Grid (Section 5 – Social Consciousness Scale). These responses show a different pattern, with White students showing a high positive response (31.8%) to their feelings and what they thought and felt about the future of the country.   African students were less worried (22.8%), with Coloured learners (21.8%) showing the least positive concern. When viewed from a negative perspective, White adolescents were much more negative (22.1%). This negativity was followed by the Coloured adolescent (17.2%), with the African adolescent being the least negative (16.0%).

5.4.2.3   Open-ended Questionnaire

The coding of the qualitative responses yielded a similar pattern as the Repertory Grid analysis. Different areas of FTP were identified.

Table 24: Different areas of FTP

	Future Extended	Future Limited	Future Personal	Future Global	Future Positive	Future negative
African 12	3	7	18	15	14	9
Coloured 27	9	17	33	33	27	20
White 5	8	6	11	7	11	2
Totals	**20**	**30**	**62**	**55**	**52**	**31**

The above (Table 24) shows the response frequencies of the different groups' perception of time. In all the areas of time perspective as identified in the data, significant differences can be observed.

The above table shows a higher positive response density among White and African students than among Coloured students. The positive response density was substantially higher for White adolescents than for African adolescents. The Coloured students responded more negatively. When looking at the category: Future Extended and Future Limited, White students seemed to have a more extended future perception than the other two groups. The category, Future Personal and Future Global (which would include concern for community) see White and African students as more concerned about their personal futures than demonstrating a concern for the community. Coloured students measured a higher response density in the Future Global category.

In response to the question: *How do you see the future?* some of the White adolescents indicated that they see a "peaceful, a great SA that we all can live in! As one country standing together" and that the future was a "challenge". Most of the White students however, remained positive.

The response of African students varied from a positive perspective "I see the future being bright for anybody who sees the opportunity for being successful" to a negative perception, "not as bright as I thought".

Although Coloured learners saw the future as "seeing a bright future for our youth if all of us just stand together and work together", "as challenging" and as a "good living place for my kids" to a generally negative attitude of a future "dark and filled with violence".

5.4.2.4   Discussion of findings according to cultural group

The findings will now be discussed as they pertain to the different cultural groups. The importance of this discussion will focus on the quantitative findings (FTP and RG measures) and most importantly, the findings of the qualitative data. The data placed emphasis on the different areas of FTP.

> ***   The African Adolescent**
>
> When looking at the findings of the quantitative data, African students were positive about the future. The outright high positive responses corresponded with the positive attitudes measured in the qualitative findings.
>
> ***The FTP questionnaire*** showed a positive perspective (50.2%) which was lower than that of the other two groups. The outright negativity towards the future of 30.8% was worrisome. The undecided 19% could mean anything from positive to negative.

The RG measure showed the same trend with 51% indicating a feeling of concern for the future. The indifferent group was also a high 18.5% with a high negative of 30.6%. The showing of concern for the future of the country (social consciousness) was higher than the perception of the Coloureds, but lower than the concern that White adolescents demonstrated.

The positive response pattern ***(qualitative data)*** of these students was higher than the responses of the Coloured adolescents but lower than that of the Whites. These adolescents also foresee a future in which all South Africans may prosper, that "South Africa being a good country to all". They however, seem to value a personal future more than a global one which could benefit all citizens, stating that they "see themselves as successful businessmen". This concern for a personal future was in contrast to the perspectives held by White and Coloured adolescents who indicated South Africa as "a place where everyone has to be successful". In addition, their view of the future is limited and focuses on immediate (career) goals. Interesting in these findings, is a lack of concern for community needs.

The possible selves of African adolescents seemed to be fixed on the immediate gratification of their needs. Their possible selves do not extend into the far future (distal goals). The responses which indicated a negative perception of the future is however, disconcerting. This negative view is further elaborated in the higher response density which indicated issues that negatively impact on their perception of the future.

The higher response density in the category Future Limited (cf. Table 24) as compared to Future Extended, corroborates other findings internationally, showing White adolescents to be more focused on goal attainment which extended well into the future – distal goals (cf. p.52, par. 3).

The researcher however believes that this perspective on the gratification of immediate needs may change in time as South African youth seem to have a more positive view about the future than ten years ago (cf. p.52, par. 3). One student said "I see the future as the key to success of our country as a whole, and the biggest future for ourselves, our brothers and sisters". Additionally, the envisaged future was perceived to be more attainable for Black learners generally, as was previously the case under apartheid.

However, the response pattern which demonstrated a tendency towards a more personal future (FPr) is surprising. It is in contrast to the community spirit of *ubuntu* which focuses on community concerns rather than personal ones (cf. p.54, par. 1). One student voiced his opinion as "I see myself being a successful businessman, owning stores and several companies". The greater response density in the area of FP is not surprising as African adolescents focus on a personal future which is associated with Affirmative Action brought on by the socio-political changes giving them a sense of entitlement. Moreover, the role models portrayed in the media show personal concern rather than a focus on community advancement.

*   The Coloured Adolescent

The FTP measure (cf. Table 19) showed that Coloured students had a more positive perspective than both the African and White students (56.5%). Furthermore, they were also less negative than the other groups (24.8%), with only 18.6% who were indifferent. Regardless of these students' positive future perspective, it seems that this positive attitude will not necessarily translate into transfers to higher education.

The RG measure (cf. Table 22) however, showed a substantially different pattern when compared with the FTP findings (cf. Table 19). The social consciousness scale indicated only a 46.3% concern for the future of the country. The negative perception (34.7%) was much higher that the perception of the other groups. This was a reason for concern which prompted the researcher to look at the issues that impacted on these time perspectives. The indifferent or seemingly 'do not care attitude' was 19%, which was higher than the percentages of the other groups.

Although Coloured adolescents saw possibilities in the future *(qualitative measure),* "the future is very challenging, because you never know what to expect from the future" and also that it is perceived as "much brighter than before", and "that the future will change so that we all can live a better life". However, these students also demonstrated a high negative perspective stating "I am actually worried about the future" and "I don't know; so many things can change and nobody knows what the future holds". This demonstrated an external locus of control (cf. p.56, par.3), indicating the perception that the future – the realising of possible selves lies outside of themselves. This negativity was tied to their lack of social concern (RG) against which they saw their possible selves realised.

*   The White Adolescent

The FTP questionnaire (cf. Table 19) indicated a positive view towards the future (50.9%). A negative perception of 28.8 % was less encouraging. White students had the perception that their possible career chances after their studies are poor (Table 22 - 19.4%). Nevertheless, they also had a belief in job security through family provision (economic capital). As this was a farming community, their perception might be fuelled by the knowledge that they have something to fall back on, should they fail to secure a career.

On the *RG measure* (cf. Table 22), the students' view of a concern for the future of South Africa was encouraging (54.2%), which was higher than the concern that the other groups demonstrated. The high number of students (20.2%), who were indifferent or have not thought about their future, was just as disconcerting as the high lack of concern (34.1%).

Like the other groups, White students had a high frequency of positive responses *(qualitative data set)* when compared with the negative view of the future. The response density however, was lower compared to African learners. There seemed to be a level of optimism that the future held possibilities for them. One student indicated that "South Africa is developing into greatness" and that they would like to see a "peaceful, a great South Africa that we all can live in! All as one community standing together". Most adolescents see themselves growing up as one nation.

It is these pervasive feelings of optimism that have to be exploited by educators to deepen the positive perceptions that a future could be attained and to keep the idea of the South African Rainbow Nation alive. This positive view of the future is enhanced when they see political figures also being brought to trial for criminal acts.

White students still felt that the school was a major conduit to enable that future to come about. They are "hopeful about the future and education for all". One major contributing factor may be that in all the schools from which the sample was drawn, white educators were in the majority. The researcher believes that this enhanced their positive attitude.

In the area Future Extended vs Future Limited (Table 23), the findings are not surprising. This concurs with research internationally, namely that white westerners have a greater propensity towards an extended future than populations from African descent (cf. p.4, par. 3). The adolescents "look forward to" a future and indicate that they "have big plans for the future". These plans are not specified or tied to immediate career goals, as in the case of African students. Some of these adolescents state it that "I want to go out and study", and "My life is important to me … I am interested in the way I develop". These both signify a positive future outlook, as well as an extended perspective. These students are looking past instant gratification that a career may give and at the possibility that they may not get a job after the completion of their studies. The response density to a question like, *"How do you see the future?"* is higher than that of Coloured and African adolescents. The white adolescent also seemed to focus on a personal future (FP) and "to get educated". The focus is thus on goals that extend further into the future.

In response to the question: *What are your parents'/ educators' views about the future?* No significant variance in the answers was found. All the answers focused on the educational aspirations their educators had for them "to see everybody pass" and "they are hopeful; feel positive about the future and the education of all" and "to get us through high school".

The negative perceptions were focused on unaddressed social justice issues. Their perceptions of racism focus rather on losses that are manifest in discriminatory job practices than on relationship issues. The statement "The fact that nothing is getting better among the grown ups" may indicate that where the youth is concerned, they are ready to participate in the new South Africa, which may not be so amongst adults. Although they may have strong personalised views about the future, they see SA as "a great country that we all can live in! All as one country, standing together".

5.4.2.5   Summary

The findings of the qualitative and quantitative data sets are congruent. This demonstrates the validity of the measures employed (method triangulation). The results were as expected.

Firstly, the response density corroborated the findings of the quantitative measures, namely that there are differences in time perspective between the cultural groups measured. Secondly, the responses also indicated a difference in the level of positiveness between the groups which outweighed the negative responses. Thirdly, there seems to be a pervasively negative feeling that schooling is not a route to success among Black groups.

The results corroborates international research which indicates that time perspectives differ cross-culturally. Secondly, Whites have a more extended time perspective than people from African descent. However, in contrast to international research which found that Africans are more concerned with community needs, this research found Black South African adolescents to be more concerned with a personal future, comparing favourably with their White counterparts.

Having noted the differences in time perspectives, the researcher focused attention on the factors that underlie these perspectives in answering the third research question.

5.4.3   WHAT ARE THE FACTORS THAT IMPACT ON FTP?

Both data sets identified differences in time perspectives between the groups. A deeper analysis of the data sets follow, looking at specific question that emphasise these differences and also indicate what issues affect these perspectives. The researcher believes that the factors that influence time perspective would also differ according to cultural group.

Throughout this life-phase, adolescents are affected by a myriad of issues. These issues impact on how they see their possible selves unfold within their respective cultures, with each culture placing particular demands on its young people at school and within the broader South African society. The researcher focused on their school life, the transformed South African society (cf. p.1, par. 1; p.2, par. 3, 4), the learners' cultural orientation (cf. p.2, par.2, 4) and how adolescents identify themselves (cf. p.3, par. 1). These were the major impact areas on learners FTP.

These identified areas of FTP will be discussed with reference to the open-ended question: *What are the factors that cause you to lose hope?* Specific reference will be made to questions on the quantitative measures to augment the data from the qualitative measure. The implications of these findings will be followed by a brief summary.

5.4.3.1   Areas that Impact on time perspectives - Cultural Groups

Responses to the question: *What causes you to lose hope?* gives an indication of the issues that impact on how adolescents see their futures unfolding.

Table 25: Impact areas according to Cultural Group

	No	Parents	School	Society	Teachers
African	12	6	13(3)	24	3
Coloured	27	13	34(10)	47	10
White	5	2	5(3)	9	3

The above (Table 25) shows the factors that impact on the time perspectives of learners by cultural orientation. There seems to be a greater density of responses in the areas of school and society amongst Coloured learners. White learners also measured a density of responses in the same two areas. All learners also showed a density of responses in the area of society. These areas indicate where the learners perceive the impediments to their future time perspectives may be.

Although society on the whole, impacts on all three groups, the responses differ among the three racial groups. This is in line with other research which found that the influence of school and society to be extensive and playing a major part on adolescent development. The response pattern of the learners does not only help to answer the research question, but also illuminates the focus areas of concern.

The lack of support from teachers affects the impact that the school has. White learners seemed to get more support from their teachers followed by African and lastly Coloured learners. Coloured learners seemed to get the least support from their educators, but generally, educator influence seems to be low in all groups. Although there was not a significant difference between the response rates of the groups, Coloured learners demonstrated a greater density of negative responses compared to the other two groups.

5.4.3.2 Parental Influence

A plethora of research exists that indicates that parents positively and negatively influence students' perceptions about the future (cf. p.48, par. 2). The socio-economic status of the parents bears much weight in this regard. Coloured and African youth in the rural schools were all from working class families. Most of the children's parents from these schools, worked outside of the towns and parental absence may have had a negative impact on their children's time perspectives. The researcher used parent education as the socio-economic indicator because of the influence it has on a child's ultimate educational attainment. Educational advancement or lack thereof of parents, is seen in this study as a possible barrier which may negatively impact on the future expectations of Black adolescents (cf. p.48, par. 2).

In the qualitative data set however, parents did not seem to have a huge impact. This corroborates research, namely that parental influence seems to diminish during adolescence in favour of the influence of the school and the peer group.

5.4.3.3 School Influences

The data were collected from three different types of schools in the Northern Cape. A number of these schools were situated in a rural environment. The researcher acknowledges that there may be other factors that could have an influence the time perspectives of learners, such as achievement motivation, cognitive factors, resilience, a sense of coherence and other personality and social factors. The researcher focused only on the independent variable, such as race and dependent variables such as, parents, school, socio-economic status.

Substantial research has been conducted on the impact of achievement and career-efficacy on time perspective (cf. p.55, par. 2). It has to be borne in mind that an emphasis on present and past academic achievement and other school-based outcomes ignores the richness of cultural capital students may possess when they reach high school.

Cultural capital refers to the accumulated cultural knowledge, skills and abilities with which marginalised groups enter the school system; a fact that the traditional school system does not recognise, foster or appreciate. This concept is much broader than the Bourdiean concept of cultural capital. Bourdiex believed that cultural capital focuses on the economic capital of advantaged groups, such as Western cultures, and ignores the richness of the cultural capital that disadvantaged communities possess (cf. p.55, par. 1). This concept of cultural capital encapsulates areas of resilience which focus on positive adaptation, despite negative social and environmental circumstances.

In the relative absence of parents due to work commitments in the rural areas, school experiences play a major role in the adolescent's time perspectives. These experiences shape how the adolescent sees him/herself as an individual (personal identity); as belonging to a particular group (group identity); as having a sexual identity (boy or girl); and how his/her collective chances within this social setting will play themselves out. The adolescent's perspective of the future can best be understood through an examination of his/her personal school experiences and his/her meaning-making within these contexts, rather than in an examination of his/her cultural values.

The focus of this thesis is on the impact that schooling specifically and society has on the adolescent learner. This emphasis on the social aspects of schooling may be myopic; nevertheless, the profoundness of attitudes with which learners are confronted in the school, should not be underscored in any way, as the school is a microcosm of society and the centrality of the adolescent experience.

Quantitative data - in response to a question on the FTP measure: *My education is of low value for my future career*, the learners indicated the following response as reflected in the table below. This table shows how adolescents feel as a group (the individual responses to the same question feature in the next table (Table 27)).

Table 26: Value of school for career

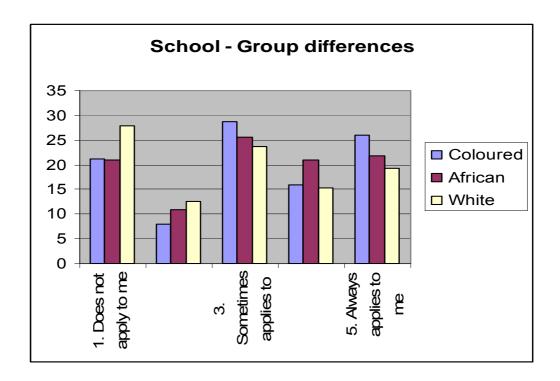|	
Does not apply to me	21.0
Hardly applies to me	24.3
Sometimes applies to me	21.8
Often applies to me	15.7
Always applies to me	16.7

Despite the negative perception of schooling as a tool to further their careers (16.7%), adolescents still believe that education is of some value. The high 'Does not apply to me' (21%) and 'Hardly applies to me' (24.3%) indicate that schooling is seriously questioned. The majority responses leaned towards a negative 45.3%, compared to a 32.4% positive response.

When the groups were separated, the response to the same question yielded significant differences between the cultural groups. African (42.7%) and Coloured (31.9%) learners did not believe that schooling would get them ahead in life or assist them in becoming what they should be.
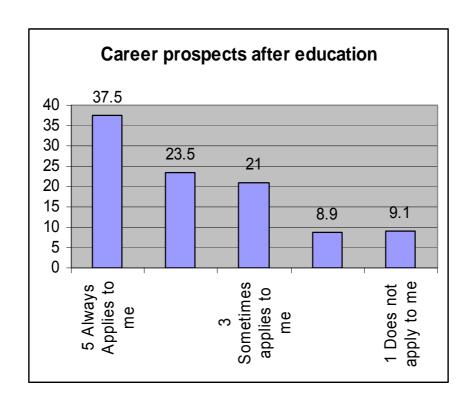
Table 27: Schooling - Group differences

	Coloured	African	White
1. Does not apply to me	21.2	20.9	27.8
2. Hardly applies to me	8.0	10.9	12.5
3. Sometimes applies to me	28.8	25.5	23.6
4. Often applies to me	16.0	20.9	15.3
5. Always applies to me	25.9	21.8	19.3

In answer to a different question: *I have a fair chance of getting a job after my studies,* focusing on education as playing a role in future prospects, responses were much higher, which suggests that the completion of studies is regarded as important by adolescents.
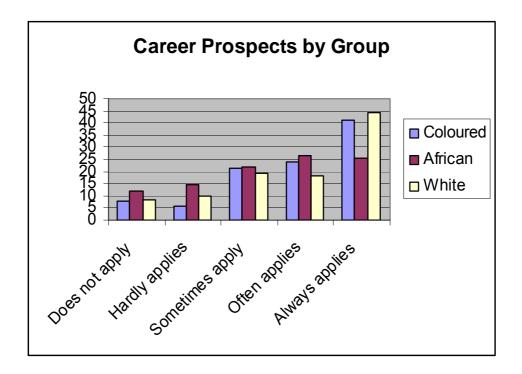
Table 28: Career Prospects after education

5 Always Applies to me	37.5
4 Often applies to me	23.5
3 Sometimes applies to me	21
2 Hardly applies to me	8.9
1 Does not apply to me	9.1

In response to the same question, there were significant differences between the cultural groups.

Table 29: Career prospects by Group

Category	Coloured	African	White
Does not apply	8.0	11.8	8.3
Hardly applies	5.7	14.5	9.7
Sometimes apply	21.2	21.8	19.4
Often applies	24.1	26.4	18.1
Always applies	41	25.5	44.4

White (44.4%) learners remained positive about schooling, followed by Coloured learners (41.0%). African (25.5% learners were very negative about school. The question now may well be: *What are the factors that contribute to these negative perceptions of school having an effect on their futures?*

Within the predominantly Coloured schools, a negative response towards schooling as a pathway to further career prospects corroborates the qualitative data. There seems to be a perception amongst these learners that they are negatively influenced by their educators. The educators see society as being unjust; thus the learner's perception of an educator's response is that "some (educators) say they see only a corrupt, unfaithful and dishonest country that will never change". Coloured students are influenced by these views because some of their educators "see themselves over sea". The pervasively negative attitudes of teachers seem to brush off on the learners, causing them to perceive the future as "dark". The experiences and perceptions of racism might disrupt the beneficial effects of future orientation, in that they devalue the impact of the school in creating a positive future. The incentive value of the school to make that future come about is therefore diminished.

However, Coloured youth, for example, already perceive racism as a potential barrier against achieving career goals. This awareness of a discriminatory job ceiling based on colour is a negative determinant for economic advancement and will consequently also negatively associate the importance of school in reaching career goals (cf. p.35, par.2). Conversely, the African learner focuses on issues other than racism as being a deterrent to making their futures happen. These impediments are discussed in the next section that focuses on societal influences.

5.4.3.4   Societal Influences

Society is perceived by all three groups to have an impact on their FTP (Table 26). The issues that were identified by adolescents to be the major deterring agents to their realising their futures were violence, health and racism, poverty, crime and social justice issues.
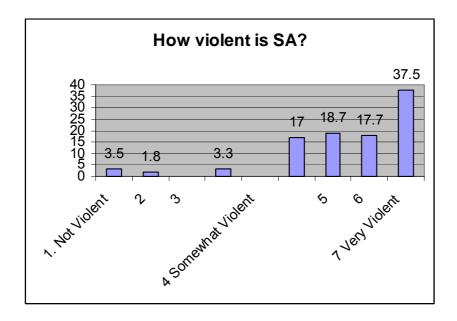
- **Violence**

  Within South African society, violence has been identified as one of the key issues that impacts on adolescents' perception of the future. Gangsters, child and woman abuse, were identified as the major issues.

Quantitative data - In response to the question: *How violent is South Africa?* there was a common agreement that SA was a very violent (73.9%) society compared to 8.6% who believed otherwise (RG).

Table 30: How violent is South Africa?

1. Not Violent	3.5
2	1.8
3	3.3
4 Somewhat Violent	17
5	18.7
6	17.7
7 Very Violent	37.5

Qualitative data (Table 25), also indicate that crime affected all groups and was therefore a major concern.

Although all adolescents are affected by crime, different issues in society worried them. The qualitative data elicited the following perspectives on violence as experienced by the different groups of learners:

White adolescents seemed more concerned about social justice issues stating that it is "encouraging when people like **** go to jail". They are also concerned about how crime may personally affect them, such as "stealing" and "not to be raped", and "children who are racist". Surprisingly, these adolescents did not show any concern for health and poverty issues. The negativity among White adolescents is understandable when held up against the changes that South African society has experienced, with Whites losing privileges and Blacks gaining them.
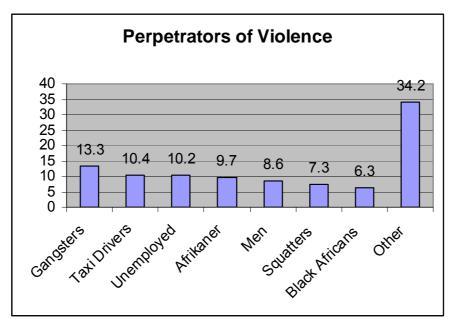
The responses of *Coloured adolescents* varied to this question. There seems to be a collective feeling of seeing "the future as dark and filled with violence" and also an emphasis on "crime, abuse and rape". One adolescent worded the response as follows: "I am actually very worried about the future; too much crime and violence involved. I wonder if there'll ever be a future?" There is a fear that poverty, corruption, gangsters and the absence of job opportunities will be limiting factors in the realising of their future goals.

African adolescents' concerns are "worry about gangsters (people killing other people)"; "violence and rape in my community" and because of the violence, "people are suffering" and the "high rate of child and woman abuse". They ask themselves the question "will gangsters and crime be stopped?" One adolescent voiced this concern in the following way: "I am very positive about my future and the future of my country, but I am deeply concerned about the current state of my country and hope it will change, so my dream can come true." This perception is one of both optimism and despondency.

Poverty and unemployment also seem to be of great concern; "I worry about the economy, how it should be right" and the "problem of unemployment; people are starving". The downside of these perceptions is that educators contribute to these feelings of negativity and the possibility of adolescents perceiving that their futures will not be realised. They (the educators) "don't see it clearly (the future) because of fewer jobs in our country". In response to the question of who the perpetrators of the violence are, adolescents gave the following response (Table 32).

Table 31: Perpetrators of violence

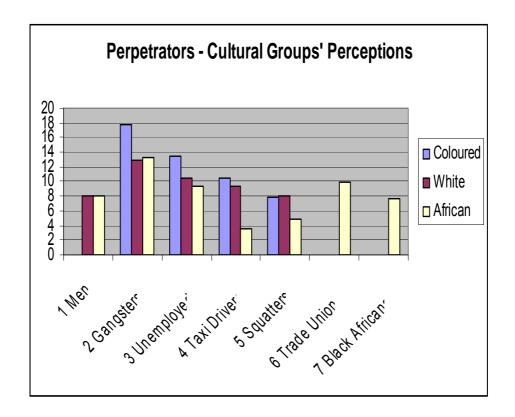|	
Gangsters	13.3
Taxi Drivers	10.4
Unemployed	10.2
Afrikaner	9.7
Men	8.6
Squatters	7.3
Black Africans	6.3
Other	34.2

* Note: **Other** includes a number of possibilities which individually, are not significant.

Only response frequencies higher than 6% were plotted.

Gangsters were responsible for most of the violence in South Africa. This is followed by Taxi Drivers and the Unemployed. Two significant factors are that, on the positive side, political parties ranked very low, signifying a stable political rivalry. This is good for South Africa's political future. Secondly, what is disconcerting, is that men ranked relatively high, garnering more than 8% of the responses.

The category of violence was analysed further to get a clear idea of how the different groups saw violence and to explore the identified category of Black Africans. The responses per cultural group gave a slightly different picture.

Table 33: Perpetrators - Cultural Groups' Perceptions

Category	Coloured	White	African
1 Men	9,1	8	8
2 Gangsters	17.7	12.9	13.3
3 Unemployed	13.5	10.4	9.4
4 Taxi Drivers	10.5	9.3	3.6
5 Squatters	7.8	8.1	4.8
6 Trade Unions			10
7 Black Africans			7.6

When the responses of the groups are placed against one another, the pattern of violent perpetrators changed. All three groups were in agreement that gangsters, the unemployed and men are responsible for most of the violence. Interestingly, White and Coloured adolescents identified 'taxi drivers' and 'squatters' to be the most responsible. African students did not perceive squatters and taxi drivers as responsible for violence (the social perception is that taxi drivers and squatters are mostly African).

However, the interesting find is that African adolescents apportioned more blame for violence on their own group ('Black Africans') and trade unions. This perception is in line with the perceived rejection of their own group, as observed in the Group Preference Index (Table 12). This is also indicative of how the same social background has differential impacts on the black groups (Africans and Coloureds).

Table 33: Societal Issues Affecting FTP

	No	**Social Violence**	**Racism**	**Health Issues**
African	**12**	11	0	11
Coloured	**27**	36	21	3
White	**5**	4	6	0

The qualitative data set (Table 34) shows how the different racial groups perceive the social factors which impinge on their possible selves. The societal impact was subdivided into three categories and each was graphed according to how each racial group perceived the impact on their time perspective. The impact that society has was further grouped into three subcategories which were not mutually exclusive. Each of the three identified subcategories, *social violence*, *racism* and *health issues* also showed significant differences among the different groups.

Both Coloured and White learners showed a higher density of responses in the areas of social violence and racism. African learners had a greater negative leaning towards health issues, whilst the other two groups seemingly did not see health issues like HIV and Aids as affecting them. The lack of responses in the area of racism among African learners is not surprising, as only a few African learners were in multicultural schools where the data were collected.

African and Coloured adolescents identified gangsters as the key source of violence. White adolescents, and girls in particular, seem to have a pervasive fear of falling prey to violence and "not to be raped". The general social ills of "society crime", such as "drinking" and "stealing" seem to be a major cause for concern.

- **Health Issues**

Health issues seem to affect mostly African adolescents (see Table 34).

Specifically HIV/Aids, seems to be a general concern among African adolescents. Their despondency can be seen in expressions such as "one day, they will all be affected/infected by Aids" and by the deaths of people living with HIV/Aids. This negativity surrounding health issues is accentuated by comments from educators who seem to be saying that "HIV/Aids is killing the youth and there is no light at the end of the tunnel". However, the perception of educators is not only doom and gloom: they also think that "the youth should prevent HIV/Aids by all means, so that we can have a better future".

The absence of health concerns amongst White and Coloured youth should be seen against the backdrop of the media and the views of parents. The media have stigmatised HIV/Aids as a disease affecting Black people. Tied to this perspective is that government is inadvertently entrenching this by organising all rallies, initiatives and programmes in townships directed at the Black population, with nothing happening in White communities. The absence of health issues could also be seen against the advocacy campaigns which show that when something is removed from one's current focus, one is less likely to think seriously about it (cf. p.58, par.1).

The figure (p124) below graphically illustrates the interrelatedness and differences as they impact on the various cultural groups.
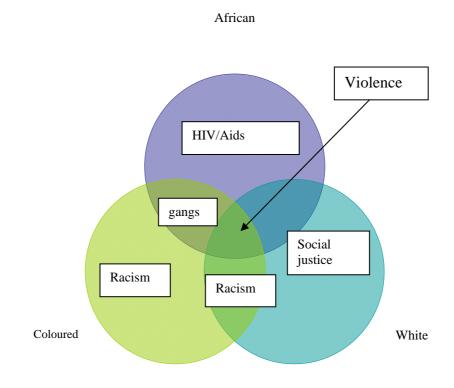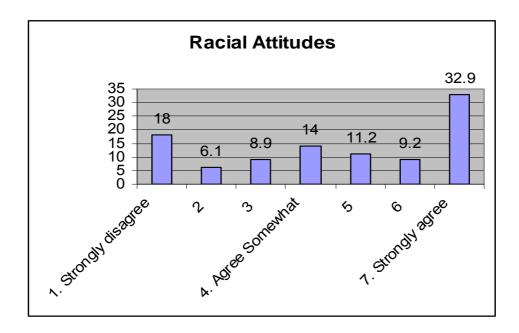
African

Violence

HIV/Aids

gangs

Social justice

Racism

Racism

Coloured

White

Figure 2: Interrelatedness of experiences

- **Racial Attitudes**

The results of the GPI showed that preference for the own group to be high, except for African learners who showed a higher preference for other groups than they had for themselves. The RG (Section 3 - Table) a broad social index which measures subtle racism, found that perceptions of racism are a serious impediment to time perspectives of Coloured and White learners. In the schools involved in this study, racism seemed to be absent from African youth.

Table 34: Racial Attitudes

1. Strongly disagree	18
2.	6.1
3.	8.9
4. Agree Somewhat	14
5.	11.2
6.	9.2
7. Strongly agree	32.9

The above (Table 34) shows a response to the question: *Do you agree that SA is still divided along racial lines?* The responses were affirmative that South Africa is still divided along racial (54.3%) lines and that racism is still prevalent. However, the number of responses which indicated that the participants do not agree (33%) is also relatively high. The indifferent group of learners could swing the pendulum significantly either way, which would indicate an overwhelmingly positive perception that racism is still prevalent.

In response to specific questions about racial attitudes, the learners responded in the following way:

Question 1: Do you feel that *Race Segregation* should be introduced? A majority of learners, (27,8%) did not regard it as important, whereas 18,7% of the learners saw it as very important. Disconcerting however, is the high of 21,5% who were undecided.

Question 6: Change the Government? The learners showed an overwhelming response (33,4%) that Government should be changed, with only 13,9% regarding it as unimportant. These statistics also indicate that the adolescents involved in the survey are not happy with the present government. The undecided group is still relatively large (18,2%). The question to ask now is: *How do these results translate into racism?* The government is Black, hence the negative feelings towards the present government and an anti-Black sentiment.

Question 9: Increase Interracial Harmony? Encouraging was the fact that 27,3% of the students felt it to be necessary. However, a still larger group of 30,6% have not made up their minds in this regard. The low 8,6% who did not see it as important is indicative that learners would like to see the different racial groups working together in harmony.

Question 15: Discrimination in favour of Blacks in the new SA, is just as bad as discrimination in favour of Whites in the old SA? This question which directly focused on racial discrimination, evoked these responses – only 13,9% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement, while 34,4% who strongly agreed that racism is about whoever is favoured, was not an option. This indicates that SA youth would like to see a South Africa free of discrimination in any form.

Both Coloured and White adolescents noted racism to be a serious impediment to their futures. Although White and Coloured learners seem to have similar views on racism as an impediment to their futures, their experiences and perceptions of racism differ. Whichever way racism or discrimination is experienced, it remains treacherous, pulling communities apart.

The *White adolescent* sees racism as reverse discrimination which is embodied in affirmative action policies. White adolescents see their future as "ruined" and that "racism" and "apartheid" seem to prevail. Learners have however, not given a label to the racism experienced. Even though "children who are racist" is a concern, they see South Africa "developing into greatness" and "all as one country standing together".

The *Coloured adolescent* may not be subjected to racial discrimination in the school setting and may not be actively involved in seeking for a job to have experienced discrimination; nevertheless, they perceive racism as a serious impediment to their future. On the other hand they have also not been exposed to racial discrimination in the past. The researcher can thus make two deductions from this: adolescents voice the opinions of their parents and/or educators, as well as internalise what they see happening in broader society.

All Black students experience racism in institutions of learning. However, this research has identified a change in the trend of pervasive racism. Only the Coloured learner seems to feel overwhelmingly that he/she has fallen prey to racism. Although these experiences may not stem from what may be happening in the school, perceptions in the media, from educators and from parents, seem to fuel these notions of discrimination. One student related a teacher's remark: "Blacks are positive and Whites are negative" and that they (teachers) "see themselves overseas", "that the country is "corrupt" and "that the country will never change". This causes the Coloured adolescent to question the possibility of whether he/she has a future in the country. He/she sees his/her future as "very dark and there are not enough people trying to stand up for our (Coloureds') future".

Both White and Coloured adolescents seem to be involved in thinking contrary to the facts revealed. Counterfactual thinking refers to the making of comparisons between an experienced reality and an imagined reality. This type of thinking may be contrary to the facts and arise from the suggestion that individuals motivated towards self betterment often make social comparisons with individuals who are slightly better than they are. Coloured adolescents are therefore motivated to enhance their subjective well-being by seeing themselves as worse off than others. The thoughts that impact on these learners' sense of self arise from perceptions outside of themselves (external locus of control) (cf. p.56, par.2/3).

These thinking patterns are succinctly captured in these responses from Coloured adolescents: "If the government changes, hopefully this will be a safer country" and "to see a future of South Africa changing, but for me I don't see it as changing because we live in a land that only cares for some and other people don't matter; I think the country is getting worse than before". These targets of social comparison are referred to as better and worse possible worlds which are embraced in counterfactual thoughts. Students reported that their parents and educators "speak about the (country) past, how great it was" compared to what it is now. There is thus no external source that affirms their self worth.

The Coloured adolescent also experiences being excluded from mainstream social upliftment as embodied in Black Economic Empowerment because of not being part of affirmative action policies. This takes place on both an institutional level and on a personal level. Although Coloured people are constitutionally regarded as being Black, skin-tone stigma impacts on their feelings of self worth (cf. p.48, par.2). One adolescent remarked: "I see a dark future for us Coloureds because we are not black enough". Thus skin tone as a form of social stigma deviates from the attributes of being black which is considered acceptable when consideration for a job is taken into account. This stigma has an effect on Coloured adolescents' self esteem and feelings of self worth and has increased their perception that one's race is a factor in securing a future (racial salience).

5.4.3.5   Discussion of Societal Issues

The research has identified that society affects the time perspectives of all adolescents. The societal issues that have been identified are: parents, school and society.

The social standing of the parent, which was measured in educational terms, is of importance to the adolescent's self belief. Notwithstanding, the parent's socio-economic standing, parents still encourage their children to get an education. Additionally, parents in rural areas have an added disadvantage. They are not always present to paint better future possibilities for their children. Moreover, the area itself being one of isolation, affords limited opportunities for the adolescent.

The emphasis now falls on the school to present future possibilities for learners. The school is however, fraught with problems in this regard. Educators do not always seem to present learners with possibilities in which their possible selves could be realised. Secondly, educators (especially those in Black schools) seem demotivated. One learner remarked: "they (the teachers) do not seem to care about us" thus causing learners to be affected negatively. The White learner does not seem to have this problem as most of the teachers in the multicultural schools remain White thus indicating that there are possibilities for them.

Societal issues however, have differential impacts cross-culturally. Within society, violence, health issues and racial attitudes affect students' time perspectives. In the light of the above, the level of violence and crime in South Africa has to be taken seriously. The youth see violence and crime as the most important threats to achieving their dreams. African learners are the only ones who experience health issues as a problem. All three groups are in agreement that violence is the single most precocious impediment. The level of violence perceived by the youth, has entrenched the belief that the country is a violent place in which to live.

White learners identified racism and social justice issues as impeding their futures. The negativity observed in youths of colour, may be attributed to a number of factors. One of these could be the perceived loss of privileges which are not evidently better under the new dispensation. One learner observed that it was "not like before". Consequently, some students expressed anti-black sentiments by stating that "everything is for Blacks" thereby revealing a negative perception of the Black government. Even though Coloureds are constitutionally recognised as Blacks, Affirmative Action excludes them from the privileges the Black Africans seem to be getting.

The question may arise: *Why does race feature as an impact variable above other variables which may impact on adolescents' time perspectives?* Responses to such questions focus attention on the insidious nature of racism in our past history of oppression and that racism will not simply disappear in our society and schools.

Furthermore, the results may point to the importance of constantly examining the potential effects of racism on our school-going youth, systematically and empirically.

Although research agrees that Black adolescents generally, are at the receiving end of negative or lowered teacher expectations (cf. p.26, par.2, 3), this group seems to continue to have high expectations. Conversely, the Coloured group of students seems to have lower future expectations because of negative teacher expectations and the perceptions they have about society. Societal dynamics playing themselves out in the school environment seem to be the key delimiting factor (to which the media and parental perceptions about society, contribute). Students however, still place value on school education to enhance their future life chances.

5.4.3.6 Summary

The findings of this research firstly corroborate other research internationally (cf. p50, par. 2), namely that time perspectives differ cross-culturally. Knowledge in this area has been expanded, in that it can now be verified that the different cultural groups within the same social context perceive time perspectives differently.

The following were experienced as impediments to the adolescent's life chances. The White adolescent cited social justice issues as a concern and racism to a lesser degree as factors that influenced their chances of securing a future. The Coloured adolescent perceived racism and social violence as key factors.

The African adolescent saw HIV/Aids as a major factor with violence second to their health concerns. In addition, this research corroborates research internationally, in that White westerners have an extended time perspective, whereas people from African descent have a shorter time perspective. However, the African adolescent seems to be focusing on personal needs rather than community needs as suggested by previous research in this area. Patterns of how adolescents self identify have also been identified, which gives an indication of how South African society is still racially polarised.

CHAPTER 6
IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Introduction

This research firstly looked at how adolescents see their future and why. Secondly, this research identified differences in time perspectives among the different cultural groups. Thirdly, differences were also identified between the Black (African and Coloured) groups in particular. Different areas of time perspectives were identified. In these identified differences; some groups shared the same perspectives and also showed differences. Although the school and society impacts on all groups, different areas of the same society have influenced the time perspectives of African, White and Coloured adolescents.

The results in this research have a number of implications for educational practice in South Africa, as well as internationally for countries beset by racist ideologies, be they overt or covert.

The current study's findings also have implications for programme development for educators focusing on addressing issues of prejudice as well as programmes that foster ethnic identity development and a common South African identity for all learners – unity in diversity. This may have a beneficial effect on the student's future time perspectives.

6.2   Implications of this research

6.2.1   Although South Africa has transformed its educational system and uses it as a vehicle for the broader social transformation of society, racism remains prevalent in South African society. The prevalence of racism in schools and society has a number of implications for the youth:

- The Future Time Perspectives of adolescents, especially for those for whom the changes were supposed to propel to greater self fulfillment, have not had these fully realised;

- There is no consistent perception among the Black youth that education is the vehicle to secure one's future. Disadvantaged learners therefore show a deteriorating interest in school, hence the high drop-out rate and low transfers to institutions of higher learning. Learners also demonstrate high levels of emotional stress as a result of crime, health issues, poverty and discrimination (note the high teenage suicide and drug abuse levels) in secondary schools. There is a growing need to give more attention to mental health issues. Conversely, White students continue to believe in the value of education to realise their future;

- White students have a more extended time perspective than Black students. They focus on more distant goals, while African students seem to focus on more proximal goals. However, given the same social conditions, the differences in the length of time perspectives that exist between these groups may narrow; and

- Contrary to research in this area with reference to Africans having a greater concern for community, this research found that African students have a greater concern for personal advancement than for community issues. Conversely, White and Coloured students seem to focus on community needs. The reason for this change could be a direct result of perceptions about being discriminated against. Thus, instead of focusing on personal goals, these groups seem to be concerned about the future of their groups as a whole.

6.2.2 This research contributes to the study of racial orientation among South African youth, which is very limited at present. The forming of social relations between groups is important as this country seeks to establish its rainbow nation, as well as a common South African identity among its youth. The construction of racial identities could see new theories on identity development emerge which may not necessarily follow the well-known models of identity development as constructed by Cross (cf. p.41), Erikson (cf. p.38) and Helms (cf. p.43) for various reasons:

- White students in South Africa have to rework their identities on various levels:

  ** the identities of the White adolescent developed around power and control (political power). With the loss of these privileges which were inherited, white adolescents have to renegotiate their identities.

  ** With the social transformation of South African society, they find themselves being White in a Black world with little or no political power. On this basis the White adolescent has to reconstruct his/her identity.

  ** Job security on which a firm sense of self was built (which came with political power), has diminished and is no longer a certainty. Thus, these students have to reconstruct meaning in this new world.

  ** The experience of racism affects their sense of self. Thus a reworking of their identities has to be done against the diminished sense of self (being politically in a lesser or subjugated position).

- Black students, specifically African students have a heightened sense of self perception brought about by the socio-political changes which have afforded them opportunities through Affirmative Action policies. The affirmed sense of self has changed (self concepts) and the realisation of their possible selves seems more attainable. The resultant positive identities which are emerging will be more positive than are found in previous studies (cf.p.41).

- The Coloured students' sense of self is adversely affected by the insidious effects of racism which continues to delimit their sense of self, as well as future possibilities (aspirations and expectations). However, the perceived discrimination that this group seems to experience as a collective, has in turn, certain implications:

  ** A greater sense of cohesiveness as a group;

  ** A more positive sense of self; and

  ** A greater concern for the welfare as a group.

- A difference in the time perspective of boys and girls has been identified. The affording of opportunities for the girl child could see the identified differences between boys and girls diminish.

- Lastly, in the forming of social relations:
  - ** White students showed a greater sense of group identity than the other groups (Laager mentality). This has negative implications for the building of a common South African identity;
  - ** The Coloured students had a growing sense of group identity which was not previously the case. This could have positive implications for a distinctly South African identity; and
  - ** The African students however, displayed a distancing from the group. This has both positive and negative implications for the establishment of a common South African identity.

6.2.3 A firm sense of self is developed within a society that accepts all individuals, regardless of sex, race, colour or creed. Additionally, the sense of self is enhanced when the school system and the society are able to create an enabling environment in which the learners can visualise their possible realised selves. The major delimiting factors in realising their futures, is both the school and the social environment.

- The school system in which learners find themselves is still divided along racial lines. The racial lines that are manifest within the school are a reflection of broader society. The perception of race as a barrier against achieving future goals is a serious impediment to Coloured and White youth. If not addressed, it could have a significant impact on their educational experiences.

  The pendulum in terms of racist experiences seems to have shifted. Instead of the African and Coloured learners being subjected to racism (cf p.13, par. 3), it is now the White and Coloured youth who seem to be experiencing racism within the system. In the present study, it is noted that racism seems to be having an acrimonious affect on the Coloured youth and on the White youth to a lesser degree. There may be a number of reasons for this variance:
  - ** The multicultural schools in rural areas are mostly Afrikaans-speaking and most of the educators in these schools (ex-Model C) still remain overwhelmingly White;
  - ** The White youth seem to have a consistent belief that there is hope that their futures may be realised;

** Most of the White youth come from a business or farming background with educational experience (they have economic capital), which would mean that they have a secure future and value the importance of education;

** The Coloured students who find themselves in these schools may experience racism from educators in the school. These perceptions are also fueled by societal dynamics - parents, educators and the media are the key figures in conveying messages of racism to young people. The truth of these messages should not be questioned as racism continues to have deleterious effects on these students; and

** The pervasive feeling of perceived discrimination by Coloured adolescents should be attributed to other factors, rather than solely school influence. These perceptions may cause racial polarisation if not addressed, which in turn, could threaten the progress of the Rainbow Nation.

- The response of the White students with reference to their perception of racist experiences is to be expected. These perceptions should however, be viewed against what their parents are currently experiencing, as these students have not been exposed to the real world. Nevertheless, perceptions of racism is not as prevalent as anticipated when compared to the perceptions of the Coloured youth.

- There is a difference in the experiences of racism between White and Coloured youth. The White youth experience racism as reverse discrimination. The Coloured youth experience racism from the White youth – an experience their parents constantly relate to them. Moreover, the perceived discrimination from their Black (African) counterparts is actually more difficult; thus the term, Second Racism. The coining of the term, Second racism which refers to the perceptions of racism by Coloured youth, who are also Black, is disconcerting (cf. par. 6.2 – Second Racism explored).

- Significant in these findings, is the absence of perceived discrimination experienced by African adolescents. There may be a number of reasons for this:

** Most of the African students involved in this study were in African and Coloured schools. In these schools they are not seen as a separate group and there appears to be a prevailing unity between the Black groups (Coloured and African);

** The rural schools seem to have a greater level of integration among the different ethnic groups. At this point it is not clear how urban youth in the major centres of our country (multicultural schools) would respond to the same questions; and

** The role of the media in constantly portraying African role models (politicians) and high profile jobs of African citizens, strengthens the idea that the possible selves can be realised. The impact that the media have in strengthening these beliefs, should not be underscored.

- These findings also point to the importance of consistently examining the potential effects of racism in systematic and empirical ways in our education system.

- The open-ended questions also elicited perceptions on the level of commitment and satisfaction that our educators have in educating the youth of our country (from the perspective of the learners). The poorly motivated educators will continue to produce poorly directed learners, as long as they neglect to focus on assisting the learners towards building a future.

6.2.4 The learners involved in this study, saw society as having the biggest impact on them concerning reaching their future goals. All the racial groups indicated that violence was the most serious threat to their futures. The main perpetrators of violence were gangsters. Second to gangsters were men, taxi-drivers and trade unions. Interesting however, was that African learners saw African men as being responsible for most of the violence. There was variance as well as commonality regarding the other social dynamics impacting on their time perspectives:

- The **African** adolescent identified next to violence, health issues, specifically HIV and Aids and poverty as curtailing their futures.

- The **Coloured** adolescent identified next to racism and violence, unemployment as the other impeding factor.

- The **White** adolescent saw next to racism and violence, social justice as his/her major concern.

6.2.5 Research into FTP has to be contextualised at all times. Studies which suggest that White Westerners are more focused on distal goals when compared to people from African descent seemed to have ignored a number of important variables. The researcher is of the opinion that cultural differences have to be seen against the backdrop of specific contexts: given the same social circumstances, the different cultures may not have vast differences in time perspectives, as the widely held belief maintains.

6.2.6 Although this research concurs with other studies which suggest that Black adolescents seem to focus on proximal goals rather than distal goals, African adolescents in South Africa hold a different perspective. Contrary to findings that indicate that adolescents of African descent focus more on community needs (cf p.66, par. 1), African adolescents, like White westerners, seem to focus on personal goals rather than on community needs. Secondly, the researcher is of the opinion that time perspectives are economically based. Affluent populations have the luxury of planning for futures that may extend beyond their lifetimes (economic capital), while poorer people (disadvantaged sectors) focus on the gratification of needs that are immediate and may not see a distant future; hence the focus on proximal, rather than distal goals. Therefore, given the same socio-economic conditions, Black and White groups may focus on distal, rather than proximal goals, as well as seeking self advancement rather than focusing on community needs. The perception that White westerners have a more extended time perspective than traditional cultures (of African descent) should be evaluated against such economic contexts which may exist.

6.3   Second Racism

This is where the central difficulty lies for Coloured youth (and Coloured people in general): being discriminated against by your peers of darker skin colour, especially those with whom you share a common history of being disadvantaged and discriminated against. The researcher coined this form of racism as *Second racism*.

The term 'second racism' differs from what is commonly known as colourism in some African and Western countries. Colourism is based on skin tone stratification which refers to intra-group attitudes towards those of lighter or darker skin tone. Because Coloureds' ancestry is from a myriad of ethnic groups other than solely White and Black (cf. p.45, par.2), discrimination against this group cannot be termed colourism.

This type of racism may be viewed from two perspectives. Firstly, one of sameness in the historical context of subjugation, but one group being perceived to be more advantaged through political power. Secondly, skin tone becomes relevant when guided by the majority's perception of difference. The experience of this type of racism is different from White racism which is commonly known. Currently, the perception of racism experienced by Whites from African people is also a new phenomenon in South Africa and is commonly referred to as reverse discrimination by White people.

6.4   Limitations of this study

A number of limitations emerged during the course of analysing these findings.

6.4.1 The small number of White students (qualitative) in this study limits the generalisability of the qualitative findings, even though these excerpts are substantiated by the quantitative findings.

6.4.2 The lack of participation of the urban multicultural schools. Perceptions from these students in the urban centres may have yielded significantly different results in some areas of the research, specifically on perceptions of racism. Students in this setting are more polarised than in the rural areas. Black students in the urban areas may have a different perspective from those from the predominantly rural settings.

6.4.3 Academic performance on individual and school levels was not taken into account, as it would have skewed the research more towards future expectations which are centred on career guidance. Academic performance would however, have given an indication as to what extent the findings corroborate international findings *vis á vis* students with a high academic performance have a generally more extended future perspective than those with lower performance.

6.4.4 Other personality variables such as achievement motivation, resilience and social conditions of both Black and White groups have not been used as variables in this research.

6.4.5. Having explored the different modes of identity development of the different groups, this research failed to exploit the level of identity development of South African youth fully. A different identity measure would have assisted in making a more comprehensive assessment of how adolescents identify and at which phase they are, in their identity development.

6.4.6 The research could have further explored the levels of racism as experienced by White adolescents, as well as their concerns regarding racial issues and how they have influenced their levels of identity. Additionally, the South African social order being reversed, it would have been interesting to note the experience of being White in a Black world and the possible constraints it might have on White adolescents' identity development.

6.4.7 This study has not explored the possible effects of role models and the media on adolescents' time perspectives to the full.

6.4.8 Gender differences in time perspectives have to be explored more extensively, as the constitutional mandates may have broadened the vision of possible selves that the female child may muster.

6.4.9 The research breaks new ground for additional research on a national level regarding time perspectives cross-culturally.

6.5   Recommendations

The researcher's recommendations for an educational map towards a common South African identity, the deracialisation of our schools, as well as the development of personal identities in mono- as well as multi-cultural classrooms, suggests the following:

6.5.1   Significant others in the learners' social environment, parents, educators and the media need to play key roles in deconstructing racial attitudes and focus on the process of depigmentising South Africa, as people still tend to think along colour lines. The principal catalyst in this process is the educator. A praxis through which personal prejudices can be reduced in educators, may be termed the Race A's as suggested in this thesis (by reducing prejudice in educators one will also be addressing the perceptions that these prejudices may evoke in learners):

- Acknowledge – educators have to acknowledge their personal prejudices (their feelings that they have about others which may or may not be prejudicial, as well as knowledge of existing stereotypes).

- Awareness – educators have to become aware of personal prejudices.

- Acknowledge – educators have to acknowledge the potentials inherent in racism/racist attitudes.

- Awareness – of the effect of inconsistent behaviour towards others who are culturally different (school discipline, sport involvement and acknowledgement of successes and/or failures).

- Address – educators have to address issues and perceptions about race among colleagues of different cultural orientations in order to deracialise attitudes.

- Address – recognise and address issues of racism and/or racist behaviour among learners or act against behaviour that is culturally offensive.

- Action – act consistently towards learners who are culturally different from you; for example, educator discipline has to be consistent.

- Alertness - constantly examine yourself and remain alert to societal stereotypes and constantly address them in an open manner with learners.

6.5.2 This study has implications for programme development which suggests that school initiatives could be improved by incorporating ways to encourage students to use the support systems that they may already have and to build additional support networks within their communities.

6.5.3 School programmes should be structured in such a manner as to incorporate ways to encourage students' development towards a common South African identity across the curriculum. Identity development of South African youth has to be explored further, especially against the rapid social transformation this society has experienced that has affected all learners' sense of self.

6.5.4 Research in the development of SA identities needs to command considerable attention within the next few years as SA moves closer in bringing groups together and working collectively towards a common South African identity embraced by all.

6.5.5 School racial diversity which is currently being promoted by our educational system should be rigorously pursued. The researcher is of the opinion that students who interact within a diverse school setting, will be more motivated to learn from one another and will be better able to participate in a heterogeneous and complex society that looks past racial practices that limit their perspectives. Learning together also opens up ways for better understanding between cultural groups. In addition, a diversity of experiences increases the sense of commonality which is essential if education is seen and used as an agent of social change to construct a common future for all learners and create a common SA identity. Such programmes should be pursued within both multicultural and monocultural schools.

6.5.6 The Life Orientation (LO) Learning Area is tailored to foster the building of a common SA identity. Although the Learning Area addresses issues of commonality, respect for our National symbols, acknowledging and respecting the differences that exist (unity in diversity), as well as respect for one's own, it fails to address the core issues of racism and does not explore racism. The issues of race and those who are culturally different should not be sidestepped but continuously addressed within the curriculum.

6.5.7 If possible selves are measured against career expectations, there is no congruence. Learners in rural areas are unaware of opportunities in which their possible selves can be realised.

- Schools should place a high priority on sculpting future prospects for learners in these areas. In this regard, educators need to have knowledge of their learning areas which focus on content extension that goes beyond their scope of practice (across the curriculum) as envisaged in the learning tasks.

- School programmes should be structured to focus on future issues which include prospects that are available for possible career attainment, as well as the future for the country as a whole.

- Institutions of higher learning need to build relationships with schools to give learners a view of a future that extends beyond school and places of work. Staff from these institutions should visit schools on a quarterly basis with structured programmes about opportunities available at these institutions, in order to motivate learners for future possibilities in higher education which extend further than just careers. All feeder schools should be incorporated in these programmes and not just elite schools in major centres. Currently, many rural schools are never visited by these institutions and career exhibitions are held only at major centres, thus leaving the child in the rural areas behind (these schools are not able to afford travelling expenses to these exhibitions).

- The private sector, should, as an extension of their programmes to give back to the community, also parent schools with the same objectives in mind as the institutions of higher learning.

- Academic tasks should be more future orientated. This will open up avenues for adolescents that extend beyond that which they presently know.

6.5.8 Societal issues should be tackled within the curriculum. By debating issues of social justice, crime, poverty and discrimination, children are assisted in mapping their future for a new world. However, for an educator to tackle these issues within the curriculum, he/she first has to deal with issues of personal prejudice (as suggested by the praxis). This will allow the educator to tackle moral and social issues such as HIV/Aids in an open way without bias.

6.5.9 Next to health issues, poverty and unemployment hangs like a cloud over the prospective futures of adolescents. South African society has to find ways to continually address these problems in innovative ways by making the youth part of the solution. Academic programmes should therefore, not only focus on academic achievement, but also look critically at society and try to find ways of solving these issues through debates across the curriculum.

6.5.10 Government programmes should not focus on one group of our society solely. The challenge is on Government to spread the HIV/Aids message across the cultural divide by also having programmes and rallies in all communities.

6.5.11 Students who are present-time orientated are likely to differ in their needs from students who are more future orientated. These students may thus require different interventions or benefit from different modes of teaching. The new curriculum is perfectly tailored to meet these needs if educators are motivated to help realise that future for all learners.

6.5.12 This research pleads for an epistemological redress through which the cultural capital of learners may be exploited in the school. This would mean that education has to move outside the curriculum to acknowledge and accredit lessons learned outside the school yard. Currently the efforts of the Skills Development initiatives, specifically those focusing on the Recognition of Prior learning, have not been explored fully.

6.5.13 Issues of race should not be sidestepped but confronted continually and the concept of Second Racism should be explored further.

6.6   Challenges for Practice

The challenge to implement recommendations lies in the preparedness and the versatility of educators to make this come about. It has to be borne in mind that the educator plays a pivotal role in terms of the processing of emotion regulation through their help to accurately identify, manage and express the emotions experienced in the diverse classroom. Teachers should thus work towards promoting conditions for inter-group contact within schools to facilitate positive inter-group relations and thereby reduce the potentials of racism inherent in such encounters.

Teachers and significant others should play important roles in the personal development of students by helping them to envision a variety of future goals and possible selves, and by helping them recognise contingent paths between future goals and current tasks. Schools are potentially powerful socio-cultural contexts which influence students and against this background, schools can encourage students to envision future selves that are not constrained by stereotypes associated with gender, race or socio-cultural status.

The current programme of Life Orientation has the potential benefits of imparting life skills, decision-making skills, coping strategies and ways to negotiate conflict and other developmental issues. However, educator support, specifically that of guidance counsellors, is needed to attend to the mental health needs of these learners. This kind of supportive school climate is even more profound, considering that many of these students come from family backgrounds and environments

where such support may be lacking. Failing to support learners may have critical effects on future educational and life opportunities.

Teachers will need better training in dealing with issues of diversity within the classroom, positive identity development and how to motivate learners towards a realistic future. However, this cannot happen if teachers themselves are not motivated to teach. One of the greatest impediments to learner motivation is educator commitment. Learners often fall victim to educators who are inadequately prepared to teach. These and other negative experiences of learners engender feelings of impotence at being unable to influence their environment, their learning capacity, and their ability to make that future come about. Thus, disempowering actions observed by learners of educators distancing themselves academically and emotionally from learner issues may have a deleterious effect on those learners. This can be demotivating to learners, specifically those from disadvantaged communities who already have an impoverished sense of self with very few future prospects, and a serious indictment against our educators' capacity to motivate learners towards a better future.

Positive feedback from significant others such as educators may counteract the influence of racially, culturally or gender based occupational stereotypes and other environmental barriers.

Because Coloured students perceive numerous barriers in attaining their future goals, sources of strength and support are extremely important to help counteract these obstacles and strengthen these students' beliefs in themselves and their expectations about their future.

The cardinal finding here is that race affects available options and chances of succeeding in life. Therefore, competencies must be developed to assist these adolescents to navigate a sometimes hostile environment. Teachers are best placed to turn these perceptions around. Our political establishment as well as the media could help change these perspectives in working towards building unity, rather than polarising racial groups and assisting South Africa to achieve the racial unity which was fought for.

The prevalence of racism in our society should be perceived with the assumption that White parents socialise their children in terms of positive possible selves. Likewise, Black parents have to continue to instill in their children a sense of ethnic pride and an awareness that no social or racial barriers exist and how to overcome them should they be encountered.

The social and emotional support from parents and educators, as well as society which could buffer the pervasive effects of societal racism on the Coloured adolescents' future perceptions, seem to be absent. On the one hand, Coloured parents and educators are negative about the future.

Despite the lower levels of expectations that disadvantaged learners encounter in school, these learners do bring to school skills and knowledge that are not necessarily measurable in academic terms or found in books. In order to turn the traditional notions of weakness into strengths, marginalised learners need to be empowered to utilise cultural assets and wealth already in their communities. Schools also need to find ways to harness and exploit the cultural capital that disadvantaged youth bring to school. The social transformation of classrooms in South Africa will need to harness this richness of community knowledge when educating in multicultural settings.

The roles enshrined in multicultural education, namely to help students acquire the knowledge, skills, power and positive self-identity to pursue their life goals and remove barriers that prevent the pursuance of such, should be embarked upon more forcefully.

This research opens up a Pandora's Box when it comes to how South African adolescents' view their self-identify. This area of research needs extensive exploration. The researcher has detected significant shifts in the identity development of all groups. All adolescents have to rethink their identity as there may be significant changes; for example, the White adolescent has to rethink and reposition him/herself to being White in a Black world. The female child may also, as a result of the constitutional mandates which afford more opportunities to her, be affected in her identity development, as well as how she sees herself in time.

6.7   Conclusion

The words of Comer (1980:366) should sound as a warning to those who seem to sidestep or deny the existence of racism in our society, that all forms of racism *"from the benign to the malignant are harmful to all our citizens and to society as it may lead to internal conflict and a malfunctioning society"*.

7.   REFERENCES

Aapola, S. (2002). Exploring dimensions of age in young people's lives. *Time and Society*, 11(2/3):139-157.

Ackerman, C. J. (1990). Identiteitsontwikkeling tydens adolessensie: 'n groep sekondere skool leerlinge se evaluering van die belangrikheid van lewensterreine. *South African Journal of Education,* 10(4): 283-290.

Ackerman, C. J. (1995). Identiteitsontwikkeling by Afrikaanssprekende adollesente in die domeine van beroep en godsdiens. *Suid Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Opvoedkunde*, 15(3): 138 – 143.

Ackerman, C. J. & Botha, M. (1997). The relation between career maturity and career identity among a group of Xhosa-speaking adolescents. *South African Journal of Education*, 17(4): 180-185.

Adams III, V.H., Rand, K.L., Kahle, K., Snyder, C.R., Berg, C., King, E.A. & Rodriguez-Hanley, A. (2003). *African Americans' hope and coping with racism stressors.*

Akande, A., Akande, B. & Odewale, F. (1999). Putting the self back in the child. In *Culture and the self: theory and research from an African perspective.* Edited by Mboya, M. Pretoria: Ilitha Publishers.

Akande, A., Ntshanga, P. & Nyanhette, P. (1999). Communication – Its effect on the self-concept of children. In *Culture and self: an African perspective*, Edited by, Mboya, M. Pretoria: Ilitha Publishers.

Alexander, N. (2005). Scientific knowledge alone won't remove prejudice. *Our Genes*, 1(1): 30.

Allen, L. & Mitchell, C. (1998). Racial and ethnic differences in patterns of problematic and adaptive development: an epidiomological review. In *Studying minority adolescents conceptual, methodological, and theoretical issues.* Edited by Mcloyd, V. C. & Steinberg, L. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Allen, W.R., Bonous-Hammarth, M. & Teranishi, R. (2002). Stony the road we trod … The black struggle for higher education in California. *Report funded by The James Irvine Foundation and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.*

Allen, W.R., Teranishi, R., Dinwiddie, G. & Gonzalez, G. (2000). Introduction and overview: Knocking at Freedom's Door: Race, Equity and Affirmative Action in U.S. Higher Education. *The Journal of Negro Education,* 69(1/2): 3 – 11.

Allport, G. (1982). *The nature of prejudice.* 4th Edition. Readings, MA: Adios-Wesley.

Ancis, J. R., Sedlacek, W. E. & Mohr, J. J. (2000). Student's perceptions of campus climate by race. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 78(2): 180 – 186.

Arminio, J. (2001). Exploring the nature of race-related guilt. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and development*, 29:239-252.

Athawale, R. (2004). *Cultural, gender and socio-economic differences in time perspective among adolescents.* Unpublished dissertation. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State.

Bacor, P. (2002). The climate in Higher education: the impact of diversity and multiculturalism on the campus climate and today's college students. Available from http://www.colostate.edu/depts/DSA/SAHE/JOURNAL/2002/bacor.htm 1 – 6. Accessed on 20 May 2006.

Badenhorst, M. G. (1997). *Die beleweniswereld van die adolesente met diabetes mellitus met verwysing na die ondersteuningsrol van die huisgesin.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Bloemfontein: Universiteit van die Vrystaat.

Babbie, E. (2004). *The practice of social research (10th Edition).* United States: Thomson Wadsworth.

Barbarin, O. A. & Richter, L. M. (2001). *Mandella's children: growing up in post-apartheid South Africa*. New York: Routledge.

Baruth, L. G. & Manning, M. L. (2003). *Multicultural counseling and psychotherapy: a lifespan perspective.* 3rd edition. Columbus Ohio: Merril Prentice Hall.

Becker, B. E. & Luthar, S. S. (2002). Social-emotional factors affecting achievement outcomes among disadvantaged students: closing the achievement gap. *Educational Psychologist*, 37(4): 197-214.

Bee, H. & Boyd, D. (2003). *Lifespan development.* 3rd edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C. & Kagee, A. (2006). *Fundamentals of social research methods: an African perspective.* 4th edition. Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Bogdan, R. C. and Biklen, S. K. (1998). *Qualitative research for education: an Introduction to theory and methods.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bong, M. (2003). Academic motivation in self-efficacy, task value, achievement goal orientations and attributional beliefs. The Journal of Educational Research, 12(3): 287 – 301.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking racism: towards a structural interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, 62(3): 465 – 480.

Boshielo, N. E. (2002). *The impact of parental involvement on the future time perspective of the adolescent learner in Siyabuswa: a situational analysis.* Unpublished dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa (UNISA).

Botha, M. & Ackerman, C. J. (1997). Career identity development among a Group of Xhosa-speaking adolescents. *Suid Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Opvoedkunde*, 17(2): 72 – 74.

Brewer, J. & Hunter, A. (1989). *Multimethod research: a synthesis of styles.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Brockman, M., Butt, J. & Fisher, M. (2001). The experience of racism: black staff on Social Services. *Research, Policy and Planning*, 19(2): 1 – 10.

Brock-Utne, B. (2000). *Whose education for all? The reconolization of the African mind.* New York: Falmer Press.

Brown, W. T. & Jones, J. M. (2004). The substance of things hoped for: a study of the Future Orientation, minority perceptions, academic engagement and academic performance of Black high school students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 30(2): 248-273.

Buchholz, E. S. & Catton, R. (1999). Adolescents' perceptions of aloneness and Loneliness. *Adolescence,* 34(133): 203-213.

Burnett, P. C. (2002). Teacher praise and feedback and students' perception of the classroom environment. *Educational Psychology*, 22(1): 6 – 16.

Calabrese, R.L. & Underwood, E. (1994). The effects of school generated racism. *The High School Journal*, 77(4): 267 – 273.

Caldwell, C.H., Kohn-Wood, L.P., Schmeelk-Cone, K.H., Chavous, T.M. & Zimmerman, M.A. (2004). Racial discrimination and racial identity as risk or protective factors for violent behaviours in African American young adults. *American Journal of Community Psychology,* 33(1/2): 91 – 104.

Carlson, C. I., Wilson, K. D. & Hargrave, J. L. (2003). The effect of school racial composition on Hispanic intergroup relations. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 20(2): 203 – 220.

Carney, J. H., Joiner, J. F. and Tragou, H. (1997). Categorizing and manipulating qualitative data using the Word Perfect word processor. *The qualitative report*, 3(1): 1 -8.

Carrim, N. (1998). Anti-racism and the 'new' South African educational order. *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 28(3): 301 - 331.

Chang, M. J. (1999). Does racial diversity matter?: the educational impact of a racially diverse undergraduate population. *Journal of College Student Development*, 40(4): 377-395.

Chapman, T. K. (2004). Foundations of multicultural education: Marcus Garvey and the United Negro Improvement Association. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 73(4): 424 – 434.

Charles, C. Z., Dinwiddie, G. & Massey, D. (2004). The continuing consequences of segregation: family stress and college academic performance. Social Science Quarterley, 85(5): 1353 – 1373.

Chavous, T. M., Bernat, D. H., Schmeelk-Cone, K. Caldwell, C. H., Kohn-Wood, L. & Zimmerman, M. A. (2003). Racial identity and academic attainment among African American adolescents. *Child Development*, 74(4): 1076 – 1090.

Chevalier, M. & Houser, N.O. (1997). Pre-service teachers' multicultural self-development through adolescent fiction. *Journal of adolescence and adult literacy*. 40(6): 426 - 436.

Chisholm, L. (Editor). (2004). *Changing class.* 1st edition. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Claassen, C. (2003). *The state, globalization and education. Contemporary education.* Edited by Lemmer, E. Sandton: Heineman.

Coleman, A. M. (2001). *Oxford Dictionary of Psychology*. London: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, H. L. K., Casali, S. B. & Wampold, B. E. (2001). Adolescent strategies of coping with cultural diversity. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 79: 356 – 364.

Comer, J. P. (1980). White racism: its root, form and function. In *Black Psychology.* 2nd edition. Edited by Jones, R. L. (no Publishers and Place).

Comer, J. (1989). Racism and the education of young children'. *Teachers College Record*, 90(3): 352-361.

Conger, J. J. (1984). Adolescence and youth: psychological development in a changing world. New York: Harper Row.

Craig, G. (1986). *Human Development.* 4th edition. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Crawford, L.D. (2007). *Racism, colorism and power*. Available from http://www.nbufront.org/html/FRONTalView/Articlespapers . Accessed on 25 June 2007.

Cresswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five traditions.* London: Sage Publications.

D'Alessio, M., Guarino, A., De Pascalis, V. & Zimbardo, P. (2003). Testing Zimbardo's Stanford Time Perspective Inventory (STPI) – Short Form. An Italian study. *Time and Society,* 12(2/3): 333 – 347.

Dapkus, M.A. (1984). *Thematic analysis of the experiences of time*, 408-419.

Davidoff, S. & Lazarus, S. (2003). *The learning school.* 2nd edition*. Cape Town: Juta.

Davis, D. B., Liu, W. M., Ledesma-Jones, S., & Nevit, J. (2000). African-American acculturation and Black racial identity: a preliminary investigation. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 28(2): 98 – 112.

Davis, H. A. (2003). Conceptualizing the role and influences of student-teacher relationships on children's social and cognitive development. *Educational Psychologist*, 38(4): 207 – 234.

Dawes, A. & Finchilescu, G. (2002). What's changed? The racial orientations of South African adolescents during rapid political change. *Childhood,* 9(2): 147 – 165.

Department of Education (2004). Strategy for racial integration. *Discussion document*, 1 - 25.

Department of Education (1995). The White Paper on Education and Training in a Democratic South Africa: First steps to develop a New System. *Government Gazette,* 357 (16312).

DFA Correspondent (20 March 2006). Solidarity members too white. *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, page 4.

Dickie, C. & Dickie, L. (2004). Education is not a matter of race: student perceptions of diversity issues in a Western Australian University. *Presentation: Curtin University of Technology South East Asia.*

Dinwiddie, G. A. & Allen, W. R. (2003). Two steps forward three steps back: campus climate, gender and African American representation in higher education. In *Survive the Odds: Education, Opportunity, and Society in the New Millenium,* Edited by Yeakey, C. C. & Henderson, R. D. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishers.

Dixon, J. (2001). Contact boundaries: locating the social psychology of intergroup relations. *Theory and Psychology*, 11(5): 587 – 608.

Dixon, J. & Durrheim, K. (2003). Contact and the ecology of racial division: some varieties of informal segregation. *Brittish Journal of Social Psychology,* 42: 1 – 23.

Dodds, J. & Chong-de, L. (1992). Chinese teenagers' concerns about the future: a cross-national comparison. *Adolescence,* 27(106): 481 – 486.

Donald, D., Lazarus, S. & Lolwana, P. (2002). *Educational Psychology in Social Context.* 2nd edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Dyson, M. E. (2004). *The Michael Eric Dyson Reader*. New York: Basic Civitas Books.

Engelbrecht, P. & Green, L. (Editors). (2001). *Promoting learner development*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Esau, B. (12 – 18 March 2004). A coffee-coloured conundrum. *Mail & Guardian*, page 27.

Everingham, C. (2002). Engendering time: gender equity and discourses of workplace flexibility. *Time and Society*, 11(2/3): 335-351.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin white masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Fink, A. (2006). *How to conduct surveys: a step-by-step guide*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Flaherty, M. G. & Fine, G. A. (2001). Present, Past and Future: conjugating Mead's perspective on time. *Time and Society,* 10(2/3): 147 – 161.

Fowler, F. J. Jr. (2002). *Survey research methods*. 3rd edition. Thousand
　　　　Oaks: Sage Publications.

Fuchs, E. (Editor). (1976). *Youth in a changing world: cross-cultural perspectives
　　　　On Adolescence, (Vol. One).* 1st edition. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Fyfe, A. & Figueroa, P. (Editors). (1993). *Education for cultural diversity*.
　　　　London: Routledge.

Gaganakis, M. (2004). Imposed identities: adolescent girls' perception of
　　　　being black and being white. *Perspectives in Education*, 22(4): 59 – 70.

Gati, I. & Saka, N. (2001). High school students' career related decision-
　　　　making difficulties. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 79(1): 331 –
　　　　340.

Geibler, K. A. (2002). A culture of temporal diversity. *Time and Society*,
　　　　11(1): 131- 140.

Gerdes, L., Ochse, R., Stander, C. & Van Ede, D. (1981). *The developing
　　　　adult*. Pretoria: Butterworths.

Gilborn, D. (1995). *Racism and antiracism in real schools*. Buckingham:
　　　　Open University Press.

Gjesme, T. (1983). On the concept of future time orientation: considerations of
　　　　some functions' and measurements' implications. International Journal of
　　　　Psychology, 18: 443 - 462.

Gloria, A. M. & Hird, J. S. (1999). Influences of ethnic and non-ethnic
　　　　variables on the career decision-making self-efficacy of college students. *The
　　　　Career Development Quarterly*, 48: 157- 174.

Gollnick, D.M. & Chinn, P.C. (1994). *Multicultural education in a pluralistic
　　　　Society*. 4th edition. Toronto: Maxwill Macmillan.

Goodey, J. S. (1989). Education in a multicultural society: some prevalent
　　　　theories and approaches. *South African Journal of education*. 9(3): 477 - 483.

Goodlad J. (2000). Education and democracy. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 86 – 90.

Gophe, M. (30 April 2005). Lack of Xhosa at Cape Town schools 'deliberate
　　　　racism'. *Weekend Argus*, page 6.

Govender, S. (26 August 2007). Schoolgirls tell of pain in the face of racism.
　　　　Sunday Times, page 10.

Greene, B. A. & DeBacker, T. K. (2004). Gender and orientations toward the
　　　　future: links to motivation. *Educational Psychology Review*, 16(2): 91 – 120.

Grootboom, G. A. (1999). *Needs of high school students in a multicultural South African school.* Unpublished thesis. Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth.

Grootboom, G. A. (May 1999). Schools should not be thrown together. *Diamond Fields Advertiser,* page 7.

Guerra, N. G. & Jagers, R. (1998). The importance of culture in the assessment of children and youth. In *Studying minority adolescents conceptual, methodological, and theoretical issues.* Edited by Mcloyd, V. C. & Steinberg, L. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Gurin, P., Nagda, B. A. & Lopez, G. E. (2004). The benefits of diversity in education for democratic citizenship. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(1): 17 – 34.

Gushue, G. V. & Whitson, M. L. (2006). The relationship among support, ethnic identity, career decision self-efficacy, and outcome expectations in African American high school students: applying social cognitive career theory. *Journal of Career Development,* 33(2): 112 – 124. Available from http://www.sagepublications.com Accessed on 15 May 2007.

Hall, S. P. & Carter, R. T. (2006). The relationship between racial identity, ethnic identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination in Afro-Caribbean descent sample. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 32(2): 155 – 175.

Hantrais, L. (1993). The gender of time in professional occupations. *Time and Society*, 2(2): 139-157.

Harris, T.M. (2003). Impacting students perceptions of and attitudes towards race in the interracial communication course. *Communication Education*, 52(3/4): 311 – 317.

Harvey, R. D., LaBreach, N., Pridgen, E. & Gocial, T. M. (2005). The intra-group stigmatization of skin tone among Black Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 31(3): 237 – 253.

Havighurst, R. (1976). Future Time Perspective and attitudes of New Zealand Maori and Pakeha adolescents. In *Youth in a changing world: cross-cultural perspectives on adolescents.* Edited by Fuchs, E. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Heaven, P. C. L. (2001). *The social psychology of adolescence.* 1st edition. New York: Palgrave.

Helms, J. E. (1995). An update of Helms's White and people of color racial identity models. In *Handbook of multicultural counseling.* Edited by Ponterotto, J. G., Casas, J. M., Suzuki, L. A. & Alexander, C. M. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Helms, J. E. (1996). Toward a methodology for measuring and assessing "racial" as distinguished from "ethnic" identity. In *Multicultural Assessments in Counseling and Clinical Psychology*. Edited by Sodowsky, G. R. & Impara, J. C. Lincoln, NE: Buros Institute of Mental Measurement.

Hemmings, A. (2006). Shifting images of blackness: coming of age as Black students in urban and suburban high schools. In *Beyond acting White*. Edited by Horvat, E. M. & O'Connor, C. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Henning, E. (2005). *Finding your way in qualitative research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Herring, R. D. (1995). Developing biracial ethnic identity: a review of the increasing dilemma. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*. 23(1): 29 – 38.

Hook, D. (8 – 14 October 2004). Identity question. *Mail & Guardian*, page 3.

Hunt, T. L. (1997). *Self-concept, Hope and achievement: a look at the relationship between the individual self-concept, level of hope and academic achievement.* Available from www.mwsc.edu/psychology/research/psy302/spring97/teresa_hunt Accessed on 13 February 2004.

Hurlock, E. B. (1980). *Development psychology: a lifespan approach.* 5th edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Husman, J. (1998). The effect of perceptions of the future on intrinsic motivation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Austen: University of Texas

Husman, J. & Lens, W. (1999). The role of the future in student motivation. *Educational Psychologist*, 34(2): 113-126.

Hyun, M. & Richards, A. (2003). Diversity and student satisfaction in an adult learning environment: an exploratory study. *Program in Liberal Studies*. Los Angeles: Antioch University. 1 – 7.

Jansen, J. (November 2004). Ten years of race, education and democracy. *Lessons from the field. Idasa.* Ford Foundation office for Southern Africa. 8 - 9

Jones, J. M. (1988). Cultural differences in temporal perspectives: instrumental and expressive behaviours in time. In *The Social Psychology of Time.* Edited by McGrath, J. E. London: Sage Publications.

Jones, J.M. (1997). *Prejudice and Racism.* 2nd edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Karatzias, A., Power, K. G., Flemming, J., Lennan, F. & Swanson, V. (2002). The role of demographics, personality variables and school stress on predicting school satisfaction/ dissatisfaction: Review of the literature and research findings. *Educational Psychology*, 22(1): 33 – 50.

Kavanagh, K. (Editor). (2005). *South African consice Oxford dictionary.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kidman, R. (2003). Looking ahead: relating future time perspective to problem gambling. *The Wager* 8(10):1 - 4.

King, J. E. (2006). Dysconscious racism: ideology, identity, and miseducation of teachers. Available from http://jstor.org/jstor/gifevtdir/ Accessed on 07/06/2006

Kivedo, C. (2006). '*n Psigo-opvoedkundige ondersoek na die stand van multikulturele opvoeding en die ontwerp van 'n multikulturele opvoedingdsraamwerk vir Noord-Kaapse skole.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State.

Ladson-Billings, G. & Tate IV, W. F. (1995). Towards a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record*, 1: 47 – 68.

Lagasse, J., Partolan-Fray, L. & Fabiano, P. (1994). Campus climate for students of colour. *Report of Ethnic Student Centre.* Washington: Western Washington University.

Lang, F. R. & Carstensen, L. L. (2002). Time counts: Future Time Perspective, goals, and social relationships. *Psychology and Aging,* 17(1): 125 – 139.

Leach, M. M., Behrens, J. T. & La Fleur, N. K. (2002). White racial identity and white racial consciousness: similarities, differences and recommendations. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development,* 30(2): 66 – 80.

Lee, R.M. (2002). The multicultural climate at the University of Texas at Austin. *NASPA Resources/ Programs.* Available from http://www.naspa.org/resources/complete 1 - 6. Accessed on 24 May 2006.

Lee, R.M. & Davis III C. (2000). Cultural orientation, past multicultural experience, and a sense of belonging on campus for Asian American college students. *Journal of college student Development*, 41(1): 110 – 115.

Lemmer, E. (Editor). (2003). *Contemporary education.* 4th edition. Sandton: Heineman.

Levine, R. V. (1988). The pace of life across cultures. In *The social psychology of time.* Edited by McGrath, J. E. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Lewin, K. (1942). *Field theory in the social sciences: selected theoretical papers.* New York: Harper.

Lima, E. S. & Lima, M. G. (1998). Identity, cultural diversity, and education: notes toward a Pedagogy of the Excluded. In *Ethnic identity and power: cultural contexts of political action in school and society.* Edited by Zou, Y. & Trueba, T. New York: State University of New York Press.

Macintyre, A. (2005). Debunking the myth of race. *Our Genes*, 1(1): 27-30.

Majoribanks, K. & Mboya, M. M. (1998). Factors affecting the self concepts of South African students. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 138(5): 572 – 580.

Malgas, A. J. (1998). *Die houdings, kennis en gedrag van 'n groep plattelandse adolessente ten opsigte van seksualiteit.* Ongepubliseerde verhandeling, Bloemfontein: Universiteit van die Vrystaat.

Malik, K. (2005). Making a difference: culture, race and social policy. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 39(4): 361 – 378.

Manning, L. (1988). Erikson's Psychosocial theories help explain early adolescence. NASSP Bulletin, 72(509): 95 – 100.

Markus, H. & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist,* 41(9): 954 – 969.

May, T. (1993). *Social research: issues, methods and process.* Buckingham: Open University press.

Mboya, M. M. (1999a). *Culture and the self: theory and research from an African Perspective.* Editor, Mboya, M. M. Pretoria: Ilitha Publishers.

Mboya, M. M. (1999b). Multiple dimensions of adolescent self concept. Relations with age, gender and scholastic measures. *School Psychology International*, 20(4): 388 – 398.

Mboya, M. M. (2003). The relative importance of global self concept and self concept of academic ability in predicting achievement. *Adolescence*, 24(93): 39 – 46.

McGrath, J. E. (Editor). (1988). The place of time in Social Psychology. In *The Social Psychology of Time*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

McInerney, D. M. (2004). A discussion of Future Time Perspective. *Educational Psychology Review*, 16(2): 141 – 151.

McInerney, D. M., Roche, L. A., McInerney, V. & Marsh, H. W. (1997). Cultural perspectives in school motivation: the relevance and application of goal theory. *American Educational Research Journal*, 34(1): 207-236.

McTavish, D. G. & Loether, H. J. (2002). *Social research: an evolving process.* 2nd edition. London: Allyn and bacon.

McWhirter, E. H., Torres, D. M., Salgado, S. & Valdez, M. (2007). Perceived barriers and postsecondary plans in Mexican American and White adolescents. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 15(1): 119 -138.

Mda, T. (2003). Education for diversity. In: *Contemporary education.* Edited by, Lemmer, E. Sandton: Heineman.

Mertens, D. M. (1998). *Research methods in Education and Psychology: integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Thousand oaks: Sage Publications.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, M.A. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis. A sourcebook of new methods*. London: Sage.

Miller, D. B. (1999). Racial socialization and racial identity: can they promote resiliency for African-American adolescence? *Adolescence*, 34(135): 493 – 502.

Molla, B. & Westbrook, F.D. (2002). White student attitudes about African American students in a university setting. *Research Report # 9 – 90*, Maryland: Counseling Center University of Maryland College Park, Maryland. Available from http://www.inform.umd.edu/EdRes/Topic?Diversity?General Accessed on 24 May 2005.

Motshabi, E. V. N. (1995). *The influence of the self-concept on the future image of Batswana adolescents*. Unpublished thesis. Potchefstroom: University of Potchefstroom.

Mpofu, E. (1999). Children's self concept and social acceptance in Zimbabwean multicultural schools. In: *Culture and self: theory and research from an African perspective*. Edited by Mboya, M. Pretoria: Ilitha Publishers.

Mwamwenda, T. S. (1999). Culture and self: an African perspective. In
 Culture and Self: an African Perspective. Edited by Mboya, M. Pretoria: Ilitha
 Publishers.

Nilsen, A. (1999). Where is the future? Time and space in analysis of young
 people's images of the future. *Innovation,* 12 (2): 175-194.

Nkomo, M. & Dolby, N. (2004). Common origins, common futures: reflections
 on identity and difference in education. *Perspectives in Education*, 22(4):1 –
 9.

Nsamenang, A. B. & Dawes, A. (1998). Developmental psychology as
 political psychology in Sub-Saharan Africa: the challenge of Africanisation.
 Applied Psychology: An International Review, 47(1): 73-87.

O'Connor, C., Horvat, E. M. & Lewis, A. (2006). Introduction: framing the
 field: past and future research on the historic underachievement of Black
 students. In *Beyond acting white: reframing the debate on Black student
 achievement,* 1 - 24*.* Edited by Horvat, E. M. & O'Connor, C. Boulder: Rowan
 & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Oechsle, M. & Geissler, B. (2002). Between paid work and private
 commitments: women's perception of time and life planning in young
 adulthood. *Time and Society*, 12(2/3): 79 – 98.

Onyekwuluje, A.B. (2000). Adult role models: needed voices for adolescents,
 multiculturalism, diversity and race relations. *Urban Review*, 32(1): 67 - 85.

Otto, J. (2002). *Die verband tussen toekomstydsperspektief en
 Gesondheidspraktyke tydens vroeë volwassenheid.* Ongepubliseerde
 verhandeling. Bloemfontein: Universiteit van die Vrystaat.

Pattengale, J. (2002). *The Hope Scale: a measure of willpower and
 waypower*. Available from
 www.brevard.edu/fyc/listserv/remarks/pattengale.htm Accessed on 13
 February 2004.

Pellebon, D. A. (2000). Influences of ethnicity, interracial climate and racial
 majority in school on adolescent ethnic identity. *Social Work in Education*,
 22(1): 9-20.

Pettigrew, T.F. & Martin, J. (1987). Shaping the organizational context for
 black American inclusion. *Journal of Social Issues*, 43(1): 41 – 78.

Phinney, J. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In *Acculturation: advances in theory measurement, and applied research.* Edited by Chun, K. Organista, and Martin, G. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Pienaar, J. M. (2002). *Die verband tussen konserwatisme en psigologiese Welstand by adolessensie.* Ongepubliseerde verhandeling. Bloemfontein: Universiteit van die Vrystaat.

Pigott, R. L. & Cowen, E. L. (2000). Teacher race, child race, racial congruence, and teacher ratings of children's school adjustment. *Journal of School Psychology*, 38(2): 177 – 196.

Pillay, P. (1991). Financing educational transformation in South Africa. In: *Education in a future South Africa: policy issues for transformation.* Edited by Unterhalter, E., Wolpe, H. & Botha, T. Oxford: Heineman.

Pintrich, P.R. & Schunk, D.H. (2002). *Motivation in education: theory, research and applications.* 2nd edition. Columbus Ohio: Merril Prentice Hall.

Ponterotto, J. G. & Pedersen, P.B. (1996). *Preventing prejudice: a guide for counselors and educators.* Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Ponterotto, J. G., Utsey, S. O. & Pedersen, P. B. (2006). *Preventing Prejudice: a Guide for counselors, educators, and parents.* 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Pouthas, V., Droit, S. & Jacquet, A. (1993). Temporal experiences and time knowledge in infancy and early childhood. *Time and Society*, 2(2): 199 – 218.

Prins, A. & Van Niekerk, E. (Editors.) (2001). *Counseling in Southern Africa: a youth perspective.* 1st Edition. Sandton: Heineman.

Proweller, A. (1999). Shifting identities in private education: reconstructing race at/in the cultural center. *Teachers College Record.* 100(4): 776 – 790.

Racismnoway *International anti-racism approaches.* Available from http://www.racismnoway.com.au/atrategies/international/index-_Anti_rac.html Accessed on 24 May 2005.

Rex, J. (1992). *Race and ethnicity.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Roche, A. F. (1976). Growth after puberty. In *Youth in a changing world: cross- cultural perspectives on adolescence.* Edited by Fuchs, E. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Roese, N. J. (1997). Counterfactual thinking. *Psychological Bulletin*, 121(1): 133 – 148.

Rollins, V. B. & Valdez, J. N. (2006). Perceived racism and career self-efficacy in African American adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 32(2): 176 – 198.

Roy, M. M., Christenfeld, N. J. S. & McKenzie, C. R. M. (2005). Underestimating the duration of future events: memory incorrectly used or memory bias? *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(5): 738 – 756.

Ryan, A. M. (2000). Peer Groups as a context for the socialization of adolescents' motivation, engagement, and achievement in school. *Educational Psychologist*, 35(2): 101-111.

Saldana, J. (2000). Social class and social consciousness: adolescent perceptions of oppression in Forum Theatre Workshops. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 1(3): 14-18.

Salkind, N. J. (1985). *Theories of human development.* 2nd edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Salzman, M. & D'Andrea, D. (2001). Assessing the impact of prejudice prevention project. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 79(1): 341 – 346.

Sanna, L. J., Chang, E. C. & Meier, S. (2001). Counterfactual thinking and self motives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27: 1023 – 1034.

Sands, D.J., Kozlesci, E.B. & French, N.K. (2000). *Inclusive education for the 21st century: a new introduction to special education.* Canada: Wadsworth.

Schostak, J. F. (Editor). (1991). *Youth in trouble. Education, social class and the Political economy of youth in trouble.* East Anglia: Kogan Page.

Schrieff, L., Tredoux, C., Dixon, J. & Finchilescu, G. (s.d.). Patterns of racial segregation in residence dining halls. *Research Report: The National Research Foundation*, 1 – 22.

Schwartz, W. (1998). The identity development of multiracial youth. *Clearinghouse,* 137. EBSCO Host p.1 – 6.

Scott, D. A. & Robinson, T. L. (2001). White male identity development: the key model. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 79: 415 – 421.

Sedlacek, W. E. (1999). Black student life. *Journal of College Student Development*, 40(5): 538 – 550.

Seijts, G. H. (1998). The importance of future time perspective in theories of work Motivation. *The Journal of Psychology*, 132(2): 154-168.

Seltzer, V. C. & Waterman, R. P. (1996). A cross-national study of adolescent peer concordance on issues of the future. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 11(4): 461- 482.

Shepperson, A. & Tomaselli, K (2001). Culture, media and the intellectual climate: apartheid and beyond. *Culture in the new SA. After Apartheid (Vol. 2).* Edited by R. Kriger, R.& Zegeye, A. Cape Town: Kwela.

Shih, M. & Sanchez, D. T. (2005). Perspectives and research on the positive and negative implications of having multiple racial identities. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(4): 567 – 591.

Silvestri, T. J. & Richardson, T. Q. (2001). White racial identity statuses and NEO personality constructs: an exploratory analysis. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 29: 68 – 76.

Simons, J., Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W. & Lacante, M. (2004). Placing motivation and Future Time Perspective theory in a temporal perspective. *Educational Psychology Review*, 16(2): 121 – 139.

Singer, A. (1994). Reflections on multiculturalism. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 284 – 288.

Skaalvik, E. M. & Skaalvik, S. (2002). Internal and external frames of reference for academic self-concept. *Educational Psychologist*, 37(4): 233 – 244.

Slabbert, V. (2001). Cross-cultural racism in SA – dead or alive? *Social behaviour and personality*, 29(2): 125 – 132.

Solorzano, D. G. (1997). Images and words that wound: critical race theory, racial stereotyping, and teacher education. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 5 – 19.

Solarzano, D. G., Ceja, M. & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: the experience of African American college students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 69(1/2):60 – 73.

Spencer, M. S. (1998). Reducing racism in schools: moving beyond the rhetoric. S*ocial Work in education*, 20(1): 25 – 36.

Steyn, H. J., Steyn, S. C., de Waal, E. A. S. & Wolhuter, C. C. (2001). *The education system: structure and issues.* Pretoria: Content Solutions Online.

Stouthard, M. E. & Peetsma, T. T. (1999). Future Time Perspective: Analysis of a facet-designed questionnaire. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*, 15(2): 99 – 105.

Struwig, F. W. & Stead, G. B. (2001). *Planning, designing and reporting research.* Cape Town: Pearson.

Styles, D. (1989). *Understanding the Freedom Charter: The political orientation of the African National Congress.* Cape Town: NSF.

Sue, D. W. & Sue, D. (1999). *Counselling the culturally different: theory and Practice.* 3rd edition. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Suzuki, L. A., Meller, P. J. & Ponterotto, J. G. (Editors.). (1996). *Handbook of multicultural assessment.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. *Clearinghouse on Urban Education*, 137:1-7. Available from http://web15.epnet.com/deliveryPrintSave.asp Accessed on 19 December 2005.

Takanishi, R. (1993). Changing views of adolescence in contemporary society. *Teachers College Record*, 94(3): 459-465.

Tancred, E-M. (4 – 12 Desember 2005). Selfs kinders ly aan depressie. *Rapport,* page 3..

Tate, W. F. IV (1997). Critical race theory and education: history, theory, and implications. *Review of Research in Education*, 22: 195 – 247.

TenHouten, W. D. (2005). *Time and Society.* New York: State of New York University Press.

Thomas, D. E., Townsend, T.G. & Belgrave, F.Z. (2003). The influence of cultural and racial identification on the psychosocial adjustment of inner-city American children in school. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 32(3/4): 217 - 228.

Thornton, M. C. & Wason, S. (1995). Intermarriage. In *Encyclopedia of marriage and the family*. Edited by Levinson, D. New York: Macmillan.

Timimi, S.B. (1996). Race and colour in internal and external reality. *Brittish Journal of Psychotherapy*, 13(2): 183 – 192.

Tooley, J. (1997). Choice and diversity in education: a defense. *Oxford review of education*, 23(1): 103 - 116.

Trad, P. V. (1993). The ability of adolescence to predict future outcome. *Adolescence*, 28(111): 533-555.

Tredoux, C., Dixon, J., Underwood, S., Nunez, D. & Finchilescu, G. (2004). Preserving spatial and temporal dimensions. *Research Paper.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Trimble, J. E. & Dickson, R. (2006). Ethnic Identity. In *Applied developmental science: An encyclopedia of research, policies, and programs*. Edited by Fisher, C. B. & Lerner, R. M. (in press),Thousand Oaks: Sage. Available from www. File://E:\New Folder\Ethnicity Identity.htm. Accessed on 2May 2006.

Tseng, W-S. (2003). *Clinicians guide to cultural psychiatry*. New York: Academic Press.

Turner, J. E., Husman, J. & Schallert, D. L. (2002). The importance of students' goals in their emotional experience of academic failure: investigating the precursors and consequences of shame. *Educational Psychologist*, 37(2): 79 -89.

Tyson, K. (2006a). *Flippin' the script: Black students' school success reconsidered*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

Tyson, K. (2006b). The making of a "Burden": tracing the development of a "burden of acting white" in schools. In *Beyond acting white: reframing the debate on Black student achievement*. Edited by McNamara, E. & O'Connor, C. Boulder: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers.

Vally, S. & Dalamba, Y. (1999). Racism, racial integration and desegregation in South African public schools. *A report on a study by the South African Human Rights Commission.* Johannesburg: South Africa*.*

Van Aarde, J. A. & Watson, M. B. (1994). *Study guide for psychology: an introduction for students in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: Lexicon Publishers.

Van Beest, M. & Baerveldt, C. (1999). The relationship between adolescents' social support from parents and peers. *Adolescence*, 34(133): 193 - 201.

Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Psychological Negrisence revisted: introduction and review. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development.* 29(3): 165 – 173.

Vandiver, B. J., Fhagen-Smith, P. E., Cokley, K. O., Cross, W. E. Jr., & Worrel, F. C. (2000). Cross's Negrisence Model: from theory to scale to theory. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development.* 29(3): 165 – 173.

Van Niekerk, P. (2003). *Contemporary education.* Edited by E. Lemmer. Sandton: Heineman.

White, F. (2002). A cognitive-behavioural measure of student goal setting in a tertiary educational context. *Educational Psychology,* 22(3): 285 – 304.

Wieder, A. (2004). South African teacher stories. The past speaks to the present and Future. *Perspectives in Education*, 22(4): 29 – 36.

Wolpe, H. (1991). Education and social transformation: problems and dilemmas. In *Education in a future South Africa: policy issues for transformation.* Edited by Unterhalter, E., Wolpe, H. & Botha, T. Oxford: Heineman.

Woolfolk, A. E. (1998). *Educational Psychology.* 7th edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

World Conference Against Racism (2001). *Education.* Accessed from http://www.unhchr.ch/html/racism/ on 9/30/03.

Wren, D.J. (1999). School culture: exploring the hidden curriculum. *Adolescence,* 34(135): 593 - 597.

Yeh, C. J. & Haung, K. (1996). The collective nature of ethnic identity development among Asian-American college students. *Adolescence,* 31(123): 645 – 661.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose cultural capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and education*, 8(1): 69 – 91.

Zimbardo, P. G. & Boyd, J. N. (1999). Putting time in perspective: a valid, reliable individual-differences metric. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(6):1272 – 1288.

Appendix A	GRADE 11
	QUESTIONNAIRE A

Dear Scholar,

Thank you for participating in this study. In this study we wish to understand how young people see this country. Please take these tasks seriously and answer the questions truthfully. **EVERYTHING** you write here will be kept confidential. In any publication of the results your answer will be combined with many others so will not be identifiable.

Please answer all the questions. If you do not know an answer, write "***DO NOT KNOW***" in the space.

SECTION 1: PERSONAL INFORMATION

			For Office Use only
1.	**School**		
	Rural	1	
	Urban	2	**2**
2.	**Age**		
	14 – 15	1	
	16 – 17	2	
	18 – 20	3	
	+20	4	**6**
3.	**Gender**		
	Male	1	
	Female	2	**8**
4.	**Place where you live**		
	Town	1	
	Suburb	2	
	Farm	3	**11**
5.	**Home Language**		
	English	1	
	Afrikaans	2	
	Setswana	3	
	Isi Xhosa	4	
	Other	5	**16**
6.	**Parents Education: How far did your parents study**		
	- 6	1	
	7 – 8	2	
	9 – 10	3	
	College Dip	4	
	Degree	5	**21**

SECTION 2:

In this section please imagine 4 groups of school pupils of your age. They are:

A. Coloured
B. White
C. Black African
D. Indian

For each of the statements below, please put the 4 groups in order like this: The group that is best described by the statement is given"1", the next one gets a "2" through to the last group which is least described by the statement. This group gets the rank "4".

For example, suppose the statement is "Fond of animals". If a person ranked the groups of pupils as follows:

	RANK			
ITEM	**Coloured**	**White**	**African**	**Indian**
Fond of animals	1	3	2	4

This means that this person thinks that Coloured students like animals most, followed by African students, then White students, with Indian students liking animals least.

	RANK			
ITEM	**Coloured**	**White**	**African**	**Indian**
I would like to live next door to				
Lazy				
Likely to be managers when they are adults				
Clever				
I might like to go out with (as a boyfriend or girlfriend).......				
Likely to go to university				
Dishonest				
I would invite to my party				
Likely to be unemployed when they are adults				
I would choose to be my friend				
Kind				
Likely to live in a good neighbourhood when they are adults				

SECTION 3:

Please read each of the following statements carefully and show how well it reflects your situation or feelings by putting an X in one of the boxes marked from 1 to 7. If you put an X in the boxes marked 1 to 3 it means you disagree with the statement. 1 indicates very strong disagreement. If you put a X in boxes 5 to 7 it means you agree with the statement. 7 indicates very strong agreement.

1. Given the same education and opportunities, blacks should be able to perform as well as whites in any field.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

2. It is important to work for reconciliation and brotherhood between all races in this country.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

3. It would be unfair if greater expenditure on black education were to be funded by white tax payers.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

4. If all races mixed freely they would certainly live in peace.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

5. Whites should not be allowed to keep their wealth. It should be taken from them and re-distributed among all the people of South Africa.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

6. Given favourable conditions black majority rule will ensure a stable, prosperous and democratic South Africa.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

7. Whites should have to suffer for the wrongs of Apartheid.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

8. Only greater equality between all races can in the long run guarantee social peace in this country.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

9. Whites are no better and no worse than any other group.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

10. After what they have done to other groups, whites should have to make some kind of repayment.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

11. This country would have a better future if political rights had not been extended so rapidly to blacks.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

12. Whites can and should play an important role in the new South Africa.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

13. The wealth of this country is almost entirely due to the hard work and leadership of the whites.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

14. Although black living conditions should be improved, it is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites still retain a great deal of political influence.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

15. Discrimination in favour of blacks in a new South Africa could be just as bad as discrimination in favour of whites was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

16. It is important for everyone to forgive and forget the injustice of the past in order to create a society in which all people will live together in full equality.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

17. In order to compensate for the injustices of the past there will have to be discrimination in favour of blacks and against whites in the new South Africa.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

18. It is almost certainly best for all concerned that interracial marriages remain very rare.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

19. The history of this country shows that most whites do not deserve to be treated with respect.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

20. It is important that drastic steps be taken to ensure a far more equal division of the wealth of this country.

STRONGLY | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   AGREE

SECTION 4:

Each of us has a number of identities. They are part of how we describe ourselves. For example, we are males or females and we can also have an identity as a member of a sports team or a religious group. The list below contains some identities. Mark as many of them as apply to you with an X.

COLOURED	1	ZULU	2	SOUTH AFRICAN	3
ENGLISH	4	SOTHO	5	WHITE	6
AFRICAN	7	XHOSA	8	AFRIKANER	9
BLACK	10	INDIAN	11	CHRISTIAN	12
MALE	13	FEMALE	14	HINDU	15
MUSLIM	16	JEWISH	17	OTHER	18

OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

………………………………………

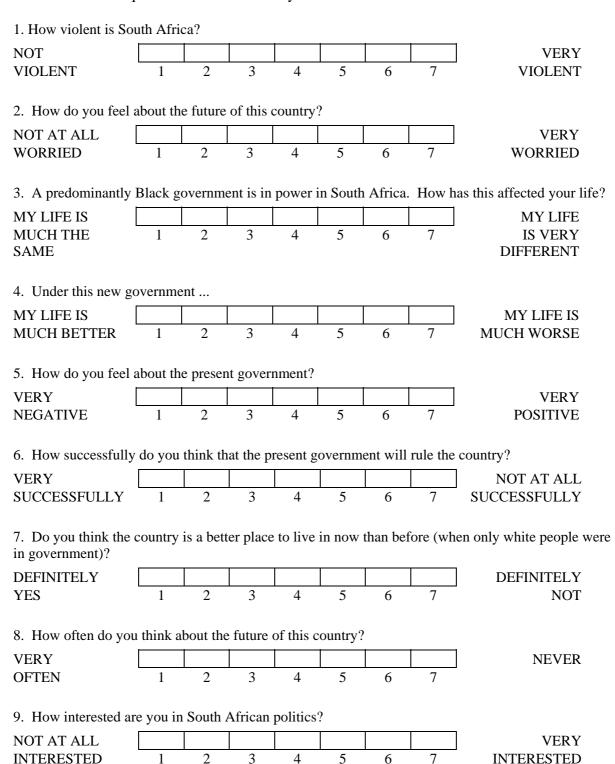Below, list your identities in order of importance. You do not have to use all 5 slots. For example suppose you see yourself as being English and South African. If being South African is more important to you than being English, then you would write South African in slot "1" and English in slot "2".

RANK		IDENTITY
MOST IMPORTANT	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	
LEAST IMPORTANT	5	

SECTION 5:

Please read the following questions and mark the box which most reflects what you think or feel. For example, in statement number 1, if you <u>strongly agree</u> that South Africa is a very violent land, then place an X in the box labelled 7. If you agree that South Africa is <u>moderately violent</u> put your X in the box marked 5 or 6. If you <u>disagree</u> that it is violent then you put an X in the boxes marked 3 or 2 (or 1 if you <u>strongly disagree</u> that it is very violent). If you think it somewhere between violent and peaceful, then put your X in the box labelled 4.

Answer the other questions in the same way.

1. How violent is South Africa?

NOT
VIOLENT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
VIOLENT

2. How do you feel about the future of this country?

NOT AT ALL
WORRIED | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
WORRIED

3. A predominantly Black government is in power in South Africa. How has this affected your life?

MY LIFE IS
MUCH THE
SAME | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | MY LIFE
IS VERY
DIFFERENT

4. Under this new government ...

MY LIFE IS
MUCH BETTER | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | MY LIFE IS
MUCH WORSE

5. How do you feel about the present government?

VERY
NEGATIVE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
POSITIVE

6. How successfully do you think that the present government will rule the country?

VERY
SUCCESSFULLY | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | NOT AT ALL
SUCCESSFULLY

7. Do you think the country is a better place to live in now than before (when only white people were in government)?

DEFINITELY
YES | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | DEFINITELY
NOT

8. How often do you think about the future of this country?

VERY
OFTEN | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | NEVER

9. How interested are you in South African politics?

NOT AT ALL
INTERESTED | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
INTERESTED

SECTION 6:

In this section we would like to know about how things have changed for you and your family since the elections in 1994, and how you feel about them.

When we talk about the OLD South Africa, we mean the country before the elections in 1994. NEW South Africa refers to the country after the elections.

Please read each statement carefully and show how well it reflects your situation or feelings by putting an X one of the boxes marked from 1 to 7. If you put an X in the boxes marked 1 to 3 it means you disagree with the statement. 1 indicates very strong disagreement. If you put a X in boxes 5 to 7 it means you agree with the statement. 7 indicates very strong agreement.

1. My family is having more money troubles now than it used to have in the old South Africa.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

2. Members of my family are more certain that they will keep their jobs <u>now</u> than they were in the old South Africa.

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

3. It is harder to find housing that my family can afford in the new South Africa

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

4. There are many more pupils from other "races" in my school now than there were in the old South Africa

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

5. Pupils of different races get along well in my school

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

6. We have more people of different "races" living in my neighbourhood now than in the old South Africa

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

7. There is conflict between neighbours of different races these days

STRONGLY								STRONGLY
DISAGREE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	AGREE

8. People leaving school in the old South Africa, found it easier to find a job than I will

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

9. My family and I are likely to leave South Africa now that the new government is in power.

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

10. Things in the country will improve now that the new government is in power.

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

11. I wish that we still lived in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

12. Other race groups have more advantages than my race group.

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

13. My race group has much more importance in the New South Africa than it did in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

14. I think there is less violence now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

15. I think there is more crime now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

16. There is much more international trade and tourism now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

17. There is discrimination against Whites, Indians and Coloureds in the new South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | STRONGLY AGREE

18. There is less sex discrimination and more opportunities for women in the new South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

19. There is more friction and tension between the race groups now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

20. The country's economy is in more trouble now than it was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

21. There is more interaction with the rest of the world and more acceptance by other countries now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

22. There is less housing and more homelessness now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

23. There is more freedom of speech and other human rights now than there was in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

24. There is a drop in the standard of education (in schools and in universities) in the new South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

25. People are generally much happier in the new South African than they were in the old South Africa

STRONGLY
DISAGREE   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   STRONGLY
                                                            AGREE

SECTION 7:
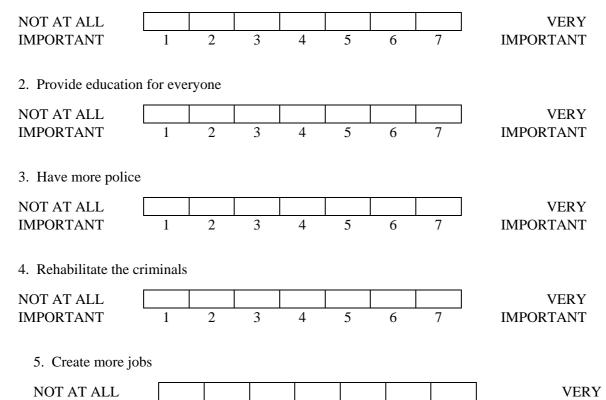
Who / what do you think is responsible for the violence and crime in the country? (Please mark as many as you think relevant with an X)

ENGLISH WHITES	1	BLACK AFRICANS	2	COLOUREDS	3
INDIANS	4	CHRISTIANS	5	MUSLIMS	6
JEWS	7	MEN	8	WOMEN	9
AFRIKANER	10	POOR PEOPLE	11	GANGSTERS	12
THE GOVERNMENT	13	UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE	14	SQUATTERS	15
THE RIGHT WING	16	THE LEFT WING	17	THE POLICE	18
THE ARMY	19	TRADE UNIONS	20	TAXI DRIVERS	21
POLITICAL PARTIES	22	(PLEASE SPECIFY)			

A number of solutions that might stop or reduce the violence in this country have been suggested. How important do you think each of these solutions would be in reducing the violence in South Africa.

1. Re-introduce race segregation

NOT AT ALL | | | | | | | VERY
IMPORTANT   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   IMPORTANT

2. Provide education for everyone

NOT AT ALL | | | | | | | VERY
IMPORTANT   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   IMPORTANT

3. Have more police

NOT AT ALL | | | | | | | VERY
IMPORTANT   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   IMPORTANT

4. Rehabilitate the criminals

NOT AT ALL | | | | | | | VERY
IMPORTANT   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   IMPORTANT

5. Create more jobs

NOT AT ALL | | | | | | | VERY
IMPORTANT   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   IMPORTANT

6. Change the government

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

7. Re-introduce the death penalty

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

8. Let the community be involved in fighting crime

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

9. Increase inter-racial harmony

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

10. Give more money to the poor

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

11. Promote political tolerance

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

12. Impose more severe punishments for crime

NOT AT ALL | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | VERY
IMPORTANT | | | | | | | | IMPORTANT

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP WITH THIS RESEARCH.

ADDENDUM B

Additional Questions

1. What kind of person would you like to be?

2. What are the things that worry you about: (Name 1)
Your school:
Community:
Country:

3. What are the things that cause you to lose hope?

Appendix D
Debriefing Statement

My name is Allen Grootboom, I am an Educational Psychologist. I was involved with the Educational Support Centre. I am currently doing my doctorate at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein.

My research is targeted at you young people to find out what is important to you in the future and how you see the future. If we know what worries you about the present and how you see the future, it may help us plan better so that your life and others who come after you may benefit. Your insights about society will help us plan ahead. Thus in essence you will be contributing to changing policy and giving guidelines that we can use in programs in schools to address those issues.

There might be questions that you will not be comfortable with. You may also find it difficult to answer some questions as you normally do not think about some of these things. However, answer as best as you can as there are no wrong or right answers. Your honest responses will be appreciated. All responses will be kept confidential. Remember, no one will know who answered what. Your responses will be analyzed with those of many other schools which will than give us an indication how today's young people think about the future and the issues affecting that future. Your response is therefore important.

After the completion of the questionnaire quickly read through your answers and make sure that you have answered all the questions. Should you not understand something, please put up your hand and I will assist you.

Thank you for your participation. You were a great help and your participation is highly appreciated.