

**ORIENTATIONS TO DEVELOPMENT:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS IN NATAL
AND KWAZULU**

by
Penelope Joan Geerds

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Masters of Social Science,
in the
Centre For Social And Development Studies
University of Natal
Durban
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ABSTRACT

In the last four decades social scientists have been preoccupied with the process of modernisation and development. Theorists who emphasised a normative perspective distinguished between value systems relating to individuals they termed urban-based and modern, and those they classified as rural-based and traditional.

Research for this dissertation was undertaken in order to study value systems as they relate to the development process, and in particular to test assumptions underlying the modernisation theory.

Data were collected in two stages; semi-structured, focused group discussions were held in two marginal rural areas of KwaZulu, and personalised interviews were conducted within metropolitan Durban by means of a predesigned questionnaire. Results were content-analysed in order to examine values within the broad categories of work, the family and leadership within the community. In addition, a factor analysis was applied to the urban survey data to assess general patterns of value orientations.

The results of the study did not support the widely held views of modernisation theorists, namely that traditional values are not compatible with modern values, that they are mutually exclusive and in conflict with each other. It was found that traditionalism and modernism, as defined by modernisation theorists, were compatible, and coexisted and permeated both rural- and urban-based people. Although traditional reactions appeared to dominate in the

sphere of the family, in terms of work and leadership no clear distinction was evident, and the traditional and modern were closely interrelated. In addition, a simple rural-urban continuum of values did not emerge.

On the basis of the findings and of criticisms directed at the modernisation theory in general, it was recommended that further research be undertaken in order to develop a more appropriate theoretical framework for development in South Africa. An holistic approach, incorporating not only the existing values of people but also broader factors which impinge on such values, need be taken into consideration in future explanations of underdevelopment and development planning.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1985 the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission commissioned the Centre For Applied Social Sciences (now the Centre For Social and Development Studies) to undertake a focused study on people's general orientations to basic aspects of their lives. The completed research was broad in scope, encompassing all social categories. This dissertation provides data on the responses of sampled Blacks in both rural and urban settings in selected areas of Natal and KwaZulu.

The researcher gratefully acknowledges the initial sponsorship provided by the Commission. The work described in this thesis was carried out under the supervision of Professors Lawrence Schlemmer and Valerie Moller. The invaluable contributions and support given by them is greatly appreciated. I am indebted to Ms. Barbara Gumede and Mr. Dionis Dlamini for their assistance throughout the rural fieldwork, to Chief Pangifa Biyela and regent Aggripa Dlamini for time spent on preliminary organisation of the group discussions, to the people of Ndlangubo and Zwelithule for sharing their opinions and thoughts willingly, and to the interviewers and interviewees involved in the urban research for making the collection of data possible. Special thanks are due to all members of the Centre For Social and Development Studies who contributed towards the data processing and production of this dissertation.

This study represents original work by the researcher and has not been submitted in any form to another University. Where use was made of the work of others it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

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conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Institute for Research Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.

Penelope Geerds

Centre For Social and Development Studies
University of Natal
DURBAN

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In South Africa there exist different levels of development between the core urban economy and the rural sectors. The gap between the two has been attributed to the contrasts between a developed society upholding modern Western values, and an underdeveloped society embedded in a traditional value system. Such perceptions represent an oversimplification of the dynamics of poverty and development in this country.

A legacy of structures - legal, institutional and constitutional - places impediments to the realisation of upliftment of the majority of people. In addition, the possibility of social alienation, demoralisation and a lack of trust in the system caused by the nature of a divided and segregated society such as South Africa is a credible cause of particular responses by people inhibited by their life circumstances.

It is not the task of this dissertation to attempt an examination of such issues. Rather, due to the persistence of popular notions and theories based on the modernisation paradigm, it was considered important to attempt to put a number of arguments contained in this viewpoint directly to the test within the confines of questionnaire survey research and supplemented by in-depth group discussions.

This dissertation therefore proposes to:

1. provide a brief analysis of the major line of thought amongst modernisation theorists,
2. investigate some basic values of people in rural and urban settings, and

3. critically assess aspects of the modernisation paradigm in the light of these findings.

Whatever the results, the researcher believes that any study of people's values is important. An appreciation of contemporary values of a community has important implications for development policies. However, the failure to fully understand basic human values or the reliance on and upholding of preconceived ideas based on hearsay rather than on fact has been, and still is, responsible for errors made in decisions regarding development policies relating to a society. This is particularly so where participation by, and understanding of, the people of the communities concerned is given second place.

Little research in this area has been conducted in South Africa and a study such as this can provide useful insight into people's values in the local context.

In attempting to examine selected propositions of theories relating to modernisation, information has been gained which can enhance the debate about factors underlying development. In challenging the arguments it is hoped that this research will contribute to effective development planning for the well-being of all in South Africa.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter Two investigates the modernisation approach to values in development, citing criticisms of the theory. A brief synopsis of literature relevant to the South African situation is contained in Chapter Three. The research design and methodology for both the rural and urban sections of the study is described in Chapter Four. Results of the rural and urban research are discussed in Chapters Five and Six respectively, while the discussion and concluding assessment are presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

VALUES AND ATTITUDES IN DEVELOPMENT: THEORETICAL APPROACHES

2.1 THE MEANING OF VALUES

There is no specific agreement as to the meaning of values. The conventional usage of the word value commonly applied by social scientists closely allies itself with the concept of worth. In this sense values describe principles, standards, courses of action or qualities considered useful or worthwhile (Kahle 1983). According to Rokeach a value is "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." (1973: 5).

On a broad level Kahl provides a typical definition when he describes values as "general orientations toward basic aspects of life: abstract principles that guide behaviour" (1974: 8). This will be taken as the accepted definition in this dissertation.

2.2 THE MODERNISATION SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

2.2.1 Modernisation Theory

In the last four decades social scientists have been preoccupied with the process of modernisation and development. Although many assumptions underwent reappraisal, criticism and rejection, the approach put forward by a number of theorists, distinguishing between what have been termed pre-modern (or traditional) and modern societies, dominated research for many years (Eisenstadt 1973).

The major line of thought amongst modernisation theorists is that akin to development is the process whereby societies move from a traditional to a modern state. Modernisation is essential for development to occur and a preferable state towards which a nation must strive.

Most commonly the term **modern** is dealt with on a macro level and refers to structures, giving an emphasis to patterns (e.g. of urbanisation and industrialisation) and institutions (e.g. political, economic, religious, familial and organisational) occurring at a national level. It is not the intention of this dissertation to detail the various studies which propound theories on the process of modernisation at the macro level, although some consideration will be given to the perceived dichotomy between traditional and modern or urban and rural societies.

Many of the propositions put forward by modernisation theorists coincide or overlap with general distinctions which are made between rural and urban society. These distinctions are also contained in Tönnies' discussion of the institutions of **Gemeinschaft** (the community) and **Gesellschaft** (the society). Since Redfield (1941) many sociologists have become interested in the notion of a rural-urban continuum, oriented towards constructing typologies of rural and urban communities (Nash 1958, Kennedy 1962, Geertz 1963, Smelser 1963, Chodak 1973 & Long 1977). These theorists generally suggest the following broad characteristics of each community type:

Rural:

- a. a subsistence economy which ideally tends to produce everything it needs, and almost exclusively for its own direct consumption. It is based on small-scale, technologically simple agricultural production, mostly on a farm-group basis. The increase of its output depends on the increase of its internal needs, usually connected to the number of dependants per household,

- b. the people have a semi-worshipping attitude to the land,
- c. the familial group is the basic economic unit of production. Family and productive roles coincide. There is a persistence of extended or joint family organisation,
- d. kinship constitutes a primary organising structure within the community; for example, recruitment of labour is along kinship lines,
- e. there is a sharp division of labour between the sexes,
- f. little emphasis is given to personal choice in the selection of a marriage partner,
- g. each member of the society is subject to the strong controls of the local community. Hereditary lineage elders exercise authority,
- h. there is strong attachment to the locality, and a powerful sense of belonging and group solidarity when competition or threat is encountered from other communities. Allied to this is a distrust of strangers,
- i. there is an ascriptive allocation of roles and positions,
- j. the society is homogenous,
- k. the sacred prevails over the secular, and
- l. a strong respect for tradition is shown.

Urban:

- a. specialised, autonomous social units exist e.g. the nuclear family,
- b. the family's consumption and production activities are separated. Familial activities concentrate on emotional gratification and socialisation,
- c. wage labour predominates as people become involved in a money economy,
- d. emphasis is given to personal choice in the selection of a marriage partner,
- e. women are more independent economically, politically and socially. They are less subservient in their behaviour, particularly to their husbands. There is a reduction in the sharp division of labour between the sexes,
- f. recruitment to occupational, political and religious positions

- depends on achievement criteria, wealth, education, qualifications, experience and leadership in associations,
- g. multi-functional roles are replaced by more specialised ones,
- h. individual mobility increases,
- i. people develop new types of social relationships through participation in cooperative enterprises e.g. trade unions and churches,
- j. people are more individualistic in their behaviour. Urban society is therefore heterogeneous, and
- k. a desire to maximise material prosperity predominates. There is a rational pursuit of self-interest.

The theories of modernisation make a distinction between the value orientations and motivational states of modern and traditional forms of social organisation. At the heart of these theories lie Parsons' (1966) pattern variables, namely value patterns governing the behaviour of one actor to another. Parsons contrasts the modern and the traditional as follows:

- a. universalism (regarding individuals as members of classificatory groups) vs. particularism (treating individuals as individuals),
- b. achievement (responding to an individual because of what he has achieved) vs. ascription (responding to an individual because of his given attributes),
- c. specificity (regarding an individual as the provider of specialised services) vs. diffuseness (regarding him as the provider of many services e.g. that of a farmer, community leader, parent, religious functionary),
- d. self orientation vs. collective orientation, and
- e. affectivity vs. affective neutrality.

Hoselitz (1960) applies Parsons' pattern variables to the study of the development process. He argues that developed societies are characterised by universalism, achievement orientation and functional specificity. Undeveloped societies have the opposite variables of particularism, ascription and functional diffuseness. He

conceptualises the change to a modern society as entailing the eventual modification or elimination of traditional pattern variables.

A particular line of analysis concerns itself specifically with individual development; changes in attitudes, values and behaviour.

Ever since the pioneering work by Max Weber (1904) in the field of the impact of Protestant values and the growth of capitalism, sociologists have been concerned with the interrelationship between value systems and socioeconomic achievement in communities. Weber was fascinated by the process of rationalisation taking place in Western Europe, believing that the application of the principle of rationality was a dynamic force behind capitalistic behaviour. In his study of European capitalism he attempted to trace the origins of rational conduct to a religious ethic practised by certain ascetic Protestant sects which stressed amongst other things the value of hard work combined with an austere style of living. In the same way as Weber attributed the beginning and subsequent spread of industrial growth and changes related to it to an ethos, Bellah (1968) ascribed it to a specific motivation and behaviour. He talked about a spiritual phenomenon, or a kind of mentality, a strength of the individual to extend outwards, to calculate and to plan.

A group of writers such as Hagen (1962) and McClelland (1962) reformulated Weber's argument in social-psychological terms and hypothesised that certain attitudinal or personality changes precede and accompany development.

A major theme in McClelland's thesis is that the entrepreneurial spirit of men is ultimately responsible for the pace and extent of the development of a society. He does not accept that external resources will account for development. What matters is how people respond to challenges, and how they respond depends on the strength

of their desire for achievement; setting realistic goals, taking calculated risks, assuming personal responsibility, and evaluating and following up on work done. McClelland describes different aspects of the achievement sequence as follows:

"defining the problem, wanting to solve it, thinking of means of solving it, thinking of difficulties that get in the way of solving it (either in one's self or in the environment), thinking of people who might help in solving it, and anticipating what would happen if one succeeded or failed." (1962: 164).

To McClelland, a strong achievement motive comes from learned values, beliefs and ideology. He based this proposition on his studies of the family which show that for a child three factors are important, namely "parents' high standards of achievement, warmth and encouragement, and a father who is not dominating and authoritarian" (1962: 172).

Inkeles (1968, 1973) and Inkeles and Smith (1974) developed a conceptual model of individual modernity based on analytic, topical and behavioural considerations in an effort to define the type of personality one would expect to predominate under conditions of advanced modernisation. From evidence based on interviews with 6 000 men from six developing countries, they hypothesised that there is a set of personal qualities which cohere as a syndrome and which identify the concept of whom they term modern man against that of traditional man (man being referred to in a general, theoretical sense). Inkeles and Smith stress that these personal qualities do not differ substantially between cultures; what defines man as modern in one country also defines him as modern in another. They thus talk about the psychic unity of mankind.

Qualities defined within the framework of their analytical model distinguishing modern and traditional man are summarised in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1: MODERN AND TRADITIONAL MAN AS DEFINED BY INKELES AND SMITH (1968, 1973, 1974): ANALYTICAL MODEL

PERSONAL QUALITIES

1. **Readiness for new experiences and openness to innovation and change**
Modern man:
 More receptive to new ideas, ways of operating and experiences with people
Traditional man:
 Less receptive to change

2. **Growth of opinion**
Modern man:
 - (a) Has a disposition to form and hold opinions on a wide range of issues that arise in and outside immediate environment
 - (b) Shows awareness of the diversity of attitude and opinion expressed by others. Can acknowledge and tolerate differences of opinion and respects the right of every person to express their views
 - (c) More enthusiastic in gaining facts and information on which to base personal opinions. Strives to keep up with news and has a greater preference for items of national and international importance**Traditional man:**
 Limited range of opinion, as reflected by lack of involvement and participation in the wider world, in civic and community affairs and in local politics
 - (a) Takes an interest in fewer situations and events, and mainly those that are personally affecting. Wary of expressing any opinion about external matters
 - (b) Approaches opinion in an autocratic way, automatically accepting the ideas of those more powerful and rejecting those of inferior individuals. Denies different viewpoints out of fear that they will upset personal concept of the world
 - (c) Shows concern with local issues

3. **Time**
Modern man:
 - (a) Present and future orientation
 - (b) Has a strict sense of time and insists on the careful scheduling of events i.e. is punctual and regular and shows an orderliness in organising personal affairs**Traditional man:**
 - (a) Past orientation
 - (b) Less punctual, regular and orderly in organising personal affairs

4. **Efficacy****Modern man:**

Has broken away from passivity and fatalism when faced with life's problems. This implies a mastery over nature and the environment and a belief that individuals have the ability to control and organise their lives, overcoming the challenges it presents at all levels, whether alone or with others

Traditional man:

Passive with little or no belief in personal abilities of control

5. **Planning****Modern man:**

Highly values careful planning as a way of attaining personal and community goals

Traditional man:

Does not plan carefully

6. **Calculability and trust (closely related to the sense of efficacy)****Modern man:**

Regards the world as lawful, predictable and under human control. Feels confident that people and institutions are reliable and will fulfil their obligations and meet their responsibilities

Traditional man:

Less prepared to trust strangers. Believes in the influence of fate

7. **Distributive justice****Modern man:**

Believes that the structure of rewards should be in accordance with skill and social contributions and be part of a formal system governed by rules universally applied

Traditional man:

Regards rewards as being largely determined by power, special status, or haphazardly by those who control the distribution of benefits

8. **Aspirations, education and learning****Modern man:**

Places high value on formal education where skills e.g. reading, writing and arithmetic are taught. Faith in science and technology predominates. Has greater ambition for self and children, to achieve high occupational and educational goals

Traditional man:

Believes in traditional wisdom. Where formal schooling exists it is often used for religious instruction and for inculcating and preserving traditional values

9. **Awareness of, and respect for, the dignity of others****Modern man:**

More aware and respectful of the dignity of subordinates in the work situation and in relations with those inferior in status and power e.g. women, children

Traditional man:

Less aware and respectful of the dignity of subordinates

As a supplement to the analytic model of individual modernity Inkeles (1968, 1973) and Inkeles and Smith (1974) identify factors which they regard as either preconditions of modernisation or as accompaniments to the consequences of modernisation (i.e. the cost of becoming modern). These they include in their topical model:

1. **Family and kinship.**

Increased urbanisation and industrialisation tend to diminish the strength of extended kinship relations while increasing the degree of responsibility to the immediate nuclear family. However, industrial employment can strengthen some extended family ties because, with a steady job and income, the worker is in a better economic position to accept kinship obligations.

2. **The status of women in society.**

Traditional societies are usually male-dominated whereas the liberating effect of modernisation influences men's attitudes towards recognising equality between the sexes.

3. **Religion.**

The individual's adherence to the doctrine of his traditional religion is somewhat undermined by modern living. The fulfilment of religious obligations may, however, increase in practice as more facilities are available and more money is at hand to pay for services.

4. **The aged.**

In traditional societies a great respect for the elderly is shown. The structural changes accompanying modernisation may lead to an erosion of such respect; the position of the aged is undercut; the youth become independent of their fathers' authority; the influence of the media makes it difficult for the older generation to enforce traditional values and norms. However, urban living and its benefits (e.g. wages and stable life conditions) may also enable the young to more easily fulfil obligations to the aged.

5. **Politics.**

In contrast to traditional man, modern man participates and takes an active interest in issues which are personal and which affect the community. Allegiance extends beyond family and friends to the state, the nation and its leaders. He

discusses politics, joins political parties, supports candidates and votes.

6. **Information media.**

Modern man exposes himself regularly to mass communication (newspapers, radio, the cinema and television), but not necessarily to the exclusion of the less modern sources of information and advice. Traditional man regards mass media with scepticism, as possibly dangerous and harmful.

7. **Consumerism.**

Modern man's stable financial position, his easy access to credit facilities and his belief in the abundance of merchandise stimulates a consumption ethic whereas traditional man considers frugality as good and consumerism as immoral.

8. **Social stratification.**

Traditional societies usually have closed class systems in which mobility is minimal. Men are born into their positions - sons succeed their fathers. Status and prestige are assigned mainly on the basis of long-established, hereditary family connections. Authority is respected and feared. In an open, modern society attitudes and values concerning stratification change. Prestige is assigned more on the basis of education and skill and there is a belief in the opportunity of mobility for all.

9. **Psychic adjustment.**

Exposure to the influence of modernisation and urbanisation does not lead to significant psychic stress (namely disrupting basic social ties and controls and producing personal disorientation and maladjustment), except for the unemployed and new arrivals to the city. The shift to industrial work is conducive to greater security through higher incomes and more opportunities for advancement, and a sense of personal worth increases. On the other hand it is strenuous to survive in less modern societies where making a living is difficult.

A basic assumption to the work of Inkeles and Smith (1974) is that modernity is learned in modern situations. The implication is that

men are not born modern but are made so by their life experiences. Education and occupational experience within large-scale organisations contribute significantly to inculcating the values of modern society. The school is the most important initial training ground; it teaches methods of conduct and orientation to others. These effects are inherent in the school as an organisation, and they follow from its informal, implicit programme. Factories, on the other hand, are relevant institutions of modern society for late socialisation, training people in appropriate attitudes, values and behaviour. With exposure to factory work, substantial changes can be made to a person's value system long after childhood. Thus individuals with little formal schooling can still become modern under the right circumstances.

As with other modernisation theorists, Inkeles and Smith (1974) assume that modernisation is a necessary precondition to development. They regard the **individual** as an essential element in this development process i.e. a society is not modern and will not function effectively unless its' people have certain modern values and dispositions. More specifically they believe that the development of industry will be interrupted or arrested if not accompanied by changes in the values of the population operating the new industry, consuming its' products etc. A nation will not be fully developed unless all its citizens are incorporated into the modern sector of society and have experienced fundamental changes in their personal qualities.

Inkeles and Smith (1974) caution of the danger that within the definition of **modern** some more powerful group may impress its own values on a less powerful group as if it was bestowing a **benefit**. The definition should not arbitrarily impose Western customs or standards of value on people in developing countries.

Other proposed models of modern man have elements in common with the preceding theory. For example, among the more specific values

appropriate to modernisation, Moore (1963) lists rationality in problem-solving, punctuality, recognition of individuality, and achievement aspirations. Ward and Rustow (1964) present a list of eight features of what they call **intellectual modernisation**, among which are items similar to Inkeles and Smith's themes of aspirations for learning, acceptance of change and growth of opinion. Pool (1963) also defines the modern in terms of values and modes of behaviour, among which are efficacy and openness to new experience.

Kahl (1974) contrasts traditional and modern societies, specifying the characteristics of each according to various categories; division of labour, state of the technology, the degree of urbanisation, the economy, the system of social stratification, education, communication, and values. He writes about values:

"Traditional values are compulsory in their force, sacred in their tone, and stable in their timelessness. They call for fatalistic acceptance of the world as it is, respect for those in authority, and submergence of the individual in the collectivity. Modern values are rational and secular, permit choice and experiment, glorify efficiency and change, and stress individual responsibility." (1974: 6).

The value syndrome of modernism which Kahl proposes was supported by evidence from studies he undertook in Brazil and Mexico. This core syndrome consists of seven closely interrelated variables:

1. **Activism.**

Modern man uses technology to shape his world the way he desires. He realises that control and change are both desirable and possible, thus he becomes an activist. In contrast, the whole structure of traditional man's experience makes him a fatalist. Lacking sophisticated technology he is dependent on nature (the weather, soil etc.). He adapts to life as it is, accepting rather than challenging and changing, often resorting to the comforts of religion as an escape.

2. **Low stratification of life chances.**

Closely associated with activism is modern man's belief in the opportunity to change his status, to achieve individual advancement. In traditional societies status is ascribed

rather than achieved.

3. **Low urban community stratification.**

Modernists tend to perceive the local community in democratic terms and therefore see themselves as able to influence public policy. Traditionalists perceive their community as dominated by those with higher status, an elite that ignores the opinion of the people.

4. **Low integration with relatives.**

Modernists view the extended family as a block to individual freedom and initiative. Traditionalists are deeply involved with their relatives, with whom they usually live and work.

5. **Individualism.**

Those classified as modern wish to be independent of their workmates and free to move forward individually in their careers.

6. **Mass media participation.**

Modernists read newspapers, listen to the radio, watch television and follow international and national events. Traditionalists depend on local gossip for news.

7. **Modern man shows a preference for urban living.**

There are additional values which Kahl associates with modernism, but to a lesser degree. These include trust in people, a propensity to take career risks, and a favouring of modern roles within the nuclear family.

Although the preceding components of modernism are mostly interrelated, Kahl believes that each is a separate variable ranging from the traditional pole to the modern, with the possibility of a number of intermediate points. Thus it is possible for men to be modern on some values and traditional on others. The further development of a society can be realised by fostering modern values, by encouraging a person to move outward rather than inward (for example, through education).

Lerner (1958) developed a model of modernity which he states evolved in Western society and reappears in virtually all modernising societies. He views modernity as a behavioural system, as primarily a state of mind of which an enlarged capacity for empathy is an essential and distinctive component. He defines empathy as **"the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation"** and **"for arranging the self-system on short notice"** (1958: 50, 51). It is the ability to identify with new aspects of the environment, which enables people to operate in a changing world. This notion of empathy coincides with the concept of openness to new experience and readiness for change proposed by Inkeles and Smith.

According to Lerner, the interdependent sectors of modern society require widespread participation which demands an expansive and adaptive self-system, ready to incorporate new roles and to identify personal values with public issues. His empirical evidence shows that people who are urban, literate, participant and empathic differ from people who lack any of these attributes on a significant personal trait i.e. having opinions on public matters. Public matters are viewed with interest and as important by modern man in his capacity as a participant, and he develops a broad range of opinions. In contrast, traditional man regards public issues as none of his business; he is incurious about most things that do not directly concern his daily life.

To Lerner the isolated traditional communities function on the basis of a highly constrictive personality. People grow up knowing the existing structure of roles and relationships in the community. Their horizons are limited by locale and their decisions involve only people they know. Within the society, psychic traits interact continuously with the established institutions from which they are derived and which they serve to reinforce. Lerner describes these institutions as authoritarian, patriarchal and changeless, prescribing the values of loyalty and obedience. In comparison, in modern society the desirous, seeking and acquiring individual is more evident. **"In the Modern milieu a man gets on by his wits in new**

opportunities, not by his inertia in familiar routines... aspiration, curiosity, know-how overcome constriction, impassivity, ignorance... participation replaces isolation, effort replaces acquiescence, initiative replaces inertia." (1958: 134).

In any society it is possible to distinguish the individuals whom Lerner refers to as the **transitionals**, the **men in motion**, people who have in common some of the empathy and psychic mobility of the moderns but who lack other essential characteristics. (These people he found to consider themselves happier than those who remain within the traditional way of life. This supports the conclusions reached by Inkeles and Smith regarding psychic stress). When many individuals show deviation in this direction a transition is underway in their society i.e. it has become a **mobile society**. Lerner proposes that such a society has to encourage rationality, and that in it "people come to see the future as **manipulable** rather than ordained and their personal prospects in terms of achievement rather than heritage." (1958: 47).

2.2.2 Criticisms of the Modernisation Paradigm

The modernisation theory has been criticised on a number of issues, moral and constructional. In particular, reservations have been expressed about the theory's application to development.

An assumption is made that modernisation and development are essentially the same thing. In addition, the researcher believes that the term **development** has been loosely applied, with little clarity on its meaning. At most it is linked to urbanisation and industrialisation, and **being modern**. This is too simplistic a view. MacDonald (1981) and Zulu (1985) argue that the term development should be taken to mean a process of transformation from one set of conditions, or state, to another, through action. This process may have positive or negative dimensions, but ideally it

should improve the levels of living of those involved, economically, politically, socially and psychologically. The ultimate goal should be situational and could vary, depending on the prevailing circumstances (Long, 1977).

Horowitz (1970) has highlighted methodological problems that he perceives exist within the modernisation theories. Firstly, interstudy comparisons are problematic in that components of a particular concept for one author are included in a number of concepts for another, resulting in differences in definitions. Secondly, comparisons made between different countries is questionable since the national conditions which differentiate them have not been taken into consideration.

In addition, Horowitz (1970) states that modernisation theorists assign to values a causal role in the developmental process since they believe that certain orientations are required by the participants. If absent, what are identified as **growth inhibiting factors** (MacDonald 1981) set up obstacles to the realisation of full development. There are, however, questions which need be asked: whether modernisation theorists have imposed their own biases in their perceptions as to what are impediments or constraints to development (Horowitz 1970)? Can they make judgements as to which values are right or wrong and assume that a certain value orientation constitutes a necessary precondition for development *per se*? Is it not more appropriate to look at the associated factors which have created existing values and to explore the socioeconomic potential (human and material) of the relevant areas in line with these prevailing attitudes? It is possible that values which are termed traditional may also hasten development, depending on the prevailing social conditions and the use to which these values are put.

In any case, it is necessary to query whether a Western-type value system will be appropriate in the development of underdeveloped societies. What to the West may have been a prerequisite to

development may not be true for other societies (Lauterbach 1974). The seeking of value incentives of the kind associated with Protestants during the rise of capitalism in Western Europe (Weber 1904) may be out of context with regard to the development of other countries, leading to the basic questioning of the universal validity of the view that a Protestant-ethic type, or more generally a modern type of value system is necessary for development to occur.

As Long (1977) points out, it is not possible to assume that the long-term results of development will be the same everywhere. The stimulation of, response to, and direction of development will be affected by:

- a. prior conditions,
- b. the type and flexibility of institutional structures,
- c. the availability of social and material resources,
- d. existing cultural institutions and value systems, and
- e. varying processes, for instance technological innovation, urbanisation and industrial growth.

To these, Chodak (1973) adds the influence of political systems in eliciting different value systems.

For example, the Dependency (or Development of Underdevelopment) paradigm takes an historical analytic, structural approach (Dos Santos 1969 & Frank 1971) to explain the causes of poverty in underdeveloped countries. They believe that the wider capitalist politico-economic system has shaped and is shaping the circumstances and values of the majority of the people. The West, in its relations with the Third World, has had a disintegrating effect on the socioeconomic life of these countries, and values transmitted indirectly by the colonial powers have influenced the colonised cultures, their values systems and priorities.

It was in the interest of the colonial system to encourage a dependency situation which affected the inner resources of people, their self-respect and their self-evaluation (MacDonald 1981). This

attitude of dependency derived from a long history of the poor receiving handouts, an absence of any real avenue for obtaining political power or participation in decision-making, and from the people having been oppressed for so long that they could see no way of overcoming their subservient positions or of realising their own potential. Contemporary national structures perpetuate the essential characteristics of the inherited colonial system, and values in the society are transformed and manipulated through the principal tools of mass communication and education. Initiative, independence and self-reliance are not encouraged, and apathy and a lack of motivation are evident.

There is ongoing debate about the integration of what have been termed traditional and modern values. On the one hand, the majority of supporters of the modernisation paradigm tend towards a unilinear view of development, believing that a **complete** change away from traditional culture is necessary for development to occur since the one set of values is **better, ideal and less backward** than the other. They argue that traditional types of values are not compatible with modern economic, social and political forms. Thus they assume that traditional and modern systems are mutually exclusive and in conflict with one another, and that old traditions are replaced by the new (Moore 1963). In contrast, other writers see tradition and modernity as quite readily coexisting and interpenetrating, with modernity embracing the traditional order and traditional culture permeating and greatly influencing the new structures (Chodak 1973). Under the impact of larger-scale, modern structures, preexisting values undergo change but do not simply become displaced. Some accommodation is made between the two, and people reformulate their norms and values. Eisenstadt (1966) comments:

"Within any group, community or organisation that develops in modern society many particularistic, ascriptive and diffuse orientations inevitably tend to persist and develop. Thus on the local community level the ties of friendship, often kinship and common residence, have many particularistic and ascriptive orientations that are perpetuated and often even restructured in modern settings." (In Long 1977: 24).

Horowitz (1970) states that if modern man is to be defined by such attitudinal scales as those proposed (for example by Inkeles and Smith), the question arises as to how consistent the attitudes of so-called modern men really are along the differing attitudinal dimensions. If a man is modern in one aspect is he also expected to show modernity in other aspects? Modernism and traditionalism may coexist in the same person, whatever the level of development of the society. Proposed value systems must not be seen as absolutes but, at best, relative tendencies distinguishing the modern and non-modern. Horowitz also challenges the use of the term modern as he believes that all people, whether by choice or necessity, live in a contemporary world.

A basic criticism to the social-psychological approach to modernisation is the notion of a tautology, namely that the interaction of values and development can be likened to the chicken-or-egg problem of what comes first. To the proponents of the modernisation theory, value changes seem to be necessary for development to occur, but value changes could follow rather than precede development. For example, Kahl (1974) associates modernism with a bias towards modern family roles. Exposure to and experiences with modern organisations and institutions creates modern people, yet one will only seek these experiences if one already has modern values. How do the non-modern achieve exposure to these modern organisations if their non-modern values prevent the organisations from developing in the first place? One must assume that either cultural imperialism from the outside or something akin to religious conversion will break the circle of reinforcement of non-modern values.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE

This chapter will investigate selected research articles which have discussed values as they relate to development in South Africa.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Whilst the modernisation theory dominated postwar literature until the 1970's, few anthropologists or sociologists directly applied the basic thinking to the South African situation. Little empirical work has been conducted purely or exclusively in the area of values and their relation to development, although, in analyses and statements regarding development in the rural areas and black advancement in industry, the question of values is often freely alluded to.

Excathedra assumptions and generalisations have been made in which it is hypothesised that culture or the values people hold are the core cause of a perceived lack of personal advancement or community upliftment. These are seldom substantiated by fact or valid proof and are, at the most, speculative. In addition, it is assumed that modern practices have to be introduced and the traditional nature of the society has to be altered before development can take place, as evident from the following quotation:

"The importance of the religion-based stimulus to development can hardly be underestimated. The Christian ethics, sence (sic) of duty and acceptance of the vocation of control of the environment are important stimulus elements for honest, diligent exploitation of natural resources. The conservatism and fatalism normally encouraged by ancestor worship have an inhibiting effect on the willingness to accept changes, which is a prerequisite for development."
(Botha 1983: 217).

South Africa has, however, seen the increased popularity of explanations which, without necessarily referring directly to theoretical paradigms, emphasise exogenous causes of underdevelopment and its concomitant poverty. Such studies have considered the relevance of, for example, contemporary national structures, apartheid policies, and the legal framework as instrumental in impeding or constraining development. Examples of these studies are given in the selected rural research reviewed below.

3.2 RURAL RESEARCH

The rural areas of South Africa are described as being in a critical state characterised by static or even worsening life conditions (Erskine 1982 & Van Rooyen, Vink & Stacey 1988).

Derman and Poultney (1984) suggest that, rather than trying to explain the source of the causes of underdevelopment through a purely cultural perspective (that is that the poor are poor because they are limited by their values and cannot take advantage of existing opportunities for self-advancement), it is necessary to take a structural perspective (that is that the situation has arisen because too few opportunities and too many institutional restraints exist for the poor to improve their circumstances). They prescribe a number of factors which intervene between values and development and which prevent the realisation of full development:

- a. the marginality of the rural economy which has been emphasised by unfavourable conditions such as drought,
- b. the narrow range of entrepreneurial activities and the lack of diversity in the rural economies,
- c. migrancy which has removed labour, skills and the educated from the rural areas,
- d. a high mark-up of consumer goods in local shops due to lack of competition and an inadequate infrastructure, and
- e. the high cost of education.

Daphne (1983) argues that many existing structures and organisations present obstacles to rural development in Natal/KwaZulu. He refutes the peasant conservatism thesis and says:

"It is not the attitude of the small farmers that is inhibiting development, but rather the lack of basic infrastructure, credit facilities, educational opportunities and representative structures through which their opinions and needs can be expressed." (1982a: 5).

Cross (1985) suggests that the issue of land is basic to the entire question of rural development as it forms the basis of rural society. As well as being of economic importance, its greatest value seems to lie in its social utility:

- a. local social status and leadership are defined. The structure of authority in the community is prescribed according to a system of social precedence based on the seniority of the older landholding families,
- b. having land rights means an individual has full sovereign status in a community, and
- c. land is used to establish affiliation and bonds of association within the community. Community organisation is partly structured by the ethic of mutual exchange, which provides that neighbours are obliged to support each other in times of need. This reciprocity provides security and stability.

Underlying the land-related value system is the dread of losing control, of disorder, which centres on the following:

- a. a fear of the potential of unrestrained individual self-interest resulting in conflict and antisocial behaviour which may destroy the community,
- b. a fear of strangers entering the community, creating strife by upsetting the social order and attempting to assume power, and
- c. a fear of treachery from neighbours who may be concealing hatreds which they will act upon in secret.

In short it means a fear of helplessness, of failing to safeguard resources and of being victimised and left in a defenceless state (Cross 1985). Conservative values tend to prevail in support of the indigenous land tenure system, a system which is known best and

provides security, stability, coherence and support mechanisms. Evidence from her study shows that this system adapts flexibly to the demands of the modern cash economy and is not an obstacle to development.

3.3 URBAN RESEARCH

There is a paucity of evidence which explicitly regards the values of black people resident in urban areas. Research into so-called black advancement in the workplace illustrates to some extent an analysis of values.

It is theorised that black workers are more strongly motivated by a need for affiliation than by a need for achievement. Nasser (1980) supports this, defining the characteristics of need for affiliation as lack of tenacity, group-mindedness, dependency, an evasion of obstacles, supportive and follower behaviour, and the dictation of goals by others.

Godsell (1984) and Cross (1985) found that the concept of ubuntu is central to the work-related value system of blacks. It represents the value of humaneness, acknowledging human worth and the dignity of fellow workers, and places social harmony and the rights and interests of the group above individual aspirations. Godsell stresses that ubuntu is "not inconsistent with individual achievement motivation, as is popularly assumed. Rather, the quest for achievement, whether at work or in the community is conditioned by a regard for harmonious human relations." (1984: 1).

McCarthy and Schlemmer (1984) determined that blacks in the employment situation place a priority on social support. Their analysis, however, while acknowledging the partial relevance of values like ubuntu, relates the finding to the marginal position of

black people in the urban industrial setting. Other groups do not feel as insecure and hence do not need the degree of social support that black recruits require. They have, instead, the confidence to form strategic contacts on an individual level.

Allen (1982) established, from a study amongst a sample of black industrial workers in Durban, that those with backgrounds of higher socioeconomic status who showed autonomous personality traits, an achievement orientation and a belief in the possibility of social change held positive views of work and of self-potential for advancement. Allen concludes that psychological characteristics of the individual are important in explaining the adoption of an **advancement aptitude**; for example diligence, technical skills, confidence, locus of control, determination and motivation to take on new and challenging tasks or roles. However he believes that modes of behaviour can be explained by things other than values; the intervention of structural factors external to the job situation influence outlook and self-image, such as the economic situation and race attitudes. If these structural constraints are eased, Allen says, blacks will optimistically foresee their own advancement in work. Other factors which influence how the work is perceived include education, father's occupation, and **know-how** and experience.

Schlemmer and Thaw (1984), in their study of blacks in an urban setting, found evidence of an emphasis on educational achievement, educational responsibility to children and family role rather than on a desire for job achievement. However they do not believe this to be a matter of culture but a result of other factors such as demotivation and an unwillingness to aspire to white criteria, which arise from a strong rejection of the South African socio-political and industrial system. They state that the values of urban blacks could be the result of extended poverty and **"distortions of social priorities arising from a heritage of felt deprivation."** (1984: 5).

As Morran (1984) states, black rural culture is still being held responsible for many of the difficulties experienced with black advancement. Alternative viewpoints do, however, take into account broader socio-political factors which are out of the individual's control; for example, discriminatory legislation and attitudes which affect self-esteem and confidence and lead to feelings of inferiority.

This thesis by no means aimed to put forward explanations regarding black advancement. Rather, selected literature relevant to the South African context provided some guidance in the creation of the questionnaire employed in gathering data for the urban sample of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This research, exploratory in nature, was undertaken in order to critically examine various aspects of the modernisation theory, particularly propositions regarding values as they relate to the development process.

The data were collected under the supervision of the researcher in two stages:

1. group discussions were held in rural areas, and
2. personalised interviews were conducted within an urban setting by means of a predesigned questionnaire.

4.1 RURAL RESEARCH

Field research was conducted in October and December 1985 in two districts of KwaZulu:

1. Ndlangubo, which lies approximately twenty-five kilometres south of Empangeni, and
2. Zwelithule, situated about twenty kilometres south of High Flats.

These areas were selected on the presumption that they are similar and typical of ~~m~~arginal rural black communities (i.e. not completely isolated but some distance from large urban areas).

Preliminary organisation involved the following steps:

- a. appointments were made with the magistrates of the districts concerned, who subsequently granted the researcher and co-workers permission to be within their domains,
- b. the relevant chief and acting regent were paid a visit. The

purpose of the study (namely to investigate basic values) was explained to them and, having received the magistrates' letters of authorisation, both volunteered to arrange the recruitment of participants for the group discussions in accordance with the given quotas. They also offered the use of buildings in which to conduct the interviews; in Ndlangubo a church and in Zwelithule the local courthouse, and

c. accommodation was arranged in an hotel and in a mission station close to the respective areas.

The method of analysis was exploratory. A qualitative, semi-structured, focused group discussion technique using depth-probing open-ended questions was chosen as the most appropriate form of gathering data. A list of specific questions was prepared in advance to ensure that discussions did not come to a standstill and that all relevant topics were addressed. Several questions were framed to examine different aspects of each topic rather than relying on responses to a single question. The interviewer had the freedom to reword questions, to introduce questions which seemed applicable to particular instances, and to change the order of the questions to conform to the sequence of ideas. However, standardisation was introduced as much as possible through the use of a set of predetermined questions so that data were comparable between groups.

Godsell (1981) believes that group discussions are likely to provide the researcher with sensitive insight into the values people hold. Subjects have the opportunity to examine and clarify their own values through questioning and articulation. In addition, an assessment of value consensus can be gained.

As a method of collecting factual information, the use of semi-structured group discussions has a number of advantages and disadvantages as set out below (References: Maccoby & Maccoby 1954, Kluckhohn 1967, Peil, Mitchell & Rimmer 1982 & Babbie 1983).

The advantages include the following:

1. No rigid format allows for flexibility and adaptability:
 - through probing and asking additional questions the interviewer can explore unusual ideas which emerge and introduce related topics, thus gaining a more accurate and fuller depth of understanding
 - the open-endedness enables the inclusion of topics which may otherwise have been overlooked. A formal pilot study is therefore not necessary
 - the order of questions may be varied between groups depending on the status of each group
 - questions can be expanded or adapted to fit local situations. Various factors e.g. educational level and experience may influence comprehension of the words; the interviewer may use modes of speech which are appropriate and meaningful to different respondents in order to be understood
2. A dynamic interaction occurs amongst group members with minimum influence from the researcher:
 - group dynamics can be studied
 - free interaction leads to essential issues being raised which may previously have been unknown to the researcher
3. The unstructured discussion closely represents a real-life conversation, and more true-to-life replies are encouraged
4. In the presence of peers or with the collective support of a group, participants may feel more confident about raising or discussing difficult issues or sharing personal experiences than if each were facing an interviewer alone
5. Underlying motivations and deep-seated emotions can be uncovered. Actual behaviour can be determined
6. By being on the spot the researcher can observe the situation
7. It is a useful method to employ, for example:
 - when it is not possible to gather information through quantitative research methods
 - when there are cost and time considerations. It is relatively inexpensive as it does not require costly equipment or a large body of research staff

The disadvantages include the following:

1. Error is introduced by not standardising all questions and by varying interviewing technique. The answers are influenced by the way the questions are asked
2. Research results cannot be generalised as safely as those based on quantitative measurement; conclusions drawn are regarded as suggestive rather than definitive
3. The data are difficult to analyse:
 - statistical detail is not possible
 - the researcher's interpretations and classifications are open to bias and judgement
4. Sampling methods are not rigorous
5. Communication between group members, the effectiveness of the discussions and participation depend on the group dynamics and the structural characteristics of the group e.g. group size or the composition of the members:
 - suspicious, unfriendly, aggressive or dominating individuals cause other participants to feel ill at ease, inhibited or unwilling to cooperate or voice opinions
 - disadvantaged members, e.g. those with a low standard of education, may fear ridicule or rejection when giving their opinions
 - the presence of peers or members of the opposite sex may restrain the discussion of personal material
 - participants may try to impress each other and therefore exaggerate
 - norms created to discourage individuals from making remarks against group opinion may cause participants to feel pressurised or obliged to agree with other members
6. It is a time-consuming exercise if people give irrelevant answers
7. It is costly if large samples are required

Five structured groups of eight to twelve people were interviewed in each area; two groups 50 years and older (one male, one female), two 26 to 49 years of age (one male, one female), and one combined group of males and females from the ages of 18 to 25 years. An inclusion

of sufficient numbers of young adults, the middle aged and the elderly enabled a comparison of people in different age groups. The older groups were separated on the basis of sex in order to eliminate inhibition of women by the presence of men, or vice versa, as stated above.

Economic and time constraints affected the manner in which respondents were selected; it was cheaper and more convenient to use a form of non-probability sampling, particularly as no adequate sampling frames of the areas were available. It is recognised that the samples were not fully representative of the population as the choice of subjects was largely arbitrary and subjective, although local *indunas* who recruited participants were instructed to select individuals, based on the given age quotas, from different sections of the communities concerned to include important life-style segments.

The sample sizes were forty-five people from Zwelithule and forty-eight from Ndlangubo. The maximum of sixty respondents per area could not be realised due to factors out of the researcher's control; for example, nonattendance because of rainy weather, long distances to be travelled on foot, crises or duties that had to be handled by participants on the proposed days of the discussions, and misunderstandings as to the date or place of the interviews. However the minimum requirement of eight people per group was reached.

Small groups were regarded as preferable to large groups as a method of collecting the relevant data. Sedran supports the applicability of small groups:

"respondents have a greater sense of belonging; not only do they have more opportunity to talk, but they also feel more inclined to contribute. A greater level of consensus is usually found in smaller groups, where there is more time for discussion, and greater opportunity for common ground." (1986: 6).

Although more ideas might be gained from larger groups, they are not as cohesive and individuals contribute proportionately less.

It would have been possible to enlarge the sample by interviewing more groups had the duration of the discussions been shortened or had longer time been spent in each area. The first approach was impractical considering the amount of information required from each group - the number of topics to be covered was already limited. The second alternative would have introduced additional problems; by the time the fifth group in each area was interviewed it had become apparent that the content of the topics for discussion was spreading through the communities by word-of-mouth, which was possibly reducing spontaneity and biasing responses.

Discussions were informal and were conducted in Zulu. Debate was stimulated by introducing challenging and provocative statements concerning relevant issues, playing a tape-recorded conversation or showing pictures. While one co-worker acted as moderator, the other assistant took notes and translated directly into English for the benefit of the primary field worker, who could then follow and control the flow of conversation and ensure maximum participation by all group members.

Group interviews were recorded on tape to enable a more comprehensive final analysis. The use of a recorder did not appear to inhibit the nature and quality of the responses, nor did the presence of a researcher of a different racial group, although the possible effects of both cannot be ignored.

The discussions lasted from 8.30 a.m. until 4.30 p.m. for each group, with lunch and tea breaks in between. The day was divided into a number of sessions, each corresponding to the broad topics of the family, work and the community. These three institutional contexts were chosen as exemplary settings from which people's basic

values would emanate. The researcher's choice of these topics was guided by the work of modernisation theorists. For example, Inkeles and Smith (1974) view values relating to such spheres as displaying distinct modern or traditional emphases (and thus determining the direction of their definition of development).

Before leaving, group participants were asked questions relating to personal background characteristics (see Appendix A).

The researcher gained a fuller understanding of the communities through going directly to the areas and observing the behaviour and interactions of the people. This is by no means a profession that the information gained and recorded is necessarily a fully comprehensive or completely unbiased assessment of those communities.

Results were content-analysed, and common patterns and similarities as well as differences and deviations from the norm were classified (Babbie 1983) in order to collect relevant information of Ndlangubo and Zwelithule as case studies for the purpose of the rural investigation.

4.2 URBAN RESEARCH

In contrast to the rural fieldwork, use was made of semi-depth personalised interviews following a pre-designed questionnaire (see Appendix C) to gather empirical data in selected communities of metropolitan Durban. As with group discussions, this method of research has both positive and negative features, some of which are reflected below (References: Maccoby & Maccoby 1954, Lund & Van Harte 1981, Loots 1982, Peil et al. 1982, Preston-Whyte 1982, Prinsloo 1982 & Babbie 1983).

The advantages include the following:

1. Information can be obtained in a relatively short time period, over a dispersed area, with a large sample population. Teams of interviewers can work simultaneously in various study areas
2. Respondents are presented with identical format, permitting consistency and comparability:
 - all questions are uniform (i.e. they have the same wording, including for translations)
 - the sequence and layout of questions are similar
3. Keeping to the formulated questions eliminates subjectivity of fieldworkers, thus more valid, objective, factual conclusions are reached
4. Errors of procedure, e.g. those resulting from changes in question wording or from variations in interviewing technique, are minimised
5. A degree of flexibility and free expression in responses is possible through the inclusion of open-ended questions. New perspectives on issues can therefore be gained
6. All topics are ensured inclusion:
 - the questions have been prepared in advance
 - the interviewers are faced with a standardised set of questions
7. A personal one-to-one interchange creates a cooperative relationship between interviewer and interviewee which can result in more satisfactory data unbiased by influences from outsiders:
 - no inhibition is caused by group pressure or the presence of particular people
 - time is available for giving individual attention to each respondent
8. Data are easily processed and analysed
9. A high level of reliability can be achieved in the coding of the material

The disadvantages include the following:

1. The interviewer is not free to reword or introduce questions, or to change the order of topics. This fairly rigid format

has limitations:

- an inflexible list of questions does not allow for adaptation to individual cases or local situations, nor does it accommodate for diverse situations
 - informants are inhibited from expanding on issues or giving extra information. Thus whole areas of importance which are not anticipated may be missed
 - questions which produce irrelevant material cannot be excluded during the course of the interviewing process
 - differing interpretations of a question cannot be explored nor can the degree of understanding of a question
2. The respondent is not encouraged to examine personal ideas, and can more easily hide true responses in reply to a simple set of questions than in more complex, in-depth discussions
 3. The respondent may be reluctant to discuss experiences or reveal true convictions or impressions in a one-to-one verbal interchange
 4. A standardised interview does not allow the interviewee to follow his/her train of thought, creating a stilted, unnatural situation
 5. All nuances of a response are not recorded. Information is not sufficiently detailed
 6. The researcher imposes personal preconceptions through the questions
 7. A knowledge of the people being interviewed and their environment is necessary before questions are formulated

The items in the questionnaire were designed following an extensive literature study by the author. A comprehensive list of items was developed for inclusion based on theoretical propositions (Lerner 1958 & Inkeles & Smith 1974), previous studies undertaken by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, a Gallup poll conducted by Markinor in 1981, plus indicative results of the rural fieldwork. A modification of Van Lennep's (1948) Four Picture Test and the Smiley Test were included, as were indices used in various scales and inventories (Rundquist & Sletto 1936, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford 1950, Eysenck 1951, 1954, Gough 1951, Davids 1955,

Bass 1956, Rosenberg 1956, 1965, Singer & Stefflre 1956, Rotter 1966 & Hunts, Singer & Cobb 1967). The questionnaire was finalised after a small preliminary investigation of trial interviews had been conducted.

The sampling design involved a mix of quota and geographically-based probability sampling. The allocation of randomly-selected geographic points (street corners), from which interviewers proceeded to identify respondents, was included to effectively eliminate the danger of interviewers selecting individuals only from particular localities or introducing other forms of selective bias. All road intersections of each allocated district were numbered on maps, the numbers were placed in a hat and the total number of intersections required per area were drawn, based on the decision that four people per intersection would be interviewed.

In a study with complex social content, much emphasis is placed on obtaining the greatest cooperation and establishing full rapport with those being interviewed. With a randomly selected sampling technique an elaborate selection procedure in households is required which, in the tense climate in South Africa at the time, may have led to distrust. On the other hand, a quota-based selection of respondents can be easily and simply explained. The length and complexity of interviews also made it necessary to reduce fieldwork time taken by call-backs to specifically selected addresses and by detailed sampling procedures within households.

The original sample was based on a quota design in which certain parameters were carefully controlled, namely residential area, age group, sex and achieved educational level. The sample conformed to the characteristics of the population concerned in terms of age, sex and residential area in that the quotas were acquired from the relevant 1980 National Population Census figures. It was not possible to use the Census to obtain the required breakdown of figures for educational level achievement according to specific age

groups. Instead, use was made of the population estimates in the All-Media Products Survey (1985) as a guideline. This Survey was conducted for the South African Advertising Federation by a consortium of marketing firms using a large representative probability sample.

The quota specifications yielded the following sample of respondents:

1. AGE

	%	
16-24	29	n= 58
25-44	47	n= 94
45+	24	n= 48
TOTAL	100	N=200

2. RESIDENTIAL AREA

	%	
Umlazi	54	n=108
KwaMashu	36	n= 72
Lamontville	7	n= 14
Chesterville	3	n= 6
TOTAL	100	N=200

3. SEX

	%	
Male	56	n=112
Female	44	n= 88
TOTAL	100	N=200

4. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED

	%	
None	9	n= 18
Substandards/Std 1 - 3	3	n= 6
Std 4 - 5	28	n= 56
Std 6 - 7	12	n= 24
Std 8 - 9	40	n= 80
Std 10/Matric	6,5	n= 13
Postmatric/Diploma	1,5	n= 3
TOTAL	100	N=200

The required percentages in terms of age, sex and educational level were superimposed on the residential area sub-samples to give sub-total quota requirements per area and to ensure a proportional distribution of people interviewed across the sample.

A problem with the sampling is that it did not allow for sufficient representation of relevant subgroups. Thus two components were included in the sample:

1. Graduate students. An additional fifteen blacks with university qualifications were selected solely on the basis of their education.
2. Hostel dwellers. Fifty males from five hostel complexes in the metropolitan area of Durban (Glebelands, KwaMashu, Dalton Road, Umlazi T-Section and S. J. Smith) were interviewed in order to gain the views of migrant labourers living in urban areas. A sub-sample of ten residents per hostel was selected on quotas (age and place of origin) based on a study by Moller (1985). Forty percent of the total interviewed originated from northern Natal/KwaZulu, 35 % from southern areas of the province, 14 % from Natal/KwaZulu west of Durban and 11 % from other areas of South Africa.

The final sample was 265 (See Appendix A for the total sample figures).

Before interviewers entered the field they underwent an intensive training programme led by the researcher, during which time they were informed about the aims of the study and were guided in interviewing technique. The period of interviewing extended from December 1985 to April 1986. Extensive back-checking of all completed questionnaires was undertaken and, in the case of hostel dwellers, interviews were conducted under the supervision of an experienced fieldworker.

Although the questions were basically non-political, the reluctance of people to participate in interviews because of the sensitive

climate of the country at the time was anticipated and the effects of the refusal rate were therefore assessed. It was eight percent (including non-responses to first approaches but excluding individuals not available), showing no significant bias. However, this is not to deny that the sensitivity of the people did not affect initial responses of participants, as reflected in selected excerpts from reports submitted by interviewers:

- "the people in general have this feeling of mistrusting everyone during these times of riots so this feeling prevails very much before you even start telling them or explaining about your interview"
- "some respondents in KwaMashu did not believe that I was an interviewer. They told me that some people came to them and asked them to pay R1 for the building of new hostels. With the help of a third party I was able to convince them about our work"
- "on the whole I found that most of the people welcomed and accepted being asked their views about things. Some of them even thanked me for coming, saying that I gave them a chance to voice what they feel about things. However there were others who did not trust the whole idea, who didn't see any need for research. Some of them were reluctant to answer because they thought that I might be working for the government and I just wanted to hear their political views and arrest them afterwards. I had to do a lot of convincing to make them trust me"

The interviewers were given a covering letter identifying themselves and who they were employed by, and explaining the purpose of the study.

On average the interviewing time was two hours. The length of the questionnaire could have been seen as problematic, but questions were varied to stimulate interest, for example the Four-Picture Test offered respondents a break from the routine of some open- and closed-ended questions.

Although selected questions from the questionnaire were content-analysed, particularly in relation to the same broad topics of work, the family and the community as used in the rural investigation, factor analysis was chosen as an initial technique in assessing the data obtained from the urban sample. It was applied to reduce the information to an economical description, to allow the wide range of specific issues to be interrelated and combined into clusters which together reflect the underlying value orientations of the people sampled. It enabled the researcher "to see whether some underlying pattern of relationships exist such that the data may be 'rearranged' or 'reduced' to a smaller set of factors or components that may be taken as source variables accounting for the observed interrelationships in the data." (Nie, Hadlai Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner & Bent 1975: 469).

It is important to note that factor analysis is conventionally used as an exploratory tool to make generalisations about the existence of patterns of data, therefore statistical problems (for example, sample size and selection processes) need not be taken into consideration. Assumptions such as a normal frequency distribution are not necessarily met as factor analysis is seldom employed for statistical inference (Rummel 1968).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS OF THE RURAL RESEARCH

The following specific topics will be addressed while focusing on the basic values and belief systems relevant to interaction with the physical, social and economic environments of the people of Ndlangubo and Zwelithule:

1. work,
2. the family, and
3. leadership within the community.

The profile of the sample will be considered briefly in order to give some indication of individuals' rural or urban orientation and religious affiliation.

5.1 PROFILE OF THE GROUP PARTICIPANTS

Urban influences appeared to play a minimal role in the life of the people involved in the research. Nearly the full sample (96 %) was brought up in a rural area, at least up until the age of twenty. Over half (52 %) of the participants had had no exposure to city life at all, and of those who had, most were males.

In terms of religion, 45 % stated that they were Roman Catholic, 26 % Protestant, 15 % attended African indigenous churches, and a mere 14 % held traditional beliefs.

5.2 VALUES RELATING TO WORK

The topic of work was introduced to the discussion groups by playing

a recording of a hypothetical conversation between a husband and wife living in a rural area, in which the woman indicates that she would like to go to a town or city to seek work. Group members were asked their reaction to this conversation.

Participants of both sexes from the older generation overwhelmingly supported the man in the tape, namely that it is customary for women to stay at home to take care of the house, their husbands and their children and not to work. The statement, "the idea of women working is new and confusing - it is foreign to us", exemplified this. It was argued that the woman marries into the husband's family and in so doing accepts the responsibility of looking after his home: "We as Zulu women are paid lobola to work in the home", and "if a girl is engaged she knows that she has to look after the home of the man who will marry her".

Concern was expressed that if a woman is employed, household tasks and maternal obligations will be ignored:

- "there is a lot of work in the house for the woman to do; feeding chickens, gardening, collecting firewood, cutting thatching grass, watering plants, looking after the stock. If the woman is employed there is no time for this"
- "youth do not behave well, so women need to be around"
- "the woman is the one in charge of running the household when I am away. She is my 'eye' reporting to me what goes wrong. It is not possible that she leaves to look for work"

Men of the middle age group gave additional reasons for why women should not work; that they may "go astray" and "misbehave", that it is wrong for a woman to become financially independent of a man, and that it will imply that husband and wife are equals in the house which is against Zulu custom.

Although group members were largely in agreement with the more

traditional outlook, some firmly believed that with the high cost of living and with values changing in adaptation to a money economy, it has become a necessity for the wife to augment her husband's income through employment. Arguments to the contrary were that it is the man's responsibility to support his family and see to the household's financial needs and as such the wife may only work if there is no alternative, for example if the husband is disabled or has lost his job. Also one cannot ignore the impracticalities which rural people face if women go to the cities to earn a living. They leave their homes and families for long periods of time and this has far-reaching implications on their children's upbringing and on family life in general. With many males leaving to seek work in urban areas, the women's position as the family keeper has become further enhanced.

Most respondents who agreed to women working specified that it was possible only under certain conditions: if they work from home or nearby so that they can still perform their household duties, if they have other family members who can take over their maternal role, or if they hire a servant. There was strong reaction against the latter (from the middle-aged and elderly in particular) as illustrated by these statements:

- "one cannot expect another woman to look after one's husband and children"
- "a woman can employ someone to do the housework, but looking after children is her job"
- "hiring a worker does not help a marriage as the man may be attracted to the other woman"
- "when the woman got married the ancestors were told of her coming to help in the house and they would object to a servant doing her duties"
- "who will pay the servant?"
- "the servant may become another financial burden for the family"
- "servants are lazy. They only do the housework when they expect the woman or man to come home"
- "a hired worker will not do all the work a wife will do. She only cares about the money at the end of the month. For us

there is no time for rest or a break, and we do not count the hours because we are doing our duty and know that we are not getting paid for our labour"

- "servants steal and cannot be trusted"
- "servants are unreliable. They can leave at any time"
- "a servant may not be able to do the job as well as the woman of the house. Even if we employ another woman someone needs to be there to tell her what to do"

The participants' attitude to women not working seems to emanate from the customary belief that a woman's place is in the home and that her role and functions relate to household duties and obligations. These attitudes are changing with circumstances, particularly amongst the younger generation. As a couple of males put it: "The traditional things hankered for no longer exist. Wives no longer wait on husbands, so they can spend their time earning a living", and "we cannot reverse things now - women are getting educated and they need to practice their skills". Although this may be so, few offers were forthcoming for men to share in or take over the women's household responsibilities.

A number of indirect questions were posed to the groups to determine basic orientations to work, for example: "What things about a job would you consider important if you were to leave the rural areas to seek work?" Older women found this question difficult to answer as they could not imagine such a situation, having never had experience with wage labour. Many of the men said that their aspirations are irrelevant as they have no choice of jobs due to the present high rate of unemployment.

Of those members who stated their priorities, the majority attached great importance to money. This is not surprising since financial security and a good, steady income is highly valued by those who live in an underdeveloped and poverty-stricken environment. Other factors rated as important include the opportunity to apply former

work and educational experience, the ability to learn on-the-job, develop skills and acquire knowledge for future use, physically light work, good working conditions such as easy hours and adequate time off, promotional opportunities and the chance to serve the community and help others.

After showing a number of pictures of people in various work situations in rural settings the question: "What qualities do you say are important in fellow workers?" was also asked of each group. The following hierarchy of values emerged from the spontaneous answers:

- interest in and love for the work
- diligence, hard work, conscientiousness, productivity
- good communication
- eagerness
- team spirit, unity
- achievement motive, ambition
- willingness to work
- preparedness to help, teach and share ideas
- respect for fellow workers
- risk-taking, trying out new methods for improvement
- trustworthiness, reliability, punctuality
- tolerance, patience
- speed
- responsibility
- physical fitness
- mutual trust
- prompt correction of mistakes, not postponing work to be done
- a sense of humour
- self-sufficiency, initiative, independence
- pride in work
- adaptiveness on the job
- receptiveness to learning
- consideration, sympathy

The above illustrates the value placed on a person's interest in the work he or she does. A large proportion of the participants,

particularly men of fifty years plus, argued that unflagging interest and love for one's work leads to progress and that this encourages others to act in the same way.

Included in the ability to communicate with others is the capacity for reaching mutual agreement, discussing issues openly and affably, and getting along well with people on a personal and work basis. Related to the desire for good communication is the notion of team spirit, achieved through people working together harmoniously as a unified group.

The debate regarding the advantages of group effort as against individual endeavour was explored during the course of the discussions when participants were encouraged to state their preference. Whereas a majority in Ndlangubo supported the former, the reverse was true of people living in Zwelithule. Those in favour of group work substantiated their opinions. It was explained that joint action is embedded in Zulu custom: "Traditionally people worked together, hand in hand, and there were no poor or rich. Not everyone had cattle but they all had milk because those without cattle were given some to look after, which they had to treat like their own. The people were all one". It was also argued that, by having many hands doing the work, output is increased within a shorter time period - thus the workload for each individual is lighter and there is more leisure time. ("When you are many you get into the spirit of things and work hard"). Workers pool resources, share ideas and learn from and encourage each other. Mistakes are spotted by others and so can be corrected immediately. Team work ensures that there is no stoppage through absence as the task is spread amongst those present. Members help each other out, for example if there is an accident. Communication between members of a community improves and the people are bound together in a common effort. As one elderly male remarked: "if there is ever any problem, people must learn to solve it together".

The sub-sample who supported individual work raised doubts as to the effectiveness or productiveness of team work because they feel that people working together waste time through interruptions and distractions such as talking and drinking. This requires skill to supervise. They questioned whether group work improves communication; quarrels may develop over personal or work matters creating a rift between the members: "conflicts and jealousy intervene to make group work a hindrance rather than a help". They also pointed out that people are not the same, that some are lazy "hiding behind others" or "taking unnecessary breaks", some make mistakes and "spoil your work", others are unreliable, do not fulfil their part of the bargain and tend to "pull you backwards", and yet others prefer working at different hours of the day and do not arrive at the appointed time. The remark was made: "You have to promise people in a group something before they will work - it's the carrot at the end of the stick and not the love of work that gets them working hard".

There was lack of trust of others amongst the participants who indicated that they would choose to work on their own. However not all reactions were negative or pessimistic. Some respondents gain a sense of fulfilment from seeing what they alone have accomplished, and they are in a position to learn from their own mistakes. They are responsible only to themselves, can plan their own schedules and work flexible hours, setting their own pace.

A minority of the total interviewed suggested that some jobs are more suitable for groups than others, depending on the nature of the work.

A further set of questions centering around the topic of achievement in work was put to the groups. The statement was read: "In your community you may have found that some people are more successful in their work than others. What are all the factors which could account for one person doing better than another?"

Factors perceived to contribute to success:

- ability of the person to plan and save for the future. He or she invests money, does not spend it recklessly on dagga or drink, budgets, thinks ahead carefully and decides how to achieve what is desired
- endowment with the "gift of God". Success is ensured to those who, through luck, have the gift whereas those without fail, regardless of effort
- financial resources, economic security
- hard work
- a combination of the gift of God and other factors
- interest in and love for the work
- educational qualifications
- respect for others
- the employment of additional helpers e.g. children, hired workers
- prayer to the ancestors, taking medicine for luck
- goal-directed behaviour, ambition
- intelligence
- responsibility
- application of talents and skills
- past experience and circumstances
- perseverance, determination
- working as a team
- curiosity, receptiveness to learning
- starting with small things and progressing step-by-step
- desire to succeed, achievement motive
- correct application of available resources (human and material)
- patience, tolerance
- creativity, experimentation
- taking up of opportunities as they arise

After discussing success, the groups were then asked to think of all the things which contribute to a person not doing so well. Factors perceived to contribute to lack of success:

- laziness, little application of effort

- postponement of work, by-passing opportunities, procrastination
- not performing necessary rituals, ignoring ancestors
- misuse of time and money particularly on personal pleasures
- financial difficulty
- lack of the gift of God, bad luck
- no interest in the work
- no aims or goals
- irresponsibility
- present orientation rather than one of the future, no planning ahead
- giving up when no immediate gain is seen
- unpleasant attitude towards fellow workers
- the elements
- lack of creativity
- carelessness
- unsuitable choice of work
- no motivation
- lack of initiative
- acceptance of life circumstances
- no application of intelligence, skills and experience
- little unity between fellow workers
- no available additional labour to draw from, few able-bodied men

A major theme which emerged is that success is a result of good fortune and the gift of God. This belief was held primarily by the women in the samples of the age groups twenty-six and above. Men, on the other hand, stressed the importance of personal factors such as planning, hard work and interest as determining prosperity.

The concept of luck and the gift of God was difficult to understand, thus it was often debated at length during the discussions. A few illustrations were given to explain the attitude:

- "two of us buy the same number of cattle at the same time - mine will have more calves than his"

- "two people work together earning the same amount of money - one of them opens a business whilst the other does not"
- "two people may be doing the same job selling handcrafts. The lucky one gets better sales"
- "some people work hard but can't improve, others don't work hard but do well. A person who does not come to anything after hard work is unlucky"

Many of the respondents could not say how or why one person is lucky while another is not. Most perceived it to be a natural thing out of human control, that you are born either with the gift or without it.

In contrast to this implicit, unconditional acceptance of fate ("no matter how hard you try, if you were not meant to succeed you will not"), some respondents believed that anyone can improve their luck if they combine it with factors such as hard work, determination, planning in advance etc.: "If people work hard, God helps them", "a person who has a wish to succeed sits down and thinks of how best to use whatever talent he has - he then works hard to succeed", "even patience and perseverance go hand-in-hand with the gift of God - never let up until you succeed, even when you feel discouraged", and "God helps you when you help yourself - that you have the gift is not enough". There is also a belief that people can pray to God, pray to their ancestors or appease them by holding parties and slaughtering cattle or goats in their honour, observe certain customs and traditions, seek advice from *Inyangas* or *Sangomas*, or take *muti* to enhance their gift.

The issue was complicated by a contradiction in thinking concerning control over life circumstances since most respondents felt they had the power to change some things, for example antisocial behaviour such as drinking and stealing, whether by self-discipline or through the practising of rituals as mentioned above.

Receptiveness to change was measured to some extent by reactions to

the work-related situation described below:

"Two boys took time off from their work in the mealie fields. They were trying to think out a way to grow the same amount of mealies with fewer hours of work. The father of one boy said: 'That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing mealies.' The father of the other boy said: 'The way to grow mealies is the way we have always done it. Talking about change will waste time and not help.'"

Individuals in the groups were required to say which father they agreed with, and why.

There was at least a two-third majority (of both men and women) in support of the first father, namely that new ideas need to be accommodated as they might prove beneficial and ensure better dividends while saving time and energy. Farmers should not resist methods which are in line with the times: "There is no way that we can go back and revive old methods", "there is no point in sticking to the old and tried ways", "today change is inevitable in everything that we do, and in farming some are good". Additional comments of interest included:

- "it shows that young boys are thinking for the future"
- "old methods obviously don't work otherwise why think of a different way?"
- "it is a good idea for father and son to discuss things and come up with a solution together"
- "we like changes in farming but have no money to implement them"

The minority who were in agreement with the second father (mostly the older participants) believed that the existing method of growing mealies works, that it is the only system possible, and that any new ideas will not alter production and might even prove disastrous. Some doubted the ability of children to come up with an intelligent suggestion, and others did not think it right that grownups be advised on what to do by the youth.

In many respects the positive responses to change were surprising. When asked their feelings about changes in their way of life in general, most participants were depressed over the introduction of a new lifestyle and the breakdown of traditional norms. This seemed to stem from the fact that the modern is clashing with the traditional rather than replacing it. Values have disappeared, leaving a vacuum. "We've lost our customs and now our children don't know what to do". Traditions have been discarded and attitudes and values changed through the imposition and adoption of other cultures and the introduction of a money economy. The influence of religion, education and urbanisation, and circumstances such as drought and poverty have resulted in a transformed existence. Faced with the situation, many realise that they cannot reverse what is happening, that they have to move forward accepting the changes and taking advantage of those which are practical, however "painful" it might be to do so. Thus they support new methods of farming in the hope or with the realisation that such a change will be advantageous, just as they support education because of its many perceived benefits.

The reluctance to face major life-changes and experience alternative situations was reflected in the almost total rejection of moving from communities where they were brought up in to new areas unless there was an absolute need. The major inhibiting factor was uncertainty and apprehension as to what to expect in terms of facilities, circumstances and people. To many the loss of present security, relationships with friends and family and sense of comfort and belonging would not compensate for any possible benefits gained. However, at least one-fifth of the participants indicated a degree of readiness for change. They would move on condition that their life-chances would improve and there were opportunities for greater success, and if the place had been "scouted out" and appeared to satisfy their requirements.

5.3 VALUES RELATING TO THE FAMILY

Having been shown pictures of people working in a rural setting, members of the discussion groups were asked to state the duties of men, women and children within the family. Results indicated an overlap in role allocation. This is to be expected - with a large percentage of males leaving the rural areas in search of employment in the cities, women, children and the aged are compelled to perform many of their functions, including physical labour. As one male respondent said: "In modern times there are no clear distinctions. If the man is a migrant worker the woman has to do his work. The children therefore learn to do the same jobs".

There seemed to be no clearly defined allocation of roles for children, a result possibly of two factors; firstly that there may not be a male figure on which boys can base their behaviour, and secondly that much of the children's time is spent on educational activities. The former is particularly important since it is customary for boys to follow and work with their fathers while girls are guided by their mothers.

Having determined role specification within the family, each group was asked: "In your opinion who should make decisions in the family?" Two major viewpoints were evident amongst both sexes:

1. the father, as head of the house and guardian of the family, decides and the woman obeys his word, and
2. the man discusses jointly with his wife and gives her a chance to air her views, but he makes the final decision.

The following comments from various respondents were typical of the first attitude:

- "the woman reports, guides and helps, abides by the man's decision, and then acts on it"
- "the last word is for the man because women are minors"

- "if the wife makes decisions the household and community would have no respect for the man. The home would lose its dignity as it would cease to be the man's, and the public would not admire a man whose wife overrules him"
- "it's our custom that a man is superior. We kneel in front of a man when giving him food and when visitors come into our home they greet the man first"
- "the man - the woman is here because of the man"
- "the man because he carries the burden of the family"
- "it is the man's right to make decisions"

Those holding the second viewpoint stated:

- "the woman can make suggestions as she knows more about what is happening in the home"
- "if there are things which the woman disagrees with, they must be considered"
- "the man must listen to the woman and decide together with her. They must work hand-in-hand sharing ideas"
- "they have to come to an agreement. They should first discuss but the man should not be authoritarian"
- "one must allow the woman a chance to disagree if the decision is detrimental to the rest of the family"
- "although the final word is his they must talk it out together. But the man will not tell the other men that some suggestions came from his wife"

A small minority of subjects thought it necessary for the final decision to be a joint one. Few agreed to a woman making decisions on her own and most of those who did stipulated that there must be evidence that the husband is irresponsible and no longer takes care of the family.

The strength of the belief in male dominance in decision-making in the home was further reinforced by a rejection of any ideas of a different system by the majority of the respondents. It was reiterated that the woman is in no position to decide on serious matters even if her husband is a migrant worker. If the husband is

unavailable the eldest son of the family or the husband's parents or brothers take over responsibility. However an awareness of changing attitudes emerged from these statements:

- "joint decisions are now taken by both partners because of the way of life in the townships"
- "conflicts within the family have led to each person making his own decision without the consent of the head of the family. Our custom of respect for the father is dying"
- "with the coming of the white man, people have become more independent of families and disregard the family hierarchy. Modern life has spoilt what we are used to"

A picture of a young couple was shown to the groups in order to provoke discussion on the topic of love and marriage. They were told that the couple had met, fallen in love and decided to get married, and were asked their opinions on this. A substantial number of those interviewed in Zwelithule said that the couple looked in love and happy. However, the majority of the total sample from both areas, and respondents over the age of fifty in particular, exclaimed at the "untraditional" attitude of both partners exhibited through the public display of affection and through the woman showing lack of respect by looking directly at the man. It was stated: "it is expected of a woman to be afraid of a man" and "when I pray to our ancestors the men speak on my behalf, that's why I respect them and can't look them in the eye". This is further testimony to the high value placed on respect of a wife for her husband and the almost unequivocal acceptance of male dominance and the inferior status assigned to women.

Respondents had to think of a married couple and say what they believe is important to ensure a good marriage. Apart from a woman respecting her husband (and vice versa), the following were given as essential:

- joint planning, mutual decision-making
- co-ordination of effort, sharing
- agreement on marriage partner and negotiation by the parents

- of both parties concerned
- mutual understanding
- love, affection
- no secrets kept between them
- apologies made for mistakes, capacity to forgive
- respect for parents-in-law and other relatives (particularly a woman for her husband's family)
- supportiveness
- clear definition and allocation of roles
- good communication, open discussion
- fairness
- honesty
- respect for family ancestors
- sympathy, care
- having children
- trust
- loyalty
- good behaviour
- fulfilment of goals, planning ahead
- financial security
- tolerance, patience
- compatibility
- perseverance
- peace within the household, no quarrelling
- premarital virginity
- recognition of what marriage is

Questions were posed to determine basic values regarding the upbringing of children: "In your experience, what is the best way to bring up a child?", and "what are the things a child should be encouraged to learn?". In relation to both, respect for people, including strangers and particularly for elders, emerged as the most important thing that children should be taught. Other qualities mentioned were good manners and dress, compassion towards others, responsibility, discipline, discrimination between right and wrong, hard work, honesty, respect for and value of property, organisation of time, tidings, helpfulness, hygiene, promptness, trust, obedience,

appreciation and self-respect. Amongst other things children should be taught religious obligations, the significance of education (formal and informal), and how to handle general life experiences.

In response to the question on the best way to bring up a child, a large proportion of the men in the groups supported a need for harsh discipline. In contrast, others thought that, by showing a child love and warmth, by never scolding unnecessarily and by talking to the child rather than physically punishing him or her, the child will learn right from wrong. Some participants vary their method of discipline depending on the personality of the child.

A major theme which emerged from the results is that obligation to the elderly is highly valued amongst the people interviewed. This was reinforced by responses to the question on whether or not it is important to take care of the aged. There was general consent that it is the duty of children to care for the old when they no longer have the strength to look after themselves, although there were indications that reality can be different: "It is traditional that parents should be looked after, but nowadays it comes as a surprise if it happens". Reliance of parents on their children is not only considered acceptable but it also provides the progeny with an opportunity to show respect and thanks and for reciprocating love.

Obligation extends beyond the immediate family and the aged. When asked: "To whom do you owe duty and loyalty to, within your family and the community?", the total sample mentioned people in addition to those within their nuclear familial unit. The majority of male participants named their grandparents and parents, elder brothers, the chief and his family, *indunas*, council members and other representatives of the chief. Women stated that they owe loyalty to their husband's parents, the men in their spouse's family (particularly elder brothers), and those in positions of authority within the community. Some people felt that their loyalty extends to all members of the society irrespective of age or sex.

The augmented family seems to be an accepted traditional institution within rural communities, as made evident by the comments: "it's tradition - we were born to respect our family", "it's the rule to support each other" and "we as blacks take pride in the common parentage, the blood ties that bind us." Explanations were made regarding the relevance of family support and allegiance:

- relations help and advise each other in times of need, when a family member is always available and can be relied upon
- the family provides protection to individual members
- family affairs are confidential and this minimises public exposure and intervention from outside sources
- customs are understood, which eases formality and tension
- families do things together and celebrate, providing a time for happiness

Further reasons given as to why it is important for kin to support each other are illustrated by the remarks: "I am loyal to the family because they are close to my ancestors", "a united family which respects each other has no problems as the ancestors will look after them", "if one discards family, it means that even the ancestors have turned their backs on him", "when one has slaughtered, it is essential to call the family as a sign of unity so that the ancestors are kept together", "families do not do well or have luck if they don't support each other", "you are building your father and family's name", "a family must respect itself otherwise the community will not respect it", and "if you are not close to your family, other people do not take you seriously and some feel there is something wrong with you - the family should come before anyone else".

It appears that today, as in other aspects of a rural existence, the reality of family life does not match up to the ideal. Throughout the discussions feelings of sadness, anger and suspicion and a sense of helplessness prevailed amongst the middle and older generations as to the changes that have and still are occurring which appear to disrupt the more stable traditional norm as it clashes with the so-called modern life-style and as various rituals and customs fall

away. Examples were given of family-related changes that were regarded as unfavourable:

- a. puberty rituals and sex-related taboos have fallen away resulting, for example, in premarital sex and illegitimacy,
- b. the erosion of the **hlonipha** and other respect-related customs resulting, for example, in parents' loss of authority and discipline over their children,
- c. the growth of women's independence resulting, for example, in alienation between husband and wife through the refusal of the "liberated" wife to show total deference to her spouse,
- d. the separation of parents through the migrant labour system resulting, for example, in divorce and a decrease in family stability,
- e. livestock decrease through drought, epidemics, poverty and a loss of grazing land, and the requirement of cash for **lobola** resulting in men being unable to afford marriage and a surplus of unmarried women in the rural areas,
- f. the drift of people into the urban areas resulting, for example, in the break-up of the extended family support system, and
- g. an advocacy for smaller families, largely as a result of economic pressure.

5.4 VALUES RELATING TO COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Moving from discussions on the family to the community at large, group members were asked to imagine the following hypothetical situation: "Let us now think of the community you live in. Imagine that a high post is open and you are given the chance to elect a person for that post. What would you like to see in the person of your choice?" The most important qualities mentioned were:

- fairness in judgement, no favouritism
- works for the people of the community, helping, encouraging, caring for and sympathising with them, attending to their needs
- an exemplary character e.g. well-behaved, respectable, polite,

- law-abiding, with no past history of bad records
- trustworthiness, reliability
- respect for the people
- intelligence
- fulfilment of promises made
- competency, capability
- communication with the people, discussion of important issues with them
- honesty, integrity, truthfulness
- ability to deal with people
- understanding of the community and circumstances
- patience, tolerance
- dignity, self-respect
- capacity to solve problems
- hard work, diligence
- nonaggressiveness
- straightforwardness, openness
- kind-heartedness
- possession of the required skills, knowledge and education

Individual group members added requirements such as responsibility, representation of the people, carefulness, preparedness to work together with the people and to listen to what they say, a good orator, influential, having the ability to organise and guide, nonauthoritarian, does not procrastinate, stands by decisions made, and kind but not too kind.

It became obvious during the course of the conversations that the people being questioned were not referring to their chiefs when they spoke of an "elected leader". "A chief is born a chief. Elections are only held for the councillors, and then the people have a chance to vote". It was said: "The system of electing a chief was designed to prevent quarrels over the position. It is known that the chief comes from one house, and it is known who he will be. Otherwise people, when campaigning for election to the position, will introduce bribery, or even kill for it. This was designed long ago. The

elections we are talking about are different." There was a general acceptance of this state of affairs in both Ndlangubo and Zwelithule, that the people have no say over the election of the chiefs but that community leaders should be voted for in a popular election.

A series of questions were asked in relation to leadership within the community:

1. "Is it necessary for the elected person to come from a high, distinguished family?"

Few regarded this as essential. Of those who did, the remarks passed were: "If the family is successful this sets the example for him for the rest of his life", "if he comes from a distinguished family he stands a better chance of improving the rest of the community", and "even with the whites the mayor is never unknown - he comes from some distinguished family". Those who minimised the importance of family status stated that the person's personality, potential, ability, past behaviour etc. are what counts. In fact some respondents showed a preference for people from "ordinary" families believing that such people understand and sympathise with the community whereas those highly born are arrogant. An ordinary person does not have a superior attitude but rather considers him or herself of and with the people.

2. "If new people come and settle in the community, can they also make decisions?"

The majority of people in the sample supported the idea as long as the person satisfied them with personal credentials, had proved over time to be a leader possessing all the necessary qualities, was trustworthy, had been accepted into the community by the majority of members, had an understanding of the people and the place, and was willing to work for the people and not for self-gain. Those opposed to outsiders making decisions showed suspicion and a lack of trust for strangers. As one woman from Ndlangubo said: "he's an unknown quantity and may have hidden vices". Concern was also expressed that a foreigner would be unaccustomed to the ways of the people. A compromising position was taken by some who thought that a foreigner

should be recognised in an advisory capacity alone, but not as a decision-maker "because then his advice won't be binding to other people".

3. "Should the person talk to the people before he or she makes decisions?"

It was generally agreed that the leader alone must not make decisions but must work together with the community, discuss relevant issues with them, hear their points of view and reach mutual agreement. Having been elected by the public he or she must represent the electorate and act on their behalf: "the people themselves will be affected and they should therefore have a say", "it's crooked for a leader to make a decision alone", and "he has no right to decide on his own because a leader is for the people and must therefore get their feelings and not force decisions on them". One person indicated that the community should decide and not the leader. Elderly men in Zwelithule supported the idea of a committee or group of leaders coming together to debate a matter before taking it to the people.

4. "Would you vote for a suitable woman to be elected? Why do you say this?"

Contrary to expectations considering the strong support in favour of the man making decisions in the household, there was almost unanimous approval of a woman being elected to a high community position, on the condition that she was suitable. Having asked for an explanation for the apparent contradiction in terms, it was pointed out that times are changing in this respect:

- "educated women have made it possible. They are intelligent and capable of handling responsible positions"
- "traditionally women had no place in the men's world, but now it has changed. Before when a woman said something no-one listened to her, no matter how brilliant she was"
- "in the past the answer would have been 'No' because in Zulu tradition no women are above men. Today, however, it is usual to have many women in community positions"

- "it is the woman's right to take up a high position. In any case there are some women who work better than men"
- "there's a difference between marriage and the home, and an elected position and the community. A woman can be given a post in the community and the people will give her a mandate about what to do"
- "because of education men and women are equally capable"
- "everything now depends on, and is influenced by, education. There are a lot of things educated people, including women, can do such as read, write and train for jobs in high positions"
- "we shouldn't look at the fact that she's female. It's her brain that matters"

Few in the total sample, and mostly men, rejected the idea of a woman holding a post in the community. They based their argument on the grounds that a woman cannot have authority over a man, whether in the community or in the home.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS OF THE URBAN RESEARCH

The results obtained from the urban-based sample were subjected to a factor analysis to enable the assessment of general patterns of value orientations. In addition, a more detailed, comprehensive understanding was gained through the examination of values within the same broad categories of the rural research, namely work, the family and leadership within the community.

6.1 PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

A general profile of the people sampled in metropolitan Durban was determined based on selected value-determining behavioural characteristics such as religious affiliation and exposure to an urban way of life. Although subsamples of highly educated individuals (potential modernists) and hostel dwellers (potential traditionalists) were added to the full sample, the two groups might be regarded as balancing each other out, thus discounting bias in the profile.

In terms of religion, sample members were mostly affiliated to Western Protestant denominations (42 %). The remainder belonged to the Roman Catholic church (21 %), to African indigenous churches (Ethiopian, Zion and Apostolic) (21 %) and to other sects (2 %), or they held traditional beliefs (14 %). Although nearly the full sample was brought up in Western-based religious faiths, the influence of traditional beliefs was evidenced by the fact that two thirds of the respondents agreed that "traditions of the past are important in guiding what I do" and that "a child should be taught the old, traditional ways of doing things".

Information relating to the individuals' rural/urban orientation shows that the sample was not necessarily a reflection of fully urbanised people.

When asked what they felt themselves to be, whereas over half (53 %) stated "a person who is fully of the city, whose life and future is in the city", a considerable proportion said "a person whose real place is in the rural area but who has to come to the city to work" (39 %) or "a person who is changing from being a rural person to a city person" (8 %).

With regard to upbringing, 44 % of those who had received schooling did so mostly in a rural area. This strong rural exposure was confirmed by responses to the question: "In what type of community did you spend most of your life before the age of twenty?", to which 55 % specified a rural community.

Urban experience was measured to some extent by time spent in an urban environment; 22 % of the sample had lived in a town or city up to ten years, 23 % between ten and twenty years, 34 % between twenty and thirty years and 22 % for thirty years or more.

An indication of rural orientation could also be deduced by the strength of obligation of the respondents to relatives in the country. As many as 47 % said that they had family living in the rural areas, and all sent remittances. However, up to 30 % maintained weak personal relationships in that they seldom or never visited this family. Of the married respondents, 38 % had spouse and/or children living in the rural areas, while for 7 % their nuclear relatives were resident in both town and country.

6.2 FACTOR ANALYSIS

For the factor analysis, sixty-four dimensions representing aspects of modernity or traditionalism were determined by the researcher; each dimension was defined in terms of individuals' **positive** reactions to particular responses to items selected from the questionnaire (see Appendix C for the questionnaire, and Appendix B for the dimensions and the corresponding question numbers). The dimensions, or variables, as defined were subjected to a factor analysis.

An R-type factor analysis, based on the correlation between variables (Nie et al. 1975), was performed (see Appendix B for a definition of terms used):

1. **A product-moment correlation matrix was calculated for use as basic data. All variables being factor analysed were interconnected, yielding the strength of the relationship of each to every other as depicted in the resultant form of correlation coefficients (Miller & Wilson 1983).**
2. **The statistical process of principal component analysis transformed the variables into new sets of composite variables orthogonal to each other (Nie et al. 1975). The method of principal factoring grouped variables according to their relation with the factors. This initial factoring extracted an unrotated factor matrix generating twenty-five factors, or hypothetical constructs, with eigenvalues equal to or greater than unity and which explained 67 % of the total variance. In order to identify distinct major factors, those seven factors that were responsible for the largest part of the variation were selected.**
3. **The factors were subjected to a varimax rotation whereby orthogonality was maintained; that is, factors uncorrelated to each other were extracted. Rotation yields factors more meaningful theoretically because the clustering of variables allows for the detection and easy interpretation of patterns of interrelationships among such variables.**

4. The significant variables of each factor, namely those with the highest positive and negative loadings ($> +,25$ or $< -,25$), were identified and are listed in Table 6.1 (the complete results of the factor analysis appear in Appendix B).

Variables that were included in the factor analysis but which did not load significantly on the factors were achievement orientation, anomie, child socialisation (modern and traditional), consumerism, a conservation ethic, willingness to defer gratification, a perception of education as important, family planning, independence, instrumentality, fear of old age, organisation and planning, physiological need, social concern, public participation, responsibility, satisfaction regarding South Africa's political situation, superstition and particularism.

Those variables most closely identified with each of the seven factors are presented below, in alphabetical order, together with a synopsis of responses to the questionnaire items which defined them:

Activeness:

- showed a preference for being active during leisure time

Affiliation need:

- opted for spending leisure time with friends or "in a lively place with many people"
- considered "a pleasant personality, well-liked by people" and "popularity" as important personal characteristics

Alienation:

- expressed agreement with the propositions: "the way things are at the moment, organisations run by whites will always try to harm black people"; "it is easy to have a pleasant conversation with whites"; "people in charge of organisations are generally fair to all people, blacks included"
- disagreed that "black people do not really stand a chance of succeeding if a boss is white"
- regarded writing to public officials of little use "because they are not really interested in the problems of the average man"

Anxiety:

- experienced the feeling that several times a week "something dreadful is about to happen"

Appearance:

- indicated that it is important for a person to be neat and have good manners

Ascription:

- placed importance on "coming from a high, distinguished family" in determining the respect a person is worthy of

Aspiration:

- answered positively to the question: "Would you prefer to be doing some other kind of work to what you are doing now?", and gave skilled to professional type work as options
- evidenced a desire to reach an educational level of Standard 10 or above

Authoritarianism:

- believed in "a greater respect for authority", that "obedience and respect for authority are the most important things children should learn", that "it is easy for me to take orders and do what I am told", and "what the youth need most is strict discipline"

Autonomy:

- defined "a job where you could work more or less on your own" as important

Collective orientation:

- gave the response: "people must work together in a group putting the group before individual success" to the question: "What is the best way for a community to develop?"
- regarded "what the community says" as important in influencing what a person believes in
- chose "joining with others and making representations as a group" as the preferred option to helping a person make progress

Conventionalism:

- showed no willingness to accept immigrants, homosexuals or unmarried mothers as neighbours

**TABLE 6.1: ABRIDGED RESULTS OF VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR ANALYSIS:
ITEMS WITH SUBSTANTIAL LOADINGS ON FACTORS**

FACTOR 1			
Trust private sector	+ ,762	Conventionalism	- ,382
Trust government	+ ,691	Prejudice	- ,261
Trust media	+ ,617		
Trust security forces	+ ,571		
Trust legal system	+ ,527		
Trust medical profession	+ ,378		
Trust church	+ ,369		
Power need	+ ,365		
Status consciousness	+ ,300		
Trust trade unions	+ ,292		
Ascription	+ ,273		
Authoritarianism	+ ,266		
FACTOR 2			
Prejudice	+ ,495	Experience important	- ,409
Growth of opinion	+ ,379	Women's rights	- ,337
Traditionalism	+ ,370	Self-confidence	- ,259
Anxiety	+ ,327		
Ascription	+ ,282		
FACTOR 3			
Alienation	+ ,455	Religiosity	- ,557
Marriage - traditional	+ ,361	Trust church	- ,442
		Equality	- ,332
		Marriage - modern	- ,289
FACTOR 4			
Family orientation	+ ,524	Affiliation need	- ,409
Traditionalism	+ ,399	Growth of opinion	- ,278
Collective orientation	+ ,301	Picture progress	- ,264
Authoritarianism	+ ,250		
FACTOR 5			
Life satisfaction	+ ,543		
Self-esteem	+ ,472		
Work satisfaction	+ ,442		
Authoritarianism	+ ,339		
Efficacy	+ ,259		
Time orientation	+ ,263		
FACTOR 6			
Trust medical profession	+ ,420	Appearance	- ,259
Open to new experiences	+ ,341		
Picture social adaptation	+ ,294		
Respect	+ ,282		
Activeness	+ ,258		
Efficiency	+ ,252		
FACTOR 7			
Self-actualisation	+ ,447		
Autonomy	+ ,418		
Job security need	+ ,351		
Aspiration	+ ,290		

Efficacy:

- agreed that "I feel that I have complete control over the way my life turns out", that "it is possible for a person to plan his future so that things will turn out all right eventually", and that "what happens to me is my own doing"
- disagreed that "a man born into a poor family will not improve his condition even if he is ambitious and hard-working", that "there is little chance of progress in work unless a man has influence with those above him", and that "getting ahead in life depends on what is destined to happen"

Efficiency:

- placed priority on "doing things well in the shortest time possible"

Equality:

- felt that "all human beings are born with the same potentialities"

Experience important:

- determined that "what you have learned through experience" as being an important influence on personal beliefs

Family orientation:

- stated that a person with a job should support his unemployed first cousin
- perceived "more emphasis on family life" as a good future change in the way of life
- desired to be with family during leisure time
- stressed that "a person has the greatest obligation to his or her family"

Growth of opinion:

- did not concur that "it is good for a child to have the same ideas as his/her parents in all important matters"

Job security need:

- felt it important to have "a job which you would be absolutely sure of keeping"

Marriage variables:

- suggested modern, interpersonal factors or moral, traditional and institutional factors as being important to ensure that two people have a successful marriage

Openness to new experiences, innovation and change:

- believed that a man moving from the community where he was brought up, into a new area, would react positively
- showed willingness to move to another place
- selected the option of changing methods of growing mealies to obtain higher yields
- agreed with the statements: "I enjoy meeting strangers from different places"; "I like to try out new ideas even if they turn out later to be a total waste of time"; "I am always looking for different ways of doing things"
- did not agree to the statement: "I dislike to change my plans in the middle of doing something"

Picture variable:

- devised stories relating to progress and social adaptation out of a set of four pictures

Power need:

- stated that a job in a leadership position is important

Prejudice:

- gave no indication of willingness to have people of a different race as neighbours
- regarded "sharing opportunities with all races" as undesirable in the future

Religiosity:

- apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, participated in functions or services at a church or place of worship at least once a month
- felt that religion influenced personal beliefs

Respect:

- stated that "one must not give an opinion about something until one has had a chance to hear the views of those one respects"

Satisfaction:

- chose pictures of faces expressing happiness as best depicting feelings about life and work

Self-actualisation need:

- believed "an interesting job", "a job where you could show your skills and talents", and "a job where you could express your feelings and ideas" to be very important

Self-confidence:

- provided spontaneous answers reflecting positive self-confidence to the following open-ended sentences: "when I meet a person whom I do not know well I feel"; "if I was asked to act in a local play I would feel"; "when I go up to a group of whites to ask a question I feel"; "if I enter a room and do not recognise anybody I feel"; "when people at work watch over me I feel"

Self-esteem:

- regarded the following statements to be true: "I mostly feel as adequate and worthwhile as others"; "I feel satisfied about who and what I am"; "I am able to do things as well as most other people"; "when I do a job, I do it well"
- did not regard the following as true: "all in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure"; "sometimes I think that I am no good at all"; "I feel I do not have much to be proud of"

Status consciousness:

- attached importance to "a job where you would be looked upon highly by your fellow workers"

Time orientation:

- suggested that a committee member who has to go to a meeting but whose car breaks down **en route**, and with no public telephone close by, should "hire a taxi to get to the meeting quickly, even though the taxi is expensive" or "go to a private house to use a phone to explain that he is late"

Traditionalism:

- thought that parents' beliefs are important in influencing a person's beliefs
- agreed that "traditions of the past are important in guiding what I do", "a girl should marry the husband who is chosen by her parents", "we should believe, without question, all that we are taught by our elders", and "a child should be taught the old, traditional ways of doing things"

Trust:

- held the following in full trust: the public sector (Provincial Administration Boards, municipalities, the school system, the white government, local councils, the KwaZulu

government, tribal authorities); the private sector (shops, hire purchase, banks and building societies, bus companies, employers, multinational companies); the medical profession; the legal system; the media (the press, television, newspapers); security forces (the army, the police); the church; trade unions

Women's rights:

- supported voting for a suitable woman to be elected to a high position in the community
- agreed with the statements: "when it comes to family matters the opinions of both husband and wife must be considered"; "men and women doing exactly the same work should receive equal pay"
- disagreed that "husbands and wives should not discuss political matters with each other", that "housework is the wife's duty and the husband should not be bothered by it", and that "it is only natural and right that women be restricted in some ways in which men have more freedom"

By identifying the relevant variables and their empirical associations, the nature of the factors could be assessed. For the total sample, the seven patterns which emerged in the factor analysis gave clear indications of fairly distinct value orientations.

FACTOR 1

This factor indicated a profile of individuals in full trust of organisations and institutions, concerned with status and power in the work situation, showing ascriptive and authoritative values, but not ethnocentric, i.e. not inclined towards prejudice or conventionalism. Broadly, therefore, co-operation and happiness with the system and susceptibility to political and economic conservatism, linked with conformity and a desire to function within the system, seemed to dominate this value-type. An authoritarian personality emerged as defined by Adorno et al. (1950), namely with a rigid conception of roles being allocated ascriptively, a preoccupation with status and power, a dogged adherence to and

respect for authority, and a belief in discipline and obedience.

FACTOR 2

The pattern of interrelationships in Factor 2 involved largely conservative values, namely traditionalism, ascription and prejudice. Complementing the emphasis on ascription was a negative reaction to the importance of experience, but more importantly to women's rights (a recognition of the allocation of roles and division of labour based on sex, male domination, women's restriction and their dependence on men).

Personal reactions of anxiety and a lack of confidence displayed a sense of insecurity and inferiority.

FACTOR 3

Traditional marriage values (such as the requirements of financial security, a shared background, arranged marriages, moderate habits, good behaviour, respect, responsibility, honesty, loyalty, unity, an ability to reach agreement, wives placed in a secondary position and obligation to relatives) emerged as positive in this factor in contrast to modern marriage values (such as love, communication, companionship, understanding and consideration, concern, supportiveness, equality, sharing, individuality, acceptance, adaptability and a recognition of women). Equality as a variable on its own was also negatively correlated, confirming the above results.

On a personal level, religiosity and trust in the church appeared negative whereas alienation was positive. Thus subjective feelings of political, social, work-related and cultural estrangement and general powerlessness and isolation might be related to a lack of religious commitment and involvement.

FACTOR 4

As with Factor 1, this factor reflected an authoritarian-type value system. An adherence to ideologies, a distinct component of authoritarianism, could include attachment to traditionalism, which would explain the two being closely interrelated with each other in Factor 4.

A further element of authoritarianism is idealisation of parents and a family orientation (Adorno et al. 1950). According to the factor analysis, family orientation appeared as a fairly distinct component within this factor. Integration with relatives, the strength of the extended family, and kinship obligations and responsibilities were regarded as important.

Dogmatism and an intolerance of different viewpoints, except those of people above, are additional manifestations of authoritarianism. Thus high negative loadings on growth of opinion enhanced such a value orientation.

A need for affiliation, namely a desire for popularity and a feeling of belonging, correlated negatively with the variables in the factor whereas a collective orientation, stressing a group orientation or group-mindedness, appeared as positive. Thus social harmony, support and the rights or interests of the group were placed above individual aspirations.

FACTOR 5

There was a high degree of correspondence between life and work satisfaction and positive self-esteem. Coopersmith (1967) believes that self-esteem refers to the subjective evaluation the individual maintains with regard to self and which is conveyed to others. It expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, indicating the extent to which the individual believes self to be capable, worthy, significant and successful.

Efficacy, which implies an internal locus of control, a belief in one's own ability to control and organise life, featured strongly in this factor. It is logically linked with time orientation in that an individual can plan, organise and control his or her own life through punctuality, regularity and the careful scheduling of events. In addition, an efficacious person regards people and institutions as dependable and responsible. The close association with authoritarianism, as evidenced in this factor, may be explained by what could be interpreted as a dependence on the reliability of the system.

Rigidity gives structure and security, which in turn leads to a sense of discipline and control on personal life and thus to increased satisfaction and self-esteem.

FACTOR 6

Activeness, social adaptation, openness to new experiences, efficiency, respect and a trust in professions were positively interrelated, but negatively associated with appearance, in this factor. A flexible, versatile, expansive value orientation, accepting of change, new ideas, experiences and ways of operating, emerged.

FACTOR 7

Work-related aspects, namely self-actualisation, autonomy, job security and occupational aspirations, correlated strongly in this factor. The desire for self-fulfilment, self-determination and a recognition of self-worth displayed an independent, individualistic value system distinct from that of Factor 4, which revealed a leaning towards collectivism.

Each of the seven factors above that were delineated by the factor analysis defined distinct patterns of value orientations. The first

five factors (explaining 76 % of the total variance and therefore deemed to be the most significant) generally reflected authoritative, conservative outlooks which could be classified as traditional, whereas the remaining two factors indicated so-called modern value types, although none gave perfect indications of syndromes of modern or traditional man as defined by Inkeles and Smith (see Chapter Two: Theoretical Approaches).

According to Factors 3 and 4, the patterns of values relating largely to the family appeared to be inclined towards what has been termed traditional, whereas those relating to work showed both traditional and modern tendencies (Factors 5 and 7). These findings were supported by a more detailed analysis of questionnaire items as follows.

6.3 CONTENT ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS RELATING TO WORK, THE FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

A more selective examination of responses to questions posed in the questionnaire and relating to work, the family and leadership acted as a supplement to the factor analysis in assessing the dominance of so-called traditional and modern reactions. In addition, it provided the opportunity for more direct comparisons and deductions to be made in respect of the rural results. (It must be noted that some of the questions were contained as items of variables within the factor analysis).

6.3.1 Values Relating to Work

An open-ended question broadly addressed the topic of work: "There are many things a person would like to see in those he or she works with. What qualities do you say are important in fellow-workers?" (Refer to Table 6.2).

TABLE 6.2: QUALITIES CONSIDERED IMPORTANT IN FELLOW WORKERS

	%
Respect for others	48
Co-operation, group effort, unity	46
Helpfulness, sympathy	38
Friendliness, companionship	27
Understanding, empathy	13
Good communication, openness, approachability	11
Conscientiousness, hard work, productivity	9
Honesty, sincerity	6
Mutual trust	5
Obedience	5
Ambition, desire to succeed	4
Good manners, behaviour	4
Intrinsic satisfaction in work	4
Loyalty, dedication	3
Efficiency, capability, competency	3
Fairness, equality	3
Reliability, punctuality	3
Suitability for the job	3
Confidence	2
Initiative, independence	2
Tolerance	1
Other	10

Respondents could give more than one answer.

Respondents were then asked what qualities they consider important in people who work in positions above them (see Table 6.3).

So-called traditional thinking was evident in those who responded to both questions relating to work qualities. For example, although not regarded as imperative for people in top positions, a high percentage stated that the ability to work as a group, in a team, was preferable amongst co-workers, and comments passed included "work hand-in-hand so it will go fast", "rather work towards group spirit and co-operation than destroy one another because of increased status as individuals", "work as a family, in partnership and in a spirit of brotherhood", and "stand together as one because if we complain we

TABLE 6.3: QUALITIES CONSIDERED IMPORTANT IN SUPERIORS

	%
Respect for others	41
Helpfulness, sympathy	34
Admirable, respected	22
Good communication, openness, approachability	13
Fairness, equality, no favouritism	12
Friendliness, companionship	6
Suitability for the position	6
Not dominating, superior, arrogant	6
Co-operation, group effort, unity	6
Understanding, empathy	6
Exemplary	5
Good manners, behaviour	4
Natural ability, talent	4
Authoritativeness	3
Conscientiousness, hard work	3
Self-respect, pride	3
Honesty, integrity	2
Tolerance, patience	2
Leniency	2
Efficiency, capability, competency	2
Appreciation	2
Reliability, punctuality	2
Ability to control	2
Motivating, inspiring others	2
Not demanding	2
Loyalty	1
Other	9

Respondents could give more than one answer.

will have a strong voice". This attitude was reinforced in that 73 % of the respondents chose the option "people must work together in a group, putting the group before individual success" when asked the best way for a community to develop, as opposed to each individual working hard and aiming for personal success. In addition, 58 % said that what helps a person most to make progress was "joining with others and making representations as a group" rather than "developing his or her skills as an individual".

Modern values were likewise apparent in answers to the questions relating to personal qualities in the work place. In particular, fair treatment appeared to be an important attribute for individuals "in positions above". This desire for equality further manifested itself in the response to the question of what a man should do when promoted and "put in charge of his former workmates and other people", when over ninety percent of the sample felt that he should "treat all people under him in the same way" rather than be sympathetic to his former workmates. On the issue of gender equality in the work place, 77 % believed that "men and women doing exactly the same work should receive equal pay".

Questions were posed relating to workers' success and progress:

1. "A black person with Standard 8 works in an office in Durban. He/she is promoted four times in two years and is now in charge of a section. What could be all the reasons why this person is so successful?", and
2. "A person has a job in a factory in which each worker makes small carpets. Please tell me all the ways in which such a person could make progress."

As Table 6.4 illustrates, both modern values such as ambition, independence and intrinsic satisfaction, and traditional values such as self-discipline, good behaviour and obedience, manifested themselves in respondents' proposals of what is necessary for success or progress. Relating to the latter, it was suggested that the person is endowed with a gift or natural talent ("success is a gift of God", "God has granted him success"). Tied up with this was the need for an individual to "attend all traditional rules such as slaughtering for the ancestors", "trust in God", and "respect traditional custom by praying to God asking for guidance", statements made by respondents and classified as "other".

Work performance, personality and ability in the work situation seemed to take precedence over the notion of nepotism and

particularism as reasons for success. Feelings against favouritism were also suggested when, presented with the statement: "If a factory job is vacant and many people want it, and the foreman has a brother who can do the job", only 10 % of the sample agreed that the foreman should give it to his brother rather than giving it to "the most able applicant" or to "someone who needs it most to feed his family".

TABLE 6.4: QUALITIES CONSIDERED IMPORTANT FOR SUCCESS, PROGRESS

	Q1 %	Q2 %
Hard work, conscientiousness, productivity	48	44
Suitability for the job	34	7
Respect for others	26	13
Capability, competency, efficiency	26	30
Self-discipline	22	8
Ambition, achievement orientation	24	16
Honesty, sincerity	19	8
Good manners, behaviour	18	4
Loyalty, dedication	16	6
Intelligence	15	2
Obedience	13	4
Intrinsic satisfaction in work	12	7
Good communication, interaction	10	11
Individualism, independence, initiative	8	19
Responsibility	8	1
Gifted, natural talent	6	1
Receptiveness to learning	5	12
Proved self	3	5
Respected, admired	2	1
Luck	2	-
Helpfulness	2	2
Motivation, incentive	2	2
Favouritism	1	1
Patience, tolerance	1	4
Teamwork	-	1
Other	9	9

Respondents could give more than one answer.

Attitudes to work were assessed when respondents had to think about aspects of jobs that they considered "very important". In order of priority, the following were given:

- high pay (80 %)
- ability to show skills and talents (80 %)
- job security (77 %)
- opportunity to help other people (71 %)
- ability to express feelings and ideas (70 %)
- interesting work (68 %)
- working more or less on one's own (42 %)
- be a leader (32 %)
- become famous (21 %)
- be looked upon highly by fellow workers (16 %)

The satisfaction of physiological and security needs seemed to overrule those of autonomy, power and status, although self-worth and self-actualisation were recognised. A leadership role was not regarded as very important; this fact was substantiated in that 64 % of the sample concurred with the statement: "I prefer work in which it is not necessary to make difficult decisions".

6.3.2 Values Relating to the Family

Strong obligation to kin was expressed in various forms by respondents; for example, 92 % of those interviewed stated that more emphasis on family life was good; 89 % of the sample agreed that "a person has the greatest obligation to his or her family", and 57 % preferred to be with their family during leisure time. In addition, when questioned on their household's composition, nearly half indicated that they lived in some form of augmented family arrangement, with both related and/or unrelated household members.

Further commitment to relatives was evidenced in replies to the question: "Suppose a person has found a job. He has barely managed

to save a very small amount of money. Now his first cousin comes to him and tells him that he needs money as he is unemployed. What do you think the person who is working should do?" A mere 12 % of the respondents stated that they would not be interested in lending money as there was no guarantee of getting it back, it would encourage an attitude of dependence or it would mean that they would have no money available for themselves, particularly for saving. Twenty percent would offer conditional help; they would lend money depending on the circumstances, the individual, the relationship or on whether or not the money would be returned. The remaining 68 % would provide aid, monetary or in some other form.

Results to the question of what is important to ensure two people have a successful marriage are presented in Table 6.5. Although a large percentage of qualities categorised as traditional, moral or institutional were mentioned, generally a greater percentage of attributes classified as modern were regarded as essential. These included love, understanding and consideration, the ability to share, a recognition of equality, compatibility, concern, communication, planning ahead and setting future goals, support and a desire for minimal interference from relatives.

A few respondents considered as important an acceptance of individuality, independence and recognition of each partner's potentiality, particularly women's capabilities. In contrast, some specified dependence and reliance. (To the statement "marriage restricts personal freedom", 44 % of the interviewees agreed compared to 17 % who disagreed, the remaining showing uncertainty). With regard to arranged marriages, the notion was both spontaneously rejected and accepted. However, when asked their opinion on whether "a girl should marry the husband who is chosen by her parents", 82 % of the total sample disagreed.

TABLE 6.5: QUALITIES CONSIDERED IMPORTANT FOR A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE

	%
Love, affection	54
Respect	37
Mutual understanding	35
Financial security	19
Trust	18
Working together, unity, sharing, equality	14
Good behaviour	9
Recognition of what marriage is	8
Honesty, sincerity	7
Faithfulness, loyalty	7
Compatibility	7
Concern, consideration	6
Good communication	6
Wife in secondary position	6
Planning ahead	6
Supportiveness	5
Good relationship with relatives	5
Controlling of arguments	5
Ability to reach agreement	4
Perseverance	4
Having children	4
Religion	3
Holding similar viewpoints	3
No family interference	3
Commitment	3
Patience	2
Responsibility	1
Capacity to forgive	1
Shared background circumstances	1
Other	11

Respondents could give more than one answer.

There was no clarity on the perception of male and female roles. Sixty percent agreed that "housework is the wife's duty and the husband should not be bothered by it". Whereas only 49 % disagreed that "husbands and wives should not discuss political matters with each other", 93 % agreed that "when it comes to family matters the opinions of both husband and wife must be considered".

The subject of children was raised with the question: "In your experience, what is the best way to bring up a child - what are the things a child should be encouraged to learn?". Traditional factors predominated, namely respect, responsibility, good manners and behaviour, a recognition of religion and tradition, self-discipline, hard work, obedience, honesty, loyalty and morality (see Table 6.6). With reference to the statement "it is good for a child to have the same ideas as his or her parents in all important matters", 74 % agreed, indicating a desire for dependence on the part of the child.

TABLE 6.6: QUALITIES CONSIDERED IMPORTANT FOR A CHILD TO LEARN

	%
Respect for others	77
Educational qualifications	57
Religion	21
Good behaviour, manners	19
Self-discipline	10
Survival, reality of the world	10
Self-confidence, self-assurance	9
Care, concern	8
Responsibility	8
Good communication	5
Obedience	5
Sharing, equality	5
Honesty	4
Tradition	4
Independence, self-reliance	4
Value, appreciation (including of nature)	3
Pleasant personality	3
Development of gifts, talents	2
Ambition	2
Understanding	2
Determination, perseverance	2
Activeness	1
Trust, acceptance, patience, loyalty and other	10

Respondents could give more than one answer.

The respondents' perception of parental roles emerged in answers to the question relating to the bringing up of a child. The following were cited as essential: for parents to fulfil needs, give love and care, nurture, guide, advise, support, respect, plan, make sacrifices, set an example, communicate effectively, give quality time and attention, provide friendship, and show patience, honesty, understanding, equality, stability and consistent behaviour.

Strict discipline of the child by parents was mentioned most as a method of control ("children must be punished for doing wrong deeds"; "they must be taught to take punishment from parents"). Less reference was made to a more liberal, open-minded outlook or to a mixture encompassing discipline and a certain degree of freedom. In support of the largely authoritarian attitude, nearly the full sample (93 %) agreed that "obedience and respect for authority are the most important things children should learn", and at least half of the sample (50 %) believed that "what youth need most is strict discipline".

6.3.3 Values Relating to Community Leadership

As with the topics of work and the family, values relating on a broad level to community leadership were introduced which were regarded in some depth to further highlight the general value systems of the respondents.

Before looking at community leadership specifically, it was thought interesting to study the levels of political participation of the respondents concerned as this strongly influences perceptions of people in power. Political activity was therefore adjudged to some extent by responses to the following: "A law that you consider unjust or harmful is under discussion by your township council. What do you think you can do about it?". Seventy-two percent indicated that they would participate through taking some form of action

(drawing up a petition, informing authorities, contacting the press, working through an organisation, demonstrating, setting up a meeting, fact-finding, voting, mobilising support within the community, boycotting, praying, taking the issue to court etc.). The percentage of no participation might be assumed to be inflated as interviewing was conducted over a particularly sensitive time in South Africa's political history, when township councils were not seen in a favourable light (only 18 % of the sample stated that they fully trust their local council), as evidenced by some reasons given for no participation: "contacting council is such a waste of time because they impose things on us, not having consulted us"; "I don't trust the council"; "there is never any progress at council meetings"; "the council does what is good for themselves and doesn't worry about the community". However, the fact that 32 % were uncertain or did not agree with the statement that they "enjoy taking an active part in public issues" confirms the findings, without the issue of town councils colouring the results.

Having said this, it was evident that in general little trust was shown for people in leadership positions or for institutions of power. For example, 48 % disagreed that "most people elected into high positions are honest" whereas only 36 % showed agreement (the remainder were uncertain). Little or no trust was given to:

- white employers (70 %)
- the white government (69 %)
- the local council (68 %)
- tribal authorities (59%)
- the KwaZulu government (56 %)

In the factor analysis, trust loaded highly on Factor 1, where a status-conscious, authoritarian-type value orientation emerged. This implies that those who conform to the **status quo** identify to a great extent with, and have trust in, "the system".

A sense of political alienation, futility and powerlessness may explain some respondents' lack of participation in activities regarding an unjust or harmful law, as evidenced by these spontaneous

comments passed: "I can't do anything to change or influence the injustice of the laws in our township"; "it's difficult to negotiate with people in top positions"; "all the laws are harmful and unjust to blacks but we have no ways to oppose them"; "I have no powers to speak or take strong measures"; "I keep quiet because I don't think I'll be considered". To confirm this, 49 % of the sample agreed that "there is little use writing to public officials because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man".

This alienation did not seem to extend to self. The majority of interviewees agreed that they "mostly feel as adequate and worthwhile as others", "feel satisfied about who and what I am", and are "able to do things as well as most other people", and disagreed that "all in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure" and "sometimes I think that I am no good at all". A sense of efficacy did prevail amongst respondents; 47 % agreed that "getting ahead in life depends on what is destined to happen".

The political climate of the time, perceptions of formal community structures and the sense of alienation from the system possibly also influenced answers to the question: "A high position is open in your community and elections are being held. What should qualify a person to be elected for such a position - what makes a person a leader?" (Results appear in Table 6.7).

The concept of the gift of God did not emerge as relevant as a quality for leadership. In contradiction to this, when asked what answers could be given to a man who wonders why his only son is killed by a reckless driver while walking on the pavement, by far the most answers (54 %) related to bad luck, fate and God's will ("his time is over, his forefathers have chosen him", "our ancestors wanted him to be our spirit and guide us").

TABLE 6.7: QUALITIES FOR LEADERSHIP

	%
Represents, works for community	43
Educational qualifications, intelligent	32
Respected, admired; popular	31
Confidence, self-assurance, dignity	20
Good manners, behaviour	16
Honesty, integrity	16
Reliability, trustworthiness	15
Understanding, empathy	14
Sympathy, consideration	13
Respect for others	12
Special knowledge, skill, experience	12
Good communication, approachability	11
Encourages participation, openness to views	10
Uses influence, power	9
Ability to solve problems, pragmatism	9
Capability, competency	8
Fairness, equality	7
Loyalty, dedication	7
Drive, determination	6
Hard work, conscientiousness	6
Articulate, charismatic	5
Responsibility	5
Clarity in beliefs, objectives, convictions	5
Delegating, organising ability	4
Patience	4
Firmness, authoritativeness	3
Modesty	3
Correct family background	3
Natural ability	2
Creativity, initiative and other	15

Respondents could give more than one answer.

Respondents were also asked: "Would you vote for a suitable woman to be elected?". Seventy-two percent concurred although, when asked to substantiate their answers, at least half clarified their responses by saying that it would depend on the person or the position, or gave conditions such as that the woman has to prove herself first or have the capability. The remaining half who gave positive responses either:

1. had full belief that women had leadership qualities ("women

also have brains"; "there are wise women in our midst - at the moment they are silent, waiting for the day to prove themselves"), or

2. believed in equality ("the difference between men and women is physical, not mental"; "it's just as much a woman's as a man's world"; "nowadays women are as educated as men").

In Factor 2 of the factor analysis, women's rights had an inverse relationship with both traditionalism and ascription. It could therefore be deduced that individuals falling into this value pattern, bound by tradition and the ascriptive allocation of roles, oppose the independence and advancement of women in the political and public arenas.

Nineteen percent stated that they would not vote for a suitable women, believing that women are incompetent, that it is not their role to be above men, that men are better suited, that it is against religious beliefs and culture, and that women in such positions would not gain respect from men.

In terms of general decision-making "and the people who influence what happens in the community", the percentage who showed agreement with the statements given were as follows:

- "decisions made on the basis of each individual problem" (57 %); "decisions according to rules and regulations which are written down" (43 %)
- "decisions by elders of the community, people who have acquired their position through inheritance" (53 %); "decisions by newcomers with new ideas as well as by those people who belong to long-established families in the area" (47 %)
- "someone who asks the people what they want and works from there" (90 %); "a person who works on his own and then tells people what he has decided" (10 %)
- "someone who is only interested in getting work done by the people in the community - not in taking advantage of his or her high position" (72 %); "someone who uses his power and

influence outside the community, with government, to ensure that things get done" (28 %)

- "decisions made by someone who tries out new ways of doing things to find out what is best, even if some things do go wrong" (59 %); "decisions made by a reliable person who works in the same way, year after year, never changing" (41 %)

The issue of openness to new ideas was addressed by giving the scenario of two boys trying to think of a way to grow mealies more efficiently. Sixty-seven percent of those who responded agreed with the first father who said to the sons: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing mealies", thus displaying a desire for change. Support for new methods included:

- it is important to explore different, more efficient ways of doing things (27 % of the sample who gave answers)
- new methods can only bring about improvement, better results, more productivity and greater success compared to the outdated, old system ("progress and development are fruitful - there is always room for improvement in this world") (24 %)
- people must be given the opportunity to express their points of view, experiment with ideas and prove their point, and their opinions must be respected (15 %)
- issues must be considered, discussed and planned ("one must be innovative, creative and think ahead", "many heads are better than one") (7 %)
- it indicates receptiveness to change ("the boys show that they want to use their minds and are not stereotyped") (6 %)
- it is necessary to change with the times ("someone who does not listen to change is going nowhere", "the way of doing things will be appropriate to the changing times") (5 %)
- it is beneficial to learn new things, think independently and use one's mind and skills (4 %)

Only 28 % opposed change, agreeing with the second father who said: "The way to grow mealies is the way we have always done it. Talking

about change will waste time and not help". Reasons given were that old ways are proven therefore there is no need to change, that people feel comfortable with familiar habits, that there is no other way to grow mealies except how it has always been done, that the boys are showing disrespect by changing plans, and that the way taught by elders must be used. Doubts were expressed regarding the risk factor and the element of danger involved in new ventures, particularly the uncertainty of the outcome.

On a more general level, a change orientation was assessed by responses to two open-ended questions:

1. "A man moves from the community where he was brought up, into a new area. What do you think his thoughts will be about moving to the new place?". Sixty-one percent held a negative attitude, 25 % were positive, 6 % had mixed feelings and 8 % said that it depended on the reasons for moving, on the individual, on available facilities and amenities in the area, on the resourcefulness of the land, on the attitude of the community or on whether the person would benefit from such a move.
2. "Suppose you could get along well enough living where you are now. Would you want to move to another place if there was a chance you could be more successful but also a chance that you could be less successful?" Similar results were obtained as for the question above.

Optimism over an improved situation, the establishment of friendships, the challenge of the experience, the anonymity of new surroundings, and the opportunity for development and creativity were some of the positive feelings which emerged. On the negative side, concern about the reception of the people in the area, insecurity of being away from a support system (friends and relatives), apprehension regarding facilities, health conditions, land, energy sources, job prospects, security, conditions for prosperity or progress and an overall change of life-style, and a general dislike of change were ideas put forward.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING ASSESSMENT

This chapter seeks to summarise the results of the study, identifying the so-called modern and traditional values as put forward by the modernisation theorists, in both the rural and urban settings. A discussion follows, centred on the explanation of why certain values might exist. The conclusion addresses key issues in the light of the major findings, and suggestions are proposed regarding the creation of an appropriate theoretical framework for development in South Africa.

7.1 DISCUSSION

The patterns of values which emerged in this qualitative study both support and conflict with those proposed by modernisation theorists concerned with a normative perspective in their description of traditionalism and modernism; for example, Lerner (1958), Inkeles and Smith (1974) and Kahl (1974).

The results reveal interesting contradictions in orientations of people within rural society. On the one hand, the following show some agreement with the traditional values which are purported to predominate:

- a strong attachment and obligation to, and involvement with, relatives extending beyond the nuclear family unit
- a belief in male dominance and female subservience, particularly within the family setting, and an aversion to the independence of women with regard to employment
- fairly restrictive views on child-rearing
- a collective orientation in which group effort, mutual help and reciprocity is favoured over individual competitiveness

- a degree of caution with regard to strangers
- great deference shown, and obligation felt, towards the elderly in the community
- an indication of firm adherence to the doctrine of traditional religion and a belief in ancestral spirits, although this interrelates with faith in the Christian doctrine
- a perception of powerful metaphysical influences on the individual, or an external locus of control, and fatalism, as made evident by frequent mention of the gift of God, luck and the influence of ancestors
- a strong attachment to the locality

On the other hand, the following modern values were displayed:

- a desire for active participation by the people in public matters and for a more democratic system whereby people are given the opportunity to elect leaders to high positions on the basis of their individual ability, skill and experience (although the chief's position is recognised as hereditary)
- an acceptance of innovation, change and progress in the work situation
- an espousal of hard work as a necessary quality for success
- support for women holding positions of authority within the community
- a confused attitude towards division of roles within the family based on gender, particularly for children (although decision-making was largely perceived as the duty or prerogative of men and household duties the obligation of women)
- an emphasis on personal choice in the selection of a marriage partner
- the placing of high value on planning as a means of attaining personal goals
- a belief in the allocation of positions based on ability and achievement criteria as against ascription and long-established family connections

Other values emerged which were not preclassified as modern or traditional; for example pride, self-application, sympathy and tolerance. These values cannot be excluded in the consideration of the overall value orientation of individuals.

In terms of the profile of group participants from Ndlangubo and Zwelithule, the majority were brought up and had lived in the rural areas. There was little indication of personal urban experience. However, indirect exposure to urban values through education and through channels of communication (such as migrants coming home) was inevitable. Although for most sampled community members, particularly the middle-aged and elderly, a significant part of their old value system appeared to remain preserved, influences of an urban way-of-life and contemporary circumstances had altered basic orientations, as expressed by the respondents themselves.

When considering the urban sample, a pronounced rural upbringing and strong rural ties were evident. Thus it was not surprising to find concordance in some values espoused by their rural counterparts. For example, many respondents referred specifically to a respect for tradition, a favouring of group effort and unity in the work situation, a desire for joint family organisation with no perceived diminishment in the strength of the extended family, and strict discipline in the upbringing of a child. In addition, they generally upheld similar values classified as modern, such as the importance of the ethic of hard work, a response to individuals on the basis of achievement criteria and ability (including to women in leadership positions), a receptiveness to new ideas of operating, and an emphasis on personal choice in the selection of a marriage partner.

However, in contrast to the rural sample the urban respondents appeared to recognise to a greater extent equality between the sexes, the economic and social independence of women, individuality, empathy and the diverse opinions of others. They showed a lack of trust

towards institutions but not necessarily to people (except those involved in government structures), and an active interest in participating on political and public levels (although this was limited by available opportunities for involvement).

In general, respondents in both the rural and urban societies tended to display conservative family values as defined by the modernisation theorists. In work they did not appear to be bound to the same extent by tradition. In the urban setting the value patterns reflected in the factor analysis supported the notion that authoritative, traditional orientations were more predominant in the family than in the work situation. Results revealed that values relating to community leadership also encompassed various facets of traditionalism and modernism.

An analysis of a number of possible explanations for the values displayed by both the rural and urban samples, based on theoretical explanation, studies included in the literature, and research findings, follows. This includes a discussion of reasons for deviations from the expected pattern of values set out by modernisation theorists.

People are restricted by their physical and social environment; there is a concentric circle with the individual at the centre encompassed by family, community and society. Existing circumstances impact on people's values and affect the way of life and in turn the attitudes, behaviour and value systems of people. Results obtained in this study can be examined bearing this in mind.

Respondents from Ndlangubo and Zwelithule indicated that they were suffering from insufficient land to grow surplus cash crops, individuals could not afford to hire tractors or pay for fertiliser and there was a lack of state aid and access to loans, there was an inadequate system for acquiring and storing water, and there was a

shortage of labour in the form of able-bodied men, all factors contributing to the underdevelopment of the areas. As a result the people had become disillusioned by the low output of their land and had lost the motivation to improve production. What could thus be regarded as a low achievement value may have largely been a reflection of the disadvantaged situation of the people. In support of this, in a study by Moller (1986), people stated that they could not afford to be modern.

The manifestation of an external locus of control can also be interpreted within the framework of prevailing circumstances. A lack of a sense of efficacy may stem from the fact that much of the political control in the rural areas is in the hands of the tribal authorities and government, and people have little command over their own self-determination (Daphne 1982b, Streek 1984 & Zulu 1985).

In many instances the black rural population of South Africa appears to have adapted its values in accordance with prevailing circumstances, reorientating itself in response to social change or in an effort to meet the demands of living in a modern money economy. Individuals have selected their behaviour patterns appropriate to the situations in which they find themselves. An example of this is the change in values associated with women working. Due partly to the high cost of living, women go out to work to augment their husbands' income. This in itself has altered the accepted division of roles between spouses and of economic responsibility for the maintenance of the household.

Many values which fit in with the social order of rural society seem to have been retained. For example, in rural settings work is organised according to communal principles where there is an emphasis on group incentives rather than on personal rewards i.e. a collectivistic as against an individualistic orientation. Cross (1985) points out that social harmony and the rights of the interests of the group are placed above individual aspirations partly out of a

fear that an exercise of self-will and self-determination will destroy community organisation and social order. The results of the group discussions undertaken for this study tended to confirm this. Although individual-oriented values were espoused by a fair proportion of those who participated, an individual farmer who tried to better himself was generally intimidated because such efforts were seen by society as antisocial and unacceptable, undermining an ethic of mutual exchange. Moller (1986) confirmed this finding.

In the same way, a perceived acceptance of ideas of those in positions of power can be attributed to the existence of unwritten rules which govern actions. These rules maintain harmonious societal relationships, and those who do not comply are disciplined.

Some values may be maintained because they are functional; for example, those relating to the extended family. Corporate kinship groups fulfil various needs (e.g. economic, religious and recreational), and comfort and security is derived from kin.

The legal framework of South Africa and the policies of the controlling institutions have been instrumental in constraining and impeding development. Factors such as influx control legislation, entrenched race discrimination, and an unequal expenditure on, quality of, and access to education act as moderating variables in the developmental status and life circumstances of a community. They have influenced the lives, and hence the value systems, of blacks in both rural and urban areas.

General social and political factors have interacted in the conditioning of effort in the field of development; the alienation of blacks has undermined their trust in the system to deliver rewards; confidence to tackle tasks with the expectation of success has been weakened by the negative connotations of race and by the experience of seldom succeeding, no matter how hard the person has tried;

demotivation and an unwillingness to aspire to white criteria has arisen from a strong negative reaction against the South African political system and the perceived illegitimacy of the government. The institutional norms of the industrial system have been seen as white norms and a measure of resistance to their adoption has developed. It can therefore be said that traditional values have been maintained in the urban setting as a way of asserting black values in a white-dominated system.

The results of the urban sample indicated a willingness to participate in political issues. However, because of the prevailing political policies and a denial of the opportunity for freely electing leaders of their choice, it was considered unlikely that those sampled would take an interest in political issues to the extent of supporting candidates and voting, nor was it anticipated that allegiance would extend to the state or its leaders. This was confirmed - a basic lack of trust was shown for the system and for those placed in positions of power, except by respondents who displayed a conformist attitude.

As in the rural situation, urban blacks are impoverished and lack basic resources. The continued exclusion from the political process means a lack of muscle to ensure increased access to the reallocation of resources. Despondency may result from this and from the absence of outlets for the translation of those resources which are available; for example achievement is blocked. Such issues raise the question of whether or not values shape opportunity or whether a lack of opportunity inhibits the emergence of particular attitudes.

Attitudes such as alienation may have arisen in the urban situation as a result of the marginality experienced by blacks. The undermining of the value system's base due to rapid social change, or because of the existence of conflicting norms and a concomitant lack of guidance to behaviour, may also determine the degree of alienation felt.

Amongst the sampled urban respondents, work and family values showed differing levels of integration and adaptation to a so-called modern way-of-life. Apartheid has separated racial groups in living areas, but in the work situation there is a certain degree of integration and therefore more influence of Western ways. A communal support system does not necessarily exist in the workplace, whereas it is vital to the family situation. Reciprocity, communalism, neighbourliness and sharing in the home environment provide means of coping and survival in a situation where deprivation and a scarcity of resources and basic needs are experienced. The degree of strength of these values is emphasised because of the current situation of apartheid and poverty, but nevertheless it appears to be a deeply ingrained obligation, often transferred by migrant workers from the rural to urban areas. A paradox therefore exists in that in certain respects urban influence seems to result in the intensification of traditionalism, not in its decay.

A further plausible explanation of the greater emphasis of traditional values in relation to the family rather than to work is that there is a certain acceptance of the inevitability of changing circumstances. The family, however, may be perceived as the last stronghold of customary values, thus they are upheld to the last.

7.2 CONCLUSIONS

Key issues upheld by modernisation theorists can be addressed in the light of the findings of the study. It needs to be remembered, however, that the results are exploratory in nature and must be viewed in the context of the composition of the rural and urban samples.

The critical questions centre around the belief that traditional values are not compatible with modern values, that they are mutually exclusive, and in conflict with each other. The study shows that

traditionalism and modernism, as defined by modernisation theorists, were compatible, and coexisted, permeated and intermingled in both the rural- and urban-based people interviewed. Although traditional reactions could be said to dominate in the sphere of the family, in terms of work and leadership no clear distinction was evident, and the traditional and modern were closely intertwined. In addition, a simple rural-urban continuum of values did not emerge - a progression from rural to urban was not unilinear but multidimensional.

The above findings lead one to query the validity of classifying people into categories of being **modern** or **traditional**. How can the distinction be made if both types of values are found in both types of settings? What, then, is traditional and what is modern? As implied by Horowitz (1970), any values held by people in a contemporary environment must surely be considered modern.

The assumptions of the modernisation theorists have been disproved and models of development based on the theory have not been successful. However, despite the rejection on both theoretical and practical grounds, the theory still has an influence on development policies and conceptions of the modernisation view remain within a number of current approaches explaining underdevelopment. In particular it is assumed that a complete change from traditional to modern is necessary for development to occur. Lauterbach (1974) states that volumes have been written on how to arouse innovation-minded initiative in individuals to generate an upsurge of development, but practically it has never worked. In addition, the problem of causation (what comes first, value changes or development?) is worthy of consideration. MacDonald (1981), for example, regards values as symptoms or consequences rather than causes of underdevelopment, that is that they are the direct result of structural influence and the general political and social environment. These and other criticisms stated in the dissertation prove the need for a more relevant development theory applicable to the South African situation.

The following points need to be borne in mind when developing such a theory:

- a. values are always in the process of transformation and are never static,
- b. people are different. South African society is heterogeneous as there are variable levels in education, life experience, ability and wealth, therefore it is not possible to talk about homogenous values, and
- c. individuals show differential responses to change.

It can be inferred from the results of this study that there were differential rates in value changes.

Just as society is not homogeneous, so development cannot be the same everywhere. Although development must be situated within the broader socio-political economy, it is difficult to develop a general policy when different areas have specific ideologies, problems, circumstances, available resources, political organisation etc., all of which will influence the response to and direction development will take. Aligned to this is a need to clearly define development within the local context, with reference to the community's history and the needs and goals of the people, and not view it simply as a euphemism for modernisation.

The classification of values into the concepts traditional and modern in itself requires imperative and critical reassessment in order not to label people according to predetermined categories which hold negative connotations; that is, there is a need to drive away from the implicit assumptions that modern (or Western) is good and traditional is bad.

The researcher believes that underdevelopment has been caused by a number of interrelated factors, historical and present, and cannot be explained by values alone. In both the rural and urban areas there exist external and internal dimensions to development. External factors are important, and structural influences on people's values

cannot be ignored; the structures of South African society (economic, political and social) significantly shape internal values and orient people to major social goals in a particular way.

The value systems of the people represented in the sample, both rural and urban, can provide some insight for future development and policies relevant to the Natal/KwaZulu situation. This study has broken new ground, and further work along similar lines (fitting to the community being investigated) should be undertaken by planners, taking account of the findings emerging from this study. The task of the planners would be to develop an appropriate theoretical framework for development in South Africa, adopting an holistic approach in which prevailing circumstances which impact on the existing values are taken into consideration. In addition, the patterns of values of people need be recognised and taken into consideration in development policies, and include other values not necessarily defined as being modern and/or traditional. No advantage is gained through demolishing existing value systems and creating new ones, nor in presuming that one set of values is better than another. Stability rather than disruption, spontaneity rather than imposition, are necessary. Such a framework would guarantee that development is carried by the values and aspirations of the people whose lives and futures are affected.

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APPENDIX A

**SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE SAMPLE**

A. THE RURAL SAMPLE

ND = NDLANGUBO

ZW = ZWELITHULE

Percentages do not all total 100 due to the rounding of figures.

TABLE A.1: AGE

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
18-25	25	25	25
26-49	36	35	36
50+	39	40	39
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.2: SEX

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Male	50	50	50
Female	50	50	50
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.3: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
No education	34	40	27
Substandards/Std 1	9	13	5
Std 2-3	15	15	16
Std 4-5	14	13	16
Std 6-7	11	8	14
Std 8-9	16	13	21
Diploma	1	-	2
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.4: MARITAL STATUS

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Single	28	29	27
Married	49	44	55
Widowed	22	25	18
Divorced	1	2	-
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.5: RELIGION

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Traditional	14	19	9
Roman Catholic	45	27	64
Protestant	26	27	25
African Indigenous	15	27	2
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.6: PARTICIPATION IN FUNCTIONS, SERVICES AT PLACE OF WORSHIP
(APART FROM WEDDINGS, FUNERALS AND BAPTISMS)

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Never	15	19	11
Seldom	7	6	7
Occasionally	13	13	14
Often	65	63	68
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.7: MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Up to R49	11	17	5
R 50-R 99	36	38	34
R100-R149	29	25	34
R150-R199	11	8	14
R200+	13	13	14
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.8: HOUSEHOLD INCOME SOURCE

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Migrant remittances	49	35	64
Pension/UIF/Disability grant	45	48	41
Informal Sector work	32	33	30
Farming	16	17	16
Temporary work/Togt labour	11	13	9
Savings and other	13	6	21
	n=92	n=48	n=44

Group participants could give more than one response.

TABLE A.9: HEAD OF CATTLE PER HOUSEHOLD

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
None	51	45	57
1-2	14	13	16
3-4	15	17	14
5-6	11	17	5
7+	9	9	9
	n=91	n=47	n=44

TABLE A.10: OCCUPATION

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Unemployed/Homeworker	12	15	9
Subsistence farmer	53	52	55
Cash crop and subsistence farmer	12	15	9
Builder	4	4	5
Migrant worker	4	4	5
Handcraft artisan	3	4	2
Scholar	3	-	7
Pensioner/Retired	3	6	-
Other	4	-	9
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.11: HOUSEHOLD SIZE

	ADULTS			CHILDREN		
	TOTAL	AREA		TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW		ND	ZW
	%	%	%	%	%	%
None	-	-	-	5	10	-
1-2	25	29	21	30	29	32
3-4	48	42	55	32	29	34
5-6	13	15	11	20	23	16
7+	14	15	14	13	8	18
	n=92	n=48	n=44	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.12: HOUSEHOLD RESIDENT'S RELATIONSHIP TO GROUP PARTICIPANT

	TOTAL	AREA	
		ND	ZW
	%	%	%
Own child	62	58	66
Spouse	47	44	50
Grandchild	41	40	43
Parent/Parent-in-law	35	35	34
Sibling/Sibling-in-law	34	33	34
Cousin/Nephew/Niece	15	19	11
Son-, daughter-in-law	7	2	11
Grandparent	4	8	-
	n=92	n=48	n=44

Group participants could give more than one response.

TABLE A.13: NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS LIVING IN A CITY

	AREA		
	TOTAL	ND	ZW
	%	%	%
None	35	33	37
1	30	33	27
2	20	19	20
3	9	6	11
4+	7	8	5
	n=92	n=48	n=44

TABLE A.14: PERSONAL EXPOSURE TO CITY LIFE

	AREA		
	TOTAL	ND	ZW
	%	%	%
None	52	46	59
1 year or less	2	4	-
1+ to 5 years	17	15	20
5+ to 10 years	11	17	5
10 years+	17	19	16
	n=92	n=48	n=44

B. THE URBAN SAMPLE

Percentages do not all total 100 due to the rounding of figures.

TABLE B.1: AGE

	%
16 - 24	26
25 - 44	50
45+	24

n=265

TABLE B.2: SEX

	%
Male	65
Female	36

n=265

TABLE B.3: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED

	%
No education	12
Substandards/Std 1-3	4
Std 4-5	31
Std 6-7	9
Std 8-9	32
Std 10/Matric	5
Postmatric	7

n=265

TABLE B.4: RESIDENTIAL AREA

	%
Umlazi	43
KwaMashu	30
Lamontville	6
Chesterville	2
Hostels	19

n=265

TABLE B.5: MARITAL STATUS

	%
Single	51
Married	43
Widowed	7
Divorced/Separated	1

n=265

TABLE B.6: RELIGION

	%
Roman Catholic	21
Protestant	42
African indigenous	21
Other world religions	1
Traditional	14
None	1

n=265

**TABLE B.7: PARTICIPATION IN FUNCTIONS, SERVICES AT PLACE OF WORSHIP
(APART FROM WEDDINGS, FUNERALS AND BAPTISMS)**

	%
Never	22
Seldom	15
Occasionally	19
Often	44

n=265

TABLE B.8: MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

	%
Under R300	31
R300-499	28
R500-999	28
R1000+	13

n=259

TABLE B.9: OCCUPATION

	%
Professional/Managerial	7
Middle white-collar	6
Foreman/Artisan and status equivalent	6
Routine non-manual/ Semi-skilled manual	22
Unskilled manual/Manual	18
Unemployed/Homeworker	28
Pensioner	4
Scholar/Student	10

n=265

TABLE B.10: HOUSEHOLD SIZE

	ADULTS	CHILDREN
	%	%
Hostel dwellers	19	19
None	-	12
1 - 2	24	28
3 - 4	33	29
5 - 6	19	8
7+	5	5
	n=265	n=265

TABLE B.11: HOUSEHOLD TYPE

	%
Hostel dwellers	19
Live alone	2
Nuclear	30
Augmented	49
	n=261

APPENDIX B

FACTOR ANALYSIS

A. A DESCRIPTION OF THE TERMS USED IN THE FACTOR ANALYSIS

Communality.

The proportion of total variation of a variable involved in the factor patterns. It may be used as a measure of the amount of variance each variable has in common with the other variables or as a measure of uniqueness i.e. the degree to which each variable is unrelated to the others (Rummel 1968).

Eigenvalue/latent root.

The sum of the squared factor loadings of all the variables on a factor pattern. It measures the amount of variation accounted for by a factor (Miller & Wilson 1983). Rummel describes an eigenvalue as "the algebraic roots of a characteristic equation" (1968: 462).

Factor.

A pattern of relationships between the variables (Rummel 1968).

Factor loading.

A correlation coefficient which represents the strength (degree and direction) of the relationship between a variable and a factor pattern (Rummel 1968 & Miller et al. 1983).

Matrix.

A rectangular arrangement of scores. The matrix of correlations indicates the correlations of variable with each other, and a factor matrix shows the correlations between factors and variables.

Orthogonal.

Independent, uncorrelated.

Percent of common variance.

The variation among all the variables involved in a particular factor pattern as a percent of variation among all the variables involved in all the patterns (Rummel 1968).

Varimax rotation.

A technique for orthogonal rotation.

B. QUESTION ITEM NUMBERS CORRESPONDING TO CATEGORIES AS GROUPED FOR THE FACTOR ANALYSIS

q = question item number in questionnaire (Appendix C)

p = page number

Where the appropriate section is not specified numerically, the written statement is given in the enclosed brackets.

Example: Achievement orientation.

1. q23.9, p11 means that a question relating to the value **achievement** can be found in the questionnaire on page 11. It is question number 23.9 and refers to the statement "a job where you could become famous".
2. q32, p17 ("Keenness and determination to get ahead")

Activism.

1. q29a), p16

Affiliation need.

1. q29b), p16 ("To be with friends")
2. q31, p16 ("A pleasant personality, well-liked by people")
3. q32, p17 ("Popularity")

Alienation.

1. q19.2, p9
2. q19.4, p9
3. q19.6, p9
4. q19.10, p9
5. q33.39, p19

Anomie.

1. q19.1, p9
2. q19.3, p9
3. q19.5, p9
4. q19.7, p9
5. q19.8, p9
6. q19.9, p9

7. q33.3, p17
8. q33.4, p17
9. q33.8, p17
10. q33.22, p18
11. q33.43, p19
12. q33.46, p20

Anxiety.

1. q33.27, p19

Appearance.

1. q32, p17 ("Neatness and good manners")
2. q33.45, p20

Ascription.

1. q31, p16 ("Coming from a high, distinguished family")

Aspiration.

1. q35f), p21
2. q36b), p22

Authoritarianism.

1. q27, p13 ("A greater respect for authority")
2. q33.24, p18
3. q33.29, p19
4. q33.33, p19

Autonomy.

1. q23.8, p11

Child variables - modern and traditional.

1. q12, p4

Collective orientation.

1. q18, p8 ("People must work together in a group, putting the group before individual success")
2. q18, p8 ("Joining with others and making representations as a group")

3. q30, p16 ("What the community says")

Conservation ethic.

1. q21, p10

Consumerism.

1. q27, p13 ("Less emphasis on money and material possessions")
2. q27, p13 ("A more natural life-style")
3. q31, p16 ("Having much money")
4. q33.9, p17

Conventionalism.

1. q26, p13 ("Immigrants/foreign workers, homosexuals, unmarried mothers")

Education important.

1. q30, p16 ("What you have learned in your education")
2. q31, p16 ("Having an education")
3. q33.7, p17
4. q33.36, p19

Efficacy.

1. q33.1, p17
2. q33.2, p17
3. q33.11, p18
4. q33.23, p18
5. q33.34, p19
6. q33.38, p19

Efficiency.

1. q32, p17 ("Doing things well in the shortest time possible")

Equality.

1. q33.31, p19

Experience important.

1. q30, p16 ("What you have learned through experience")

Family orientation.

1. q10, p3
2. q27, p13 ("More emphasis on family life")
3. q29b), p16 ("To be with your family")
4. q33.47, p20
5. q45d), p25

Family planning.

1. q33.12, p18

Growth of opinion.

1. q33.13, p18
2. q33.20, p18

Independence.

1. q33.42, p19

Instrumentality.

1. q33.26, p18

Job security need.

1. q23.7, p11

Marriage variables - modern and traditional.

1. q8, p2

Old age fear.

1. q33.44, p19

Openness to change.

1. q11, p3 & 4
2. q14, p5
3. q33.15, p18
4. q33.28, p19
5. q33.32, p19
6. q33.37, p19

Organisation and planning.

1. q18, p8 ("Set a fixed daily schedule for him")
2. q32, p17 ("Thinking about things before you act")
3. q33.16, p18

Particularism.

1. q18, p7 & 8 ("A lighter punishment", "be given special attention", "give the job to his brother", "give the job to someone who needs it most to feed his family", "be specially sympathetic to his former workmates")

Physiological need.

1. q23.5, p11

Picture variables - progress, social adaptation.

1. q20, p9

Power need.

1. q23.1, p11

Prejudice.

1. q26, p13 ("People of a different race")
2. q27, p13 ("Sharing opportunities with all races")

Public participation.

1. q9, p3
2. q33.19, p18
3. q39b), p23

Religiosity.

1. q6, p2
2. q30, p16 ("Your religious beliefs")

Respect.

1. q33.41, p19

Responsibility.

1. q33.10, p18

Satisfaction - life, politics, work.

1. q17, p7

Self-actualisation need.

1. q23.2, p11
2. q23.4, p11
3. q23.10, p13

Self-confidence.

1. q16a), p6

Self-esteem.

1. q16b), p6

Social concern.

1. q23.6, p11
2. q32, p17 ("Concern about one's fellow human beings")

Status consciousness.

1. q23.3, p11

Superstition.

1. q38b), p23

Time orientation.

1. q18, p8 ("Hire a taxi to get to the meeting quickly, even though the taxi is expensive/go to a private house to use a phone to explain that he is late")

Traditionalism.

1. q30, p16 ("What your parents believe")
2. q33.6, p17
3. q33.18, p18
4. q33.40, p19
5. q33.48, p20

Trust - public sector, private sector, medical profession, legal system, media, security forces, church, trade unions, people.

1. q25, p12
2. q33.25, p18

Willingness to defer gratification.

1. q22, p11

Women's rights.

1. q15, p5 & 6 ("Would you vote for a suitable woman to be elected?")
2. q33.14, p18
3. q33.17, p18
4. q33.21, p18
5. q33.30, p19
6. q33.35, p19

**C. COMMUNALITIES, EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF VARIANCE
CALCULATED FROM THE CORRELATION MATRIX: EXTRACTED FACTORS
BEFORE ROTATION**

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
Achievement	,15858
Activism	,14333
Affiliation need	,23566
Alienation	,27999
Anomie	,12022
Anxiety	,16755
Appearance	,17236
Ascription	,17270
Aspiration	,24706
Authoritarianism	,28414
Autonomy	,19937
Child modern	,11045
Child traditional	,07298
Collective orientation	,15950
Conservation	,19298
Consumerism	,13747
Conventionalism	,19239
Defer gratification	,07572
Education important	,04163
Efficacy	,25061
Efficiency	,11475
Equality	,12102
Experience important	,25415
Family orientation	,39074
Family planning	,08607
Growth of opinion	,38176
Independence	,07899
Instrumentality	,07121
Job security	,23088
Marriage modern	,11661
Marriage traditional	,18329
Old age fear	,10473
Openness to change	,12438
Organisation	,02264
Particularism	,11810
Physiological need	,16872
Picture - adaptation	,11439
Picture - progress	,09412
Power need	,24726
Prejudice	,34848
Public participation	,08496
Religiosity	,37801
Respect	,15689
Responsibility	,13639
Satisfaction - life	,34486
Satisfaction - politics	,05751
Satisfaction - work	,25700
Self-actualisation	,27376

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY
----------	-------------

Self-confidence	,08898
Self-esteem	,26118
Social concern	,10369
Status consciousness	,11882
Superstition	,07365
Traditionalism	,38579
Time orientation	,10976
Trust church	,43042
Trust legal system	,32801
Trust media	,43302
Trust medical profession	,38019
Trust private sector	,70478
Trust public sector	,62672
Trust security forces	,37944
Trust trade unions	,14106
Women's rights	,18262

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT. OF VAR.	CUM. PCT.
1	3,99843	30,2	30,2
2	2,26485	17,1	47,4
3	1,85906	14,1	61,4
4	1,49634	11,3	72,7
5	1,34997	10,2	82,9
6	1,20512	9,1	92,1
7	1,05074	7,9	100,0

D. VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

VARIABLE	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
Achievement	,23873	,02910	,20253	,08319	-,13720	-,01652	,18359
Activism	,09382	-,21635	,05578	,02954	,03911	,25814	-,12478
Affiliation need	-,02356	-,11476	,00238	-,40863	-,06091	,09792	-,20409
Alienation	-,07615	,13926	,45517	,00216	-,16730	-,04243	,13350
Anomie	,08379	,14051	,21311	,17267	-,02598	-,13004	-,02525
Anxiety	,08273	,32704	,10428	-,03139	,09686	,07685	,16309
Appearance	,12698	,13702	-,10759	,06397	,23441	-,25854	,00172
Ascription	,27298	,28211	-,06063	-,05709	-,05746	,03722	,08354
Aspiration	-,07073	-,06448	,19416	-,19296	-,21437	,18073	,29044
Authoritarianism	,26627	,09910	,01827	,25048	,33853	-,15802	-,02782
Autonomy	,07014	,07092	-,06757	-,01828	,00634	-,09836	,41809
Child modern	-,08446	-,13595	,18604	,02946	-,05907	,12428	,17442
Child traditional	,20624	-,04708	-,05794	,15494	,02168	-,00042	-,01971
Collective orientation	,00909	-,13539	,11668	,30136	-,03315	,13238	-,13429
Conservation	-,03748	,18306	,07974	-,08314	,19245	,23388	,23034
Consumerism	,22515	-,12463	-,02964	,18761	-,07759	-,13329	-,10671
Conventionalism	-,38159	,08030	,11190	,02830	,08443	-,14043	-,01251
Defer gratification	,19039	-,12664	-,07319	-,04585	,04427	,01784	,11703
Education important	-,02298	-,06241	,14913	,03345	,05773	,10135	,01571
Efficacy	,03229	-,24023	-,16251	-,22829	,25866	-,18108	,11675
Efficiency	,03898	,10632	-,07110	-,11445	-,08023	,25243	-,11669
Equality	-,00987	,05773	-,33194	,04061	,03542	,04026	,05365
Experience important	-,12487	-,40868	,08513	-,22727	,07809	-,08073	,00495
Family orientation	-,10088	,08647	-,07140	,52404	,19530	,13729	,19074
Family planning	-,00094	-,19780	-,14569	-,04328	-,00938	-,13899	-,06663
Growth of opinion	,00021	,37944	,17209	-,21772	,20169	-,20182	,22277
Independence	,06458	-,24148	,00263	-,01890	-,03774	,11924	,02244
Instrumentality	,10439	,03414	,03651	,12247	,19705	,06028	-,01884
Job security	-,00894	-,08577	-,23178	,14802	-,03983	-,15106	,35130
Marriage modern	-,11155	-,06901	-,28906	-,02084	,12208	,01351	,01821
Marriage traditional	,09454	,17428	,36054	,08040	-,02374	-,07327	,03991
Old age fear	-,02672	-,15328	,18503	-,08617	-,11163	-,16002	-,02814
Openness to change	,01746	-,07836	,00644	-,02631	,00292	,34121	-,02771
Organisation	-,02862	-,12996	-,00018	,01103	,02635	,00627	,06385
Particularism	,06211	,14317	-,03117	,20976	-,18012	-,09967	-,07998
Physiological need	,18809	,08349	,15872	,18298	,04608	-,17289	,18890

VARIABLE	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
Picture -							
adaptation	,02452	-,00776	-,07588	-,07801	,12486	,29376	,00013
Picture - progress	,01104	-,04024	-,04617	-,26381	,06612	,12533	,02396
Power need	,36487	,08918	,06106	-,03827	,05471	-,21498	,22753
Prejudice	-,26125	,49457	,00350	,01942	,08912	-,15449	-,05852
Public							
participation	-,09592	,00434	,02835	-,11229	,12594	,18247	-,11479
Religiosity	,02023	,23179	-,55740	-,06004	-,03134	-,08868	,02697
Respect	,17245	,14286	-,01873	,11058	,12081	,28151	-,01791
Responsibility	,03232	-,11559	-,09873	-,18874	-,15150	,20610	,10572
Satisfaction -							
life	,05610	,00579	-,17329	-,08643	,54274	,04149	,08887
Satisfaction -							
politics	,20094	,00119	,05924	-,03706	,05066	-,08780	,04450
Satisfaction -							
work	,02801	-,07516	-,20234	-,08536	,44200	,07679	,03287
Self-actualisation	,04276	-,04239	,17543	,00408	,17490	,09434	,44705
Self-confidence	,08305	-,25925	,05499	-,08832	,00895	-,06156	,01315
Self-esteem	-,14379	-,04545	-,02024	,05525	,47207	,03800	,10338
Social concern	-,17191	-,04497	,00434	,00964	,01289	-,15058	,22173
Status							
consciousness	,30049	-,03116	,06487	-,06605	-,06963	-,05728	,10417
Superstition	,07856	,23416	-,02942	-,01028	-,03365	-,07160	,07359
Time orientation	-,13960	,07386	,05298	,03026	,26321	,01955	-,10693
Traditionalism	,22416	,37030	,09968	,39882	,10276	-,13016	-,04394
Trust church	,36938	,07140	-,44212	,18213	-,19162	,15329	-,00510
Trust legal							
system	,52727	,15451	-,07260	-,11319	,04051	,04461	-,06635
Trust media	,61697	,17608	,01132	,12948	-,01867	,06277	-,01325
Trust medical							
profession	,37811	-,11632	-,03487	,20147	,01834	,42033	,06975
Trust private							
sector	,76232	-,15160	,06333	,22214	-,02351	,10630	-,18831
Trust public							
sector	,69121	,24593	,10165	,21535	,14575	,07941	-,06486
Trust security							
forces	,57101	,15786	,04284	-,10373	-,03207	,01960	-,12022
Trust trade unions	,29220	-,16019	,02934	,13194	-,01455	,10742	-,00197
Women's rights	-,11655	-,33689	-,03443	-,12743	-,03993	,02091	,18998

APPENDIX C

THE QUESTIONNAIRE



Centre for Applied Social Sciences'
Toegepaste Maatskaplike Studiesentrum

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

UNIVERSITEIT VAN NATAL

KING GEORGE V AVENUE
 DURBAN 4001
 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
 TELEPHONE 8169111/811243/253
 TA "UNIVERSITY" TELEX 6-20177

CASS.25/85

NO. STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

October, 1985

Iyunivesi Yase Natali izama ukucwaninga ngendlela abantu abacabanga
 ngayo ngezindlela abangaphucula ngazo impilo emphakathini yabo.
 Singakuthokozela kakhulu uma ungasisiza kulomsebenzi.

Lomsebenzi owesifuba - amagama awadingeki. Ungasho konke ongakusho
 ngoba akekho ozakwazi ukuthi utheni. Yonke imiphumela izodidiyelwa
 ihlanganiswe ndawonye.

1. INTERVIEWER TO FILL IN: (Mark with an X)

Male ₁	Female ₂
-------------------	---------------------

INTERVIEWER to EXPLAIN and ASK:

We are choosing the people we speak to on the basis of their age, education and religion.

2. Could you please tell me how old you are. years
3. What is the highest formal educational level you have achieved?
(INT: ring the appropriate code number)

None	1
Substandards/Std 1	2
Std 2-3	3
Std 4-5	4
Std 6-7	5
Std 8-9/"O" levels	6
Std 10/"A" levels	7
Diploma/Certificate	8
University degree	9

If none, Substandards/Std 1, ASK:

Can you read and/or write?

No/illiterate	1
Can read but not write	2
Can read and write	3
Other (specify) _____	
_____	4

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN TO SCHOOL, ASK:

4. Where did you receive most of your schooling, in a rural area or in a town or city?

Rural	1
Town/city	2
Both	3

ASK ALL:

5. What is your religion? Please give full details of your church or denomination.

1. INTERVIEWER TO FILL IN: (Mark with an X)

Male ₁	Female ₂
-------------------	---------------------

INTERVIEWER to EXPLAIN and ASK:

Labo esikhuluma nabo sibakhethe ngokweminyaka, ezemfundo kanye nangenkolo.

2. Ungangitshela ukuthi uneminyaka emingaki? years
3. Ufunde wafika kuliphi izinga lemfundo?
(INT: ring the appropriate code number)

None	1
Substandards/Std 1	2
Std 2-3	3
Std 4-5	4
Std 6-7	5
Std 8-9/"O" levels	6
Std 10/"A" levels	7
Diploma/Certificate	8
University degree	9

If none, Substandards/Std 1, ASK:

Uyakwazi ukufunda no/noma ukubhala

No/illiterate	1
Can read but not write	2
Can read and write	3
Other (specify) _____	
_____	4

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN TO SCHOOL, ASK:

4. Ikuphi laphe wafunda khona isikhathi eside, isemaphandleni noma isedolobheni?

Rural	1
Town/city	2
Both	3

ASK ALL:

5. Ukholwaphi? Nika imininingwane ngesonto lakho

6. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, how often do you participate in functions or services at your church or place of worship?

Never	1
Once a year	2
Twice a year	3
Once a month	4
Once a fortnight	5
Once a week	6
More than once a week	7

7. A black person with Std 8 works in an office in Durban. He/she is promoted four times in two years and is now in charge of a section. What could be all the reasons why this person is so successful?

(INT: Probe by saying "And what else?")

8. Two people are about to get married. What do you think is important to ensure they have a successful marriage?

(INT: Probe)

6. Ngaphandle kwemishado, imingcwabo nemibhabhadiso uhlanganyela kangaki ezintweni noma emicimbini yesonto?

Never	1
Once a year	2
Twice a year	3
Once a month	4
Once a fortnight	5
Once a week	6
More than once a week	7

7. Umuntu omnyama ofunde wagcina ku Std 8 osebenza ehovisi eThekwini wenyuselwe isikhundla kwaze kwaba kane eminyakeni emibili, uyena osephethe isigaba esithile. Iziphi zonke izizathu ezingabe zenze lomuntu aphumelele kangaka.

(INT: Probe by saying "And what else?")

8. Abantu ababili sebezoshada. Yizini ocabanga ukuthi zisemqoka ezingenza ukuthi umshado wabo uphumelele?

(INT: Probe)

9. A law that you consider unjust or harmful is under discussion by your township council. What do you think you can do about it?
(INT: Probe)

10. Suppose a person has found a job. He has barely managed to save a very small amount of money. Now his first cousin comes to him and tells him that he needs money as he is unemployed. What do you think the person who is working should do?
(INT: Probe)

11. A man moves from the community where he was brought up, into a new area. What do you think his thoughts will be about moving to the new place?
(INT: Probe and ask "Why do you say this?")

Suppose you could get along well enough living where you are now. Would you want to move to another place if there was a chance you could be more successful but also a chance that you could be less successful?

Yes	1
No	2
Both yes and no	3
Uncertain	4
Other (specify) --	
-----	5

9. Umthetho owubonayo ukuthi awulungile noma uyalimaza kukhulunywa ngawo emkhahlwini welokishi. Ini ocabanga ukuthi wena ungayenza ngaloku? (INT: Probe)

10. Umuntu othile uthole umsebenzi. Usazame ukonga imadlana encane nje. Bese kufika umzala wakhe azomtshela ukuthi udinga imali njenqoba engakasebenzi. Ucabanga ukuthi lomuntu osebenzayo kungafanele enzenjani?
(INT: Probe)

11. Umuntu usuka emphakathini akhulelele kuwo, uya endaweni entsha. Ubona ukuthi imicabango yakhe ngokuya kulendawo entsha kuzoba yini?
(INT: Probe and ask "Why do you say this?")

Ake sithi wena uhleli kahle kulendawo ohleli kuyo njengamanje. Ungafuna yini ukusuka uye kwenye indawo uma ungase ufike uphumelele khona kanti futhi kusenokwenzeka ukuthi ungaphumeleli?

Yes	1
No	2
Both yes and no	3
Uncertain	4
Other (specify) --	
-----	5

Why do you say this? (INT: Probe)

12. One of the certain things in life is that most people have children. In your experience, what is the best way to bring up a child — what are the things a child should be encouraged to learn? (INT: Probe)

13. There are many things a person would like to see in those he or she works with. What qualities do you say are important in fellow-workers? (INT: Probe)

And in those people who work in positions above you? (INT: Probe)

Ukusho ngani lokhu? (INT: Probe)

12. Enye yezinto eziqinisekileyo empilweni ukuthi iningi labantu linabo abantwana. Ngokwakho ukwazi iyiphi indlela encono yokukhulisa abantwana — Yiziphi izinto umntwana angakhuthazwa ukuba azifunde? (INT: Probe)

13. Ziningi izinto umuntu angathanda ukuzibona kulabo asebenza nabo. Yini esemqoka umuntu ayilindele kulabo asebenza nabo. (INT: Probe)

Bese kulabo abasezikhundleni eziphezukwakhe? (INT: Probe)

14. Two boys took time off from their work in the mealie fields. They were trying to think out a way to grow the same amount of mealies with fewer hours of work. The father of one boy said: "That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing mealies." The father of the other boy said: "The way to grow mealies is the way we have always done it. Talking about change will waste time and not help."

Which opinion do you agree with?

The 1st father	1
The 2nd father	2
Both fathers	3
Neither	4
Other (specify) ____	
-----	5

Why? (INT: Probe)

15. A high position is open in your community and elections are being held. What should qualify a person to be elected for such a position — what makes a person a leader?

Would you vote for a suitable woman to be elected?

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain	3

14. Abafana ababili bathatha ikhefu emuva kokusebenza ensimini yombila. Bazama ukucabanga indlela abangatshala ngayo isikalo sombila esilinganayo kodwa ngesikhathi esifushane. Uyise womfana wokuqala athi "Yinhle lento eniyicabangayo. Ngitsheleni imicabango yenu ngokuthi singayiguqula kanjani indlela yokutshala umbila." Uyise womfana wesibili athi "Indlela yokutshala umbila ile ebesiloku senza ngayo. Ukukhuluma ngoguquko ukuchitha isikhathi futhi akusizi."

Imuphi umbono ovumelana nawo?

The 1st father	1
The 2nd father	2
Both fathers	3
Neither	4
Other (specify) ____	
-----	5

Ngani?. (INT: Probe)

15. Kuvuleke isikhala sesikhundla esiphakeme emphakathini wakho manje kunokhetho. Yini obona ukuthi ingenza umuntu afaneleke ukuba akhethelwe lesisikhundla — Yini eyenza umuntu abe umholi?

Ungamketha umuntu wesifazane uma efanelekile, enaso isiphiwo?

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain	3

Why do you say this? (INT: Probe)

- 16a) Here are a few sentences which will help us to understand how people feel in certain situations. I will read each one in turn and ask you to complete it as quickly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers — just give the first ending which comes to mind. Remember, it must be a spontaneous answer.
(INT: If necessary, ask respondent to repeat sentence and give an immediate response)

When I meet a person whom I do not know well I feel _____

If I was asked to act in a local play I would feel _____

When I go up to a group of whites to ask a question I feel _____

If I enter a room and do not recognise anybody I feel _____

When people at work watch over me I feel _____

- b) Now I am going to read you some statements — please tell me whether each one is true or not for yourself.
(INT: Circle T for "true" and F for "false". Go through the list of sentences as rapidly as possible)

I mostly feel as adequate and worthwhile as others	T	F
I feel satisfied about who and what I am	T	F
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	T	F
I am able to do things as well as most other people	T	F
Sometimes I think that I am no good at all	T	F
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	T	F
When I do a job, I do it well	T	F

Ukusho ngani lokhu? (INT: Probe)

- 16a) Nansi imisho embalwa ezosisiza ukuze siqonde ukuthi abantu bezwa futhi bacabanga kanjani ezimweni ezithile. Ngizokufundela umusho ngamunye besengicela ukuthi uwuqedele masinyane. Akukho mpendulo okuyiyo noma okungeyiyo — nika nje impendulo yokuqala efika engqondweni. Khumbula, makube ileyo mpendulo efika kuqala.
(INT: If necessary, ask respondent to repeat sentence and give an immediate response)

Uma ngibona umuntu engingamazi kahle ngizwa _____

Uma ngingacelwa ukudlala emdlalweni wesiteji ngingezwa _____

Uma ngiya esixukwini sabamhlophe ngiyobuza umbuzo ngizwa _____

Uma ngingena endlini ngingaboni muntu engimaziyo ngizwa _____

Uma abantu emsebenzini bengibeke iso ngizwa _____

- b) Manje ngizokufundela eminye imisho — Ngitshela uma umusho ngamunye uyiqiniso noma awusilo iqiniso ngawe.
(INT: Circle T for "true" and F for "false". Go through the list of sentences as rapidly as possible)

Ngivamise ukuzizwa nganelisekile futhi ngiwusizo njengabanye	T	F
Ngizwa ngigculisekile ngobumina bami	T	F
Sekukonke, nginakho ukuzizwa sengathi ngiyisahluleki	T	F
Nginamandla okwenza izinto kahle njengawowonke umuntu	T	F
Ngezinye izikhathi ngiye ngicabange ukuthi angilungele lutho	T	F
Ngizwa sengathi anginalutho lokuziqhenya ngakho	T	F
Uma ngenza umsebenzi, ngiwenza kahle	T	F

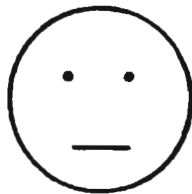
VERY HAPPY



JUST HAPPY BUT
NOT VERY HAPPY



NOT HAPPY BUT
ALSO NOT UNHAPPY



UNHAPPY



ANGRY AND
IMPATIENT



17. Here is a picture of how people like you can feel about life.
(INT: Show card and read out. Point to appropriate face.)
- (1) The face at the top is of people who are very happy with life.
 - (2) The next face is of people who are just happy, but not very happy with life.
 - (3) The next face is of people who are not happy, but also not unhappy with life.
 - (4) The next face is of people who are unhappy with life.
 - (5) The last face is of people who are angry and impatient about life.
- a) Which face shows how you feel about your life at the moment — all parts of it? Face number
 - b) Which face shows how you feel about the political situation in South Africa? Face number
 - c) Which face shows how you feel about your work? Face number
18. (INT: Please circle appropriate code. Respondent to choose one answer for each question)
- If a judge is sentencing a man for theft and the man accused is a respected and popular community leader, should the judge give him:

- a lighter punishment	1
- a heavier punishment	2
- the same punishment as anyone else	3
 - If an important trade union leader applies for a house in a township and there is a long waiting list, should he:

- have to wait like everyone else	1
- be given special attention	2
 - If a factory job is vacant and many people want it, and the foreman has a brother who can do the job, should the foreman:

- give the job to his brother	1
- give the job to the most able applicant	2
- give the job to someone who needs it most to feed his family	3

17. Nanku umfanekiso otshengisa ukuthi abantu bezwa kanjani ngempilo.
(INT: Show card and read out. Point to appropriate face)
- (1) Ubuso obusekuqaleni obabantu abajabule kakhulu ngempilo.
 - (2) Obulandelayo obabantu abajabule nje kodwa hayi kakhulu Ngempilo.
 - (3) Obulandelayo obabantu abangajabulile kodwa futhi bengajabhile ngempilo.
 - (4) Ubuso obulandelayo obabantu abajabhile ngempilo.
 - (5) Obokugcina ubuso babantu abadiniwe futhi abanhlizi — yoncane ngempilo.
- a) Ibuphi ubuso obutshengisa ukuthi wena uzwa kanjani ngempilo yakho njengamanje? Face number
 - b) Ibuphi ubuso obutshengisa ukuthi uzwa kanjani ngesimo sezepolitiki e South Africa? Face number
 - c) Ubuphi ubuso obutshengisa ukuthi uzwa kanjani ngomsebenzi wakho? Face number
18. (INT: Please circle appropriate code. Respondent to choose one answer for each question)
- Uma ijajili gweba umuntu ngecala lokweba kuwukuthi lomuntu omangalelwe uhloniphekile futhi ungumholi othandwayo emphakathini, kungafanele ijaji limnike

- isigwebo esilula	1
- isigwebo esisindayo	2
- Isigwebo esifanayo nesabanye	3
 - Uma umholi wenyunyana obalulekile efaka isicelo sendlu elokishini kuwukuthi kunohla olude lwabantu abalindele izindlu, kungafanele:

- alinde naye njengabanye	1
- acatshangelwe kangcono	2
 - Uma embonini kunesikhala somsebenzi futhi bebaningi abawufunayo kuwukuthi induna inomfowaba ongawenza lomsebenzi, kungafanele induna

- inike umfowabo lomsebenzi	1
- iwunike lowo onokuwenza kangcono kunabo bonke	2
- iwunike lowo owudinga kakhulu ukondla umndeni wakhe	3

18.(cont.)

• What is the best way for a community to develop:

- each individual should work hard and try to be successful for himself or herself 1
- people must work together in a group, putting the group before individual success 2

• What helps a person most to make progress:

- developing his or her skills as an individual 1
- joining with others and making representations as a group 2

• If a man is promoted and put in charge of his former work-mates and other people, should he:

- treat all people under him in the same way 1
- be specially sympathetic to his former workmates 2

• Suppose you hired a man to work for you. Would you rather:

- set a fixed daily schedule for him 1
- allow him a little freedom to set his own daily schedule 2
- leave the schedule mostly up to him, as long as he finishes the job 3

• A person has to get to a meeting in town as he is on the committee. His car breaks down en route and there is no public phone close by. Should he:

- catch a bus and arrive ½ hour late for the meeting 1
- hire a taxi to get to the meeting quickly, even though the taxi is expensive 2
- go to a private house to use a phone to explain that he is late 3
- not go to the meeting since he has a good excuse for not attending 4

8.

18. (cont.)

• Iyiphi indlela encono ukuze umphakathi uthuthuke:

- umuntu ngamunye asebenze kanzima futhi azame ukuphumelela yena 1
- abantu basebenze ndawonye beyiqembu baqhamise iqembu kunomuntu ngamunye 2

• Yini esiza umuntu ukuba aqhubekela phambili:

- ukuba azilolonge amakhono akhe 1
- ukuba axhumane nabanye bakhulumelane njengeqembu 2

• Uma umuntu enyuselwe isikhundla esephethe labo akade esebenza nabo kanye nabanye, kungafanele:

- apha the bonke abangaphansi kwakhe ngokufana 1
- abe nozwela kulabo akade esebenza nabo 2

• Ake sithi uqashe umuntu ukuba akusebenzele. Ungakhetha:

- ukumkalela uhlelo azolulandela nsukuzonke 1
- umvumele azenzele olwakhe uhlelo azolulandela nsukuzonke 2
- uyekelele kuye konke kuphela nje uma ezoqeda umsebenzi 3

• Umuntu kufanele abe semhlanganweni edolobheni njengoba eyilungu lekomiti. Imoto yakhe iphuke endleleni futhi kungekho cingo lomphakathi eduze. Kungafanele:

- athathe ibhasi afike emuva kwesigamu sehora umhlangano uqalile 1
- aqashe itekisi ukuze afike emhlanganweni masinya, noma itekisi lizobiza imali eningi 2
- afune umuzi acele ukusebenzisa ucingo khona ezochaza ukuthi ulibazisekile 3
- angayi emhlanganweni njengoba unesizathu esihle sokungayi 4

19. Here are some things which people say. For each of them will you tell me whether you agree, disagree or are uncertain.

	Agree	Dis- agree	Uncer- tain
1. The future to me looks full of good possibilities			
2. The way things are at the moment, organisations run by whites will always try to harm black people			
3. I often feel that life is meaningless			
4. It is easy to have a pleasant conversation with whites			
5. There is nothing a person like me could do which would make a difference			
6. People in charge of organisations are generally fair to all people, blacks included			
7. People are always willing to help each other these days			
8. One can only really depend on one's personal friends and relatives			
9. If a person tries hard he or she can make the future better			
10. Black people do not really stand a chance of succeeding if a boss is white			

20. Here is a set of four pictures. (INT: Show pictures)
I would like you to make a story out of these pictures. You can begin with any picture you wish, and follow any order, but altogether they must make one story.

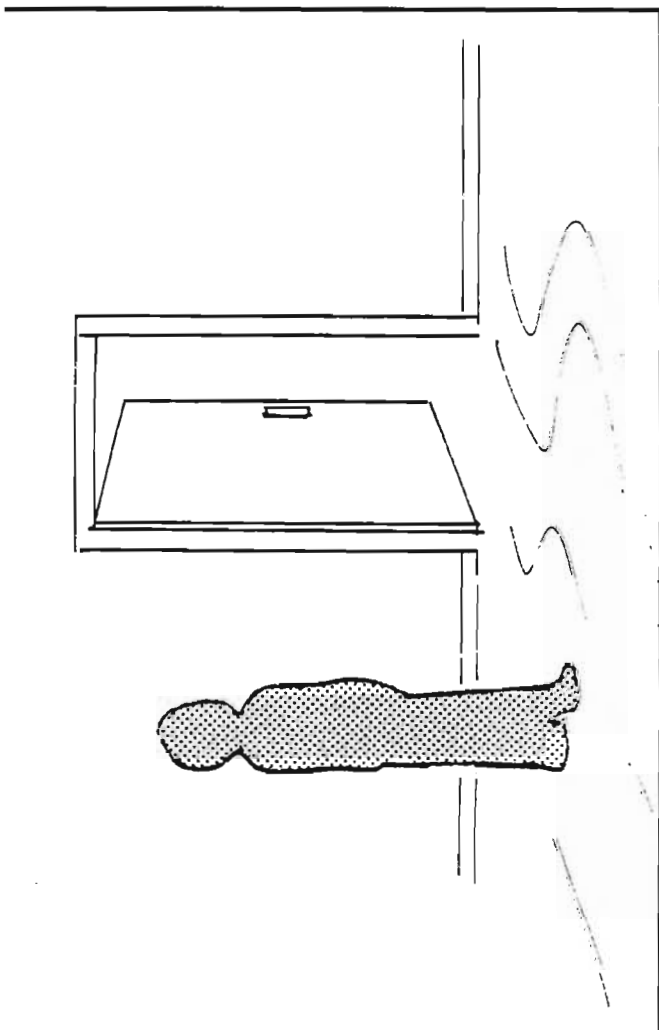
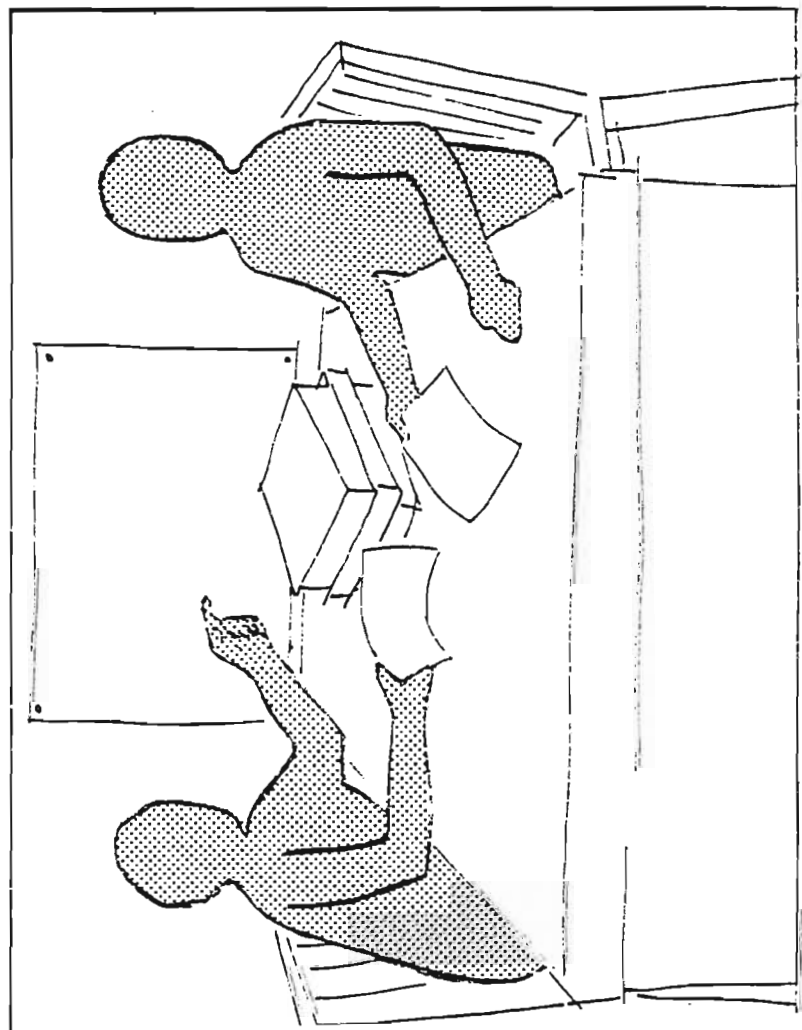
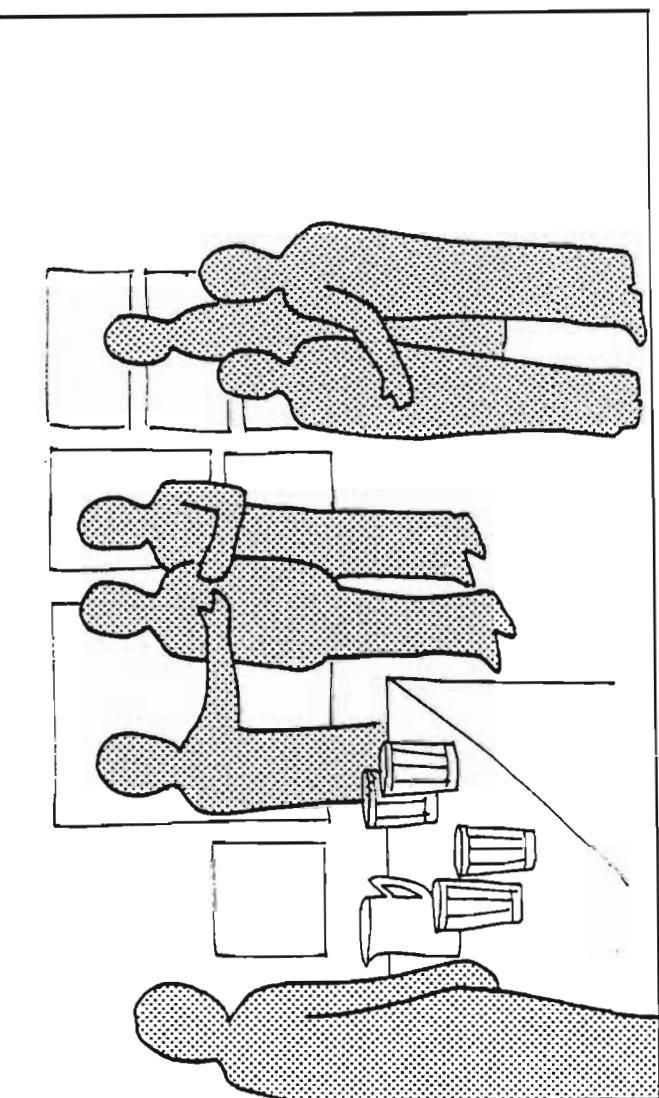
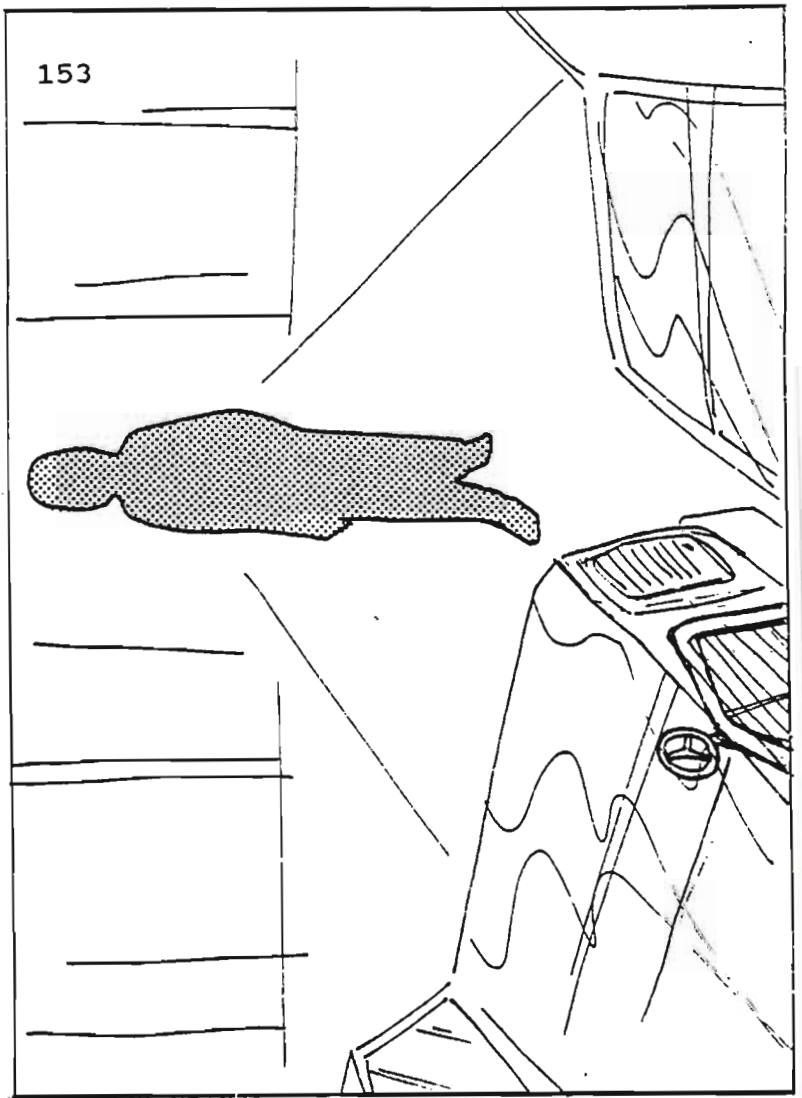
PICTURE : _____

19. Nazi ezinye izinto ezishiwo abantu. Kuyo ngayinye yisho noma uyavumelana, awuvumelani noma awunaqiniso.

	Agree	Dis- agree	Uncer- tain
1. Ikusasa ngilibona ligcwele izinto ezinhle ezinako ukwenzeka			
2. Izintonjengoba zanje njengamanje izinhlangano eziphethwe abamhlophe zihlala zizama ukulimaza abamnyama			
3. Ngivame ukuzwa sengathi impilo ayisenancazelo			
4. Kulula ukukhuluma kahle nabamhlophe			
5. Akukho okungenziwa umuntu ofana nami kwenze umahluko			
6. Abantu abaphethe izinhlangano bavame ukubaqotho ngisho nabamnyama			
7. Abantu bahlala bezimisele ukuba usizo kulezizinsuku			
8. Umuntu angathembela kubangane nezihlobo kuphela			
9. Uma umuntu ezama kakhulu angazenzela ikusasa elingcono			
10. Abantu abamnyama abanandlela yokuphumelela uma besaphethwe abamhlophe			

20. Nazi izithombe ezine. (INT: Show pictures)
Ngicela ungenzele indaba ngazo. Ungaqala noma ingasiphi osithandayo ulandele noma iluphi uhlelo kodwa sezizonke azenze indaba eyodwa.

PICTURE : _____



20. (Continued)

PICTURE : _____

PICTURE : _____

PICTURE : _____

21. A poor black rural community that lives by farming and cattle has been granted additional land. On this land there is the only forest left in the area, and there is wild game. The community has to decide what to do with the new land.

	<u>CIRCLE</u>
Should the community decide to cut the forest?	1
<u>OR</u>	
Should the community protect the forest?	2
Should the community be allowed to set traps for the wild game?	1
<u>OR</u>	
Should the game be protected?	2

20. (Continued)

PICTURE : _____

PICTURE : _____

PICTURE : _____

21. Umphakathi ompofu wasemaphandleni oziphilisa ngokulima nokufuya izinkomo wengezelwe indawo. Kulendawo kunehlathi osekuyilo kuphela elisele kulendawo, futhi linezilwane zasendle. Umphakathi kumele ukhethe ukuthi wenzeni ngalendawo entsha.

	<u>CIRCLE</u>
Kungafanele umphakathi ulicabe lelihlathi?	1
<u>NOMA</u>	
Kungafanele umphakathi ulivikele lelihlathi?	2
Kungafanele lomphakathi uvunyelwe ukucupha izilwane zasendle?	1
<u>NOMA</u>	
Kungafanele izilwane zasendle bazivikele?	2

22. Imagine you have stopped working for a company and have found another job. You have a choice with the pension from your previous employment:

- you can take your pension in a payment of R1000 now
- you can leave the money in the pension fund for five years and get R3000

What would you do?

Take pension now 1
 Leave money 2
 Other (specify) ...
 3

What would you do with the money when you get it? (INT: Probe)

23. Thinking about jobs, please say which of the following are very important, important, or less important.

1. A job where you could be leader
2. An interesting job
3. A job where you would be looked upon highly by your fellow workers
4. A job where you could show your skills and talents
5. A highly paid job
6. A job where you could help other people
7. A job which you would be absolutely sure of keeping
8. A job where you could work more or less on your own
9. A job where you could become famous
10. A job where you could express your feelings and ideas

Very Important	Important	Less Important

22. Ake uzicabange uyekile ukusebenzela inkampani obusebenza kuyo usuthole umsebenzi omunye. Unokukhetha ukuthi imali yakho yempesheni yomsebenzi omdala uyenzajani:

- ungayithatha njengamanje ikukhokhele R1000.00
- ungayiyeka esikhwameni sempesheni uyithathe emuva kweminyaka emihlanu isikukhokhela R3000.00

Wena ungenzenjani?

Take pension now 1
 Leave money 2
 Other (specify) ...
 3

Bese wenzani ngemali uma usuyitholile? (INT: Probe)

23. Uma sicabanga ngemisebenzi, yisho ukuthi kuloku okulandelayo yikuphi okubaluleke kakhulu, okubalulekile noma okubaluleke kancane.

1. Umsebenzi lapho ungaba khona umholi
2. Umsebenzi othandekayo
3. Umsebenzi lapho labo osebenza nabo bekubona ungumuntu omkhulu
4. Umsebenzi lapho ungatshengisa ikhono nesiphiwo sakho
5. Umsebenzi okhokhela kakhulu
6. Umsebenzi lapho ungaba usizo kubantu
7. Umsebenzi lapho ungangabazi ukuthi ungawugcina
8. Umsebenzi lapho ungeke udinge ukwesekwa
9. Umsebenzi ongenza waziwe
10. Umsebenzi lapho ukwazi ukubeka eyakho imibono khona

Very Important	Important	Less Important

24. A person has a job in a factory in which each worker makes small carpets. Please tell me all the ways in which such a person could make progress. (INT: Probe with "What else?")

25. People feel that they can trust certain organisations more than they trust others. In the area of Natal/KwaZulu what organisations do you feel you can trust to be fair to you and people like you. Of the following will you tell me whether you trust them completely, trust them a little, or do not trust them at all.

	Trust fully	Trust little	Do not trust	Uncertain
1. Banks and building societies				
2. The medical profession/doctors				
3. The army				
4. The white government				
5. The press/newspapers/television				
6. Trade Unions				
7. Provincial Administration Boards				
8. Shops in the city				
9. Shops in the townships				
10. Hire purchase				
11. Bus companies				
12. Your local council				
13. The church				
14. The school system				
15. Whites/white employers				
16. The police				
17. Multi-national companies				
18. The KwaZulu Government				
19. The legal system				
20. Tribal authorities				
21. Labour bureaux				

24. Umuntu unomsebenzi embonini lapho umsebenzi ngamunye enza iziqephu zomata. Ake ungitshele zonke izindlela lomuntu angazama ukuqhubekela phambili ngazo. (INT: Probe with "What else?")

25. Abantu babona ukuthi bangazethemba izinhlangano ezithile ngaphezu kwezinye. Endaweni Yase Natali/Nakwa/Zulu iziphi izinhlangano obona ukuthi ungazethemba ukuthi zingabaphatha njengoba kufanele abantu. Kuyo ngayinye kulezi ezilandelayo ungasho ukuthi uyethemba ngokugcwele, uyethemba kancane noma awuyethembi neze.

	Trust fully	Trust little	Do not Trust	Uncertain
1. Amabhange				
2. Abaphathelene nezempilo/ odokotela				
3. Ezombutho wempi				
4. Uhulumeni omhlophe				
5. Abamaphephandaba/televishini				
6. Izinyunyani				
7. Provincial Administration Board				
8. Izitolo ezisemadolobheni				
9. Izitolo ezisemalokishini				
10. Okuthengwa kubo ngesikweletu				
11. Izinkampani zamabhasi				
12. Umkhandlu welokishi				
13. Isonto				
14. Uhlelo lwezikole				
15. Obamhlophe/abaqashi abamhlophe				
16. Amaphoyisa				
17. Izinkampani ezinkulu				
18. Uhulumeni waKwaZulu				
19. Uhlelo lwezomthetho				
20. Abaphathi basezabelweni				
21. Amahovisi ezemsebenzi				

26. I am going to read out to you a list of various groups of people. Could you please say whether you would like to have them as neighbours: (INT: Tick those which respondent would like)

<input type="checkbox"/>	- Students
<input type="checkbox"/>	- People with firm right-wing views
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Heavy drinkers
<input type="checkbox"/>	- People with large families
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Immigrants/foreign workers
<input type="checkbox"/>	- People of a different race
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Homosexuals
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Unmarried mothers
<input type="checkbox"/>	- People with firm left-wing views
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Members of minority religious sects or cults

27. Here is a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen, whether you think it would be a good or a bad thing. (INT: Circle appropriate code)

	Good	Bad	Don't mind
Less <u>More</u> emphasis on money and material possessions	1	2	3
A decrease in the importance of work in our lives	1	2	3
More emphasis on the development of technology	1	2	3
A greater respect for authority	1	2	3
More emphasis on family life	1	2	3
A more natural life-style	1	2	3
Sharing opportunities with all races	1	2	3

28. Let us now talk about the rural areas of Natal/KwaZulu.
a) What do you think is most necessary for the black areas to develop so as to improve life in the community? (INT: Probe with "What else?")

26. Ngizokufundela uhla lwezinhlobo ezahlukeni zabantu. Ungasho noma ungathanda ukuba babe omakhelwane bakho. (INT: Tick those which respondents would like)

<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abafundi/izitshudeni
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu abangazifuni izinguquko masinyane
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu abaphuza kakhulu
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu abanemindeneni emikhulu
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu abavela kwamanye amazwe
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu bolunye uhlanga
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu abathanda abobulili babo
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Omama abangashadile
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu abafuna izinguquko masinyane
<input type="checkbox"/>	- Abantu bamasonto amancane

27. Nalu uhla lwezinguquko endleleni esiphila ngayo ezingase zenzeke maduzane nje. Kukho ngakunye uma kungase kwenzeke yisho ukuthi ucabanga ukuthi kuyinto enhle noma embi na. (INT: Circle appropriate code)

	Good	Bad	Don't mind
Ukugcizelela ezimalini nomnotho	1	2	3
Ukuncipha kokubaluleka komsebenzi ezimpilweni zethu	1	2	3
Ukugcizelela intuthuko kwezobu-chwepheshe	1	2	3
Inhlonipho enkulu kulabo abaphethe	1	2	3
Ukugcizelela ukubaluleka kwempilo yomndeneni	1	2	3
Indlela yokuphila yemvelo	1	2	3
Ukwabelana amathuba kwezinhlanga zonke	1	2	3

28. Ake sikhulume ngezindawo zasemaphandleni zase Natali/NaKwaZulu.
a) Yizini ocabanga ukuthi zidingeka kakhulu ukuthuthukisa lezindawo zabamnyama ukuze kubengcono impilo yomphakathi? (INT: Probe with "What else?")

28b) Suppose that you lived in one of the poorer black areas and you wished for some improvement to life in the community. What do you think would be best for the development of your community? (INT: Mark with an X)

- | | | |
|--|----|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Each family owning a business for their own good | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> The government owning businesses for the good of all |
| <input type="checkbox"/> An improvement in agricultural farming | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> The building of more factories and industry |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The encouragement of a system whereby people grow products which they cannot eat but can sell on the market | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> The encouragement of a system whereby people grow enough to feed themselves |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Being a self-sufficient community where the people do not have to depend on the government for handouts | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Expecting money and help from the government |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A little bit of development over all parts of the surrounding country | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Development concentrated in the cities causing cities to become larger |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Small improvements over a short period of time | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Bigger improvements where the people have to wait longer for them |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Make changes wherever it is more practical to do things in a new way | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Do things as they have always been done |
| <input type="checkbox"/> People within the community are helped with loans to start businesses to create jobs | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Jobs are brought to the local population by large businesses or the government |

c) Imagine that a committee has been formed to decide on some issues which will help the whole community, for example whether another school needs to be built. If you were elected as a member of that committee, how would you prefer to see such a project developing?

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Quickly so as to provide the service to people as soon as possible | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Slowly so as to ensure that everything gets done properly |
|---|----|--|

28b) Ake sithi uhlala kwenye yalezindawo zabamnyama empofu futhi ufisa kwenzeke ngcono impilo emphakathini. Yini ocabanga ukuthi ingaba yinhle kakhulu ukuthuthukisa umphakathi? (INT: Mark with an X)

- | | | |
|---|----|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Umndeni ngamunye ube nebhizinisi ukuze usizakale | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Amabhisi onke kube akahulumeni ukuze kusizakale wonke umuntu |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kwenziwe ngcono izindlela zolimo | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Kwakhiwe izimboni eziningi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kukhuthazwe uhlelo lapho abantu betobshala ukudla abangezokudla kodwa abazokuthengisa emakethe | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Kukhuthazwe uhlelo lapho abantu bezotshala ukudla okwanele ukuba bakudle bona |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ukuba umphakathi ukwazi ukuzenzela izinto ungadingi ukwamukeliswa uhulumeni | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Balindele usizo nemali okuvela kuhulumeni |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Intuthuko eza kancane kuzozonke izindawo ezizungeze ilizwe | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Intuthuko egxile emadolobheni ezokwenza amadolobha akhule |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Imizamo yokwenza ngcono emincane ngesikhathi esifushane | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Imizamo yokwenza ngcono emikhulu lapho abantu bezolinda isikhathi eside |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kwenziwe izinguquko lapho kunokwenzeka ukuthi izinto zenziwe ngendlela entsha | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Kwenziwe izinto ngendlela ebezikade zivele zenziwa ngayo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Abantu emphakathini basizwe ngokubolekwa izimali ukuze baqale amabhizinisi azovula umsebenzi | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Imisebenzi ilethwe emphakathini amabhizinisi amakhulu noma uhulumeni |

c) Ake ucabange ngekomidi eselakhiwe ukuba lithathe izingqomo ngezinye zezinto ezizosiza umphakathi, ake sithi nje ukuthi kudingekile ukuba kwakhiwe esinye isikole. Uma ungaba ilungu lalekomidi ungafisa ukukubona kuqhubeka kanjani lokhu okuhlose ukwenziwa?

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kusheshe ukuze kunike abantu usizo masinyane | OR | <input type="checkbox"/> Kungasheshi ukuze kuqiniseke ukuthi yonke into yenzeka ngendlela |
|---|----|---|

28c) Continued

- ☐ Erecting buildings which look good and smart OR ☐ Erecting buildings not so smart but which are practically useful and serve their function well
- ☐ Using local people who are trained for the job OR ☐ Using experts from other areas who are qualified to do the job
- ☐ Having staff of all race groups OR ☐ Having staff of your race group only OR ☐ Having more staff from your race group than from other groups

d) When it comes to decision-making and the people who influence what happens in the community, which of these do you agree with?

- ☐ Decisions according to rules and regulations which are written down OR ☐ Decisions made on the basis of each individual problem
- ☐ Decisions by newcomers with new ideas as well as by those people who belong to long-established families in the area OR ☐ Decisions by elders of the community, people who have acquired their position through inheritance
- ☐ Decisions made by a reliable person who works in the same way, year after year, never changing OR ☐ Decisions made by someone who tries out new ways of doing things to find out what is best, even if some things do go wrong
- ☐ A person who works on his own and then tells people what he has decided OR ☐ Someone who asks the people what they want and works from there
- ☐ Someone who uses his power and influence outside the community, with government, to ensure that things get done OR ☐ Someone who is only interested in getting work done by the people in the community - not in taking advantage of his or her high position

28c) Continued

- ☐ Kwakhiwe izakhiwo ezinhle ezibukeka kahle OR ☐ Kwakhiwe izakhiwo ezingezinhle kodwa ezizoba usizo zenze umsebenzi wazo
- ☐ Kusetshenziswe abantu bendawo abawufundele lomsebenzi OR ☐ Kusetshenziswe ochwepheshe abavela kwezinye izindawo abawuqeqeshelwe lomsebenzi
- ☐ Kube nabasebenzi bazonke izinhlanga OR ☐ Kube nabasebenzi bohlanga lwakho bodwa OR ☐ Kube nabasebenzi abaningi bohlanga lwakho kunezinye

d) Uma sekuza ekuthatheni izinqumo nabantu abanagama elizwakalayo kokwenziwayo emphakathini, yikuphi kulokhu ovumelana nakho?

- ☐ Izinqumo ezithathwe ngokwemithetho ebhalwe phansi OR ☐ Izinqumo ezithathwe kubukwa inkinga ngayinye
- ☐ Izinqumo ezithathwe abantu bokufika endaweni abeza nemiqondo emisha kanye nabantu bemizi emidlala OR ☐ Izinqumo ezithathwe abantu abadala bendawo eziyifa kubo lezizikhundla
- ☐ Izinqumo ezithathwa umuntu othembekile osebenza ngandlelanye minyaka yonke engajiki OR ☐ Izinqumo ezithathwa umuntu ozama izindlela ezintsha zokwenza izinto ukuze athole okuyiyona engcono
- ☐ Umuntu osebenza yedwa bese etshela abanye ukuthi yena usenqumeni OR ☐ Umuntu obabuzayo abantu ukuthi bona bafunani bese eqhubeka nomsebenzi
- ☐ Umuntu osebenzisa amandla akhe noku-hlonishwa, hayi emphakathini kodwa kuhulumeni, ukuze izinto zenzeke OR ☐ Umuntu okhathalela ukuthi umsebenzi wenziwe abantu bomphakathi - ongakhathalele ukusebenzisa isikhundla sakhe esiphakeme

29. Thinking of the way you spend your leisure time, do you prefer: (INT: Read out all the options)

- | | <u>CIRCLE</u> |
|---|---------------|
| a) To sit and relax as much as possible | 1 |
| <u>OR</u> | |
| To do things and be active | 2 |
| b) And of these? Please choose <u>one</u> option. | |
| To be with your family | 1 |
| To be with friends | 2 |
| To be alone | 3 |
| To be in a lively place with many people | 4 |
| Other (specify) _____ | 5 |

INT: HAND OVER CARD TO RESPONDENT — do not use card with illiterate people. EXPLAIN: We are now going to go through 3 questions. For each of them there will be a number of answers to choose from. Please look at the card and give me your responses. I will read each question with you first.

30. Which of the following do you feel most influences what you believe in? Please choose the two most important things.

- What you have learned in your education
- Your religious beliefs
- What your parents believe
- What the community says
- What you have learned through experience

1st	2nd

31. In your view, which two of the following should be most important in determining the respect a person is worthy of?

- Coming from a high, distinguished family
- Having much money
- Having an education
- Own ability and hard work
- A pleasant personality, well-liked by people

1st	2nd

29. Ake sicabange ngendlela ochitha ngayo isikhathi sakho sokuphumula ukhetha: (INT: Read out all the options)

- | | <u>CIRCLE</u> |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| a) Ukuhlala uphumule | 1 |
| <u>OR</u> | |
| Ukwenza izintlo uphithizele | 2 |
| b) Bese kulokhu? Khetha kube kunye. | |
| Ukuba nabomndeni wakho | 1 |
| Ukuba nabangani bakho | 2 |
| Ukuba wedwa | 3 |
| Ukuba sendaweni enabantu niphithizele | 4 |
| Okunye (specify) _____ | 5 |

INT: HAND OVER CARD TO RESPONDENT — do not use card with illiterate people. EXPLAIN: Sesizodlulela kwimbuzo emithathu elandelayo. Umbuzo ngamunye uzoba nezimpendulo ezimbalwa ozokhetha kuzo. Bheka ikhadi bese unginika impendulo yakho. Ngizofunda umbuzo ngamunye kanye nawe kuqala.

30. Yikuphi kulokhu okulandelayo obona ukuthi yikho okubaluleke kakhulu ukuthonya (influence) loko okholelwa kukho? Khetha kube kubili okubaluleke kakhulu.

- Yilokho okufunde esikoleni
- Inkolo yakho
- Loko abazali bakho abakholwa yikho
- Loko okushiwo umphakathi
- Yiloko okufunde ngokuzizwela

1st	2nd

31. Ngowakho umbono, yikuphi okubili kulokhu okulandelayo okubalulekile ukutshengisa ukuthi umuntu angahlonishwa kangakanani?

- Ukuzalwa emndenini obalulekile
- Ukuba nemali eningi
- Ukuba nemfundo/ubufundiswa
- Ukukwazi ukusebenza kanzima
- Ukuba nogazi uthandekile ebantwini

1st	2nd

32. Which of the following are the most important for a person to have? Please state the two most important.

Popularity
Keeness and determination to get ahead
Concern about one's fellow human beings
Neatness and good manners
Thinking about things before you act
Doing things well in the shortest time possible

1st	2nd

INT: REMOVE CARD FROM RESPONDENT

33. I am going to read a series of statements to you covering many things people talk about. There are no right or wrong answers. Just give your opinion by saying whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

- I feel that I have complete control over the way my life turns out
- It is possible for a person to plan his future so that things will turn out all right eventually
- In my community people will be honest with you as long as you are honest with them
- Most people in my community can be trusted
- Marriage restricts personal freedom
- Traditions of the past are important in guiding what I do
- The most important thing that a person gets is a good education
- There is much I can do about some of the important problems that we face today
- A person should always try to make money so that he/she can buy more, better things

Agree	Dis-agree	Uncertain

32. Yikuphi kuloku okuzolandela okubalulekile ukuba umuntu abe nako? Yisho okubili okubaluleke kakhulu.

Ubulomo
Ubukhali nokuzimisela ukuqhubekela phambili
Uzwelo kwabanye abantu
Ubunono nenhlonipho
Ukucabanga ngezinto phambi kokuba wawze
Ukwenza izinto kahle ngesikhathi esincane

1st	2nd

INT: REMOVE CARD FROM RESPONDENT

33. Ngizokufundela uhla lwemisho oluhlanganise izinto eziningi abantu abakhuluma ngazo. Ayikho impendulo eyiyo noma engeyiyo. Nika nje owakho umbono ngokusho ukuthi uyavumelana noma awuvumelani nomusho ngamunye.

- Ngizwa ukuthi indlela impilo yami ehamba ngayo isezandleni zami
- Kunokwenzeka ukuthi umuntu ahlele ikusasa lakhe ukuze izinto zilunge ekugcineni
- Emphakathini wami abantu baneqiniso kuwe uma nawe uneqiniso kubo
- Abantu abaningi emphakathini bathembekile
- Umsshado unciphisa inkululeko yomuntu
- Izinqubo zakudala zibalulekile ekungihlengeni kulokho engikwenzayo
- Into ebalulekile kakhulu ukuba umuntu ayithole imfundo enhle
- Kuningi engingakwenza ngezinyezezinkinga ezisemqoka esibhekene nazo namhlanje
- Umntu kufanele ahlale ezama ukwenza imali ukuze akwazi ukuthenga okuningi okuncono

Agree	Dis-Agree	Uncertain

33. Continued

10. Ngikhethe umsebenzi lapho kungadingekile ukuba ngithathe izinqumo ezilukhuni
11. Umuntu ozalelwe ebuphofini ngeke akwazi ukwenza ncono isimo sakhe noma ngabe ulangazelela futhi esebenza kanzima kanjani
12. Kuyadingeka ukuba indoda nomkayo banciphise inani lezingane ababa nazo ukuze bakwazi ukugcina kancono lezo asebenazo
13. Ngiyaye ngiphikelele ngiyimele eyami imibono noma iningi lingavumelani nami
14. Uma sekuza kwezemindeni imibono yendoda neyomkayo kufanele inakwe
15. Ngiyakuthokozela ukuhlangana nezihambi zakwezinye izindawo
16. Umuntu ohlelayo ngaphambi kokuba enze into uyame ukuba nezinkinga ezincane kunalowo othatha izinto njengobaziza-nje
17. Amadoda namakhosikazi awo akufanele baxoxe ezepolitiki kanyekanye
18. Intombi kumele ishade lowo okhethwe abazali bayo
19. Ngiyakuthakasela ukuthatha inxa kwezomphakathi
20. Kuhle ukuba umtwana abe nemibono efana neyabazali ezintweni ezibalulekile
21. Abesilisa nabesifazane abenza umsebenzi ofanayo kumele bathole iholo elilinganayo
22. Abangane boqoba batholakala kanzima
23. Mancane amathuba enqubekela phambili emsebenzini ngaphandle kokuba umuntu abe negama elizwakalayo kulabo abamphethe
24. Ukuthobela nokuhlonipha abaphethe izona zinto ezibalulekile izingane okumele zizifunde
25. Abantu abaningi abakhethelwe izikhundla eziphakeme bathembekile
26. Abantu benza ubungane ngoba abangane bengaba usizo kubo

Agree	Dis-agree	Uncertain

33. Continued

	Agree	Dis-agree	Uncertain
27. Several times a week I feel as if something dreadful is about to happen			
28. I like to try out new ideas even if they turn out later to be a total waste of time			
29. It is easy for me to take orders and do what I am told			
30. Housework is the wife's duty and the husband should not be bothered by it			
31. All human beings are born with the same potentialities			
32. I dislike to change my plans in the middle of doing something			
33. What the youth need most is strict discipline			
34. What happens to me is my own doing			
35. It is only natural and right that women be restricted in some ways in which men have more freedom			
36. A man can learn more by working five years than by going to high school			
37. I am always looking for different ways of doing things			
38. Getting ahead in life depends on what is destined to happen			
39. There is little use writing to public officials because often they are not really interested in the problems of the average man			
40. We should believe, without question, all that we are taught by our elders			
41. One must not give an opinion about something until one has had a chance to hear the views of those one respects			
42. Parents must allow their children to make decisions themselves			
43. Life is a struggle from beginning to end			
44. I look forward to old age with pleasure			

33. Continued

	Agree	Dis-agree	Uncertain
27. Kaningana ngesonto ngiye ngizwe sengathi khona into embi ezokwenzeka			
28. Ngiyathanda ukuzama amasu amasha noma ngabe abuye abe ukuchitha isikhathi			
29. Kulula kimi ukuthatha imiyalelo ngenze loko engikutshelwayo			
30. Umsebenzi wasendlini umsebenzi wenkosikazi futhi umyeni akamele ukuhlushwa ngawo			
31. Bonke abantu bazalwa ngokungaba namandla okulinganayo			
32. Angikuthandi ukuguqula izinhlelo zami phakathi nendawo uma sengiziqalile			
33. Into edingwa intsha ukuphathwa ngesandla esiqinile			
34. Okwenzeka kimi kungenxa yami			
35. Kuyindalo futhi kufanele ukuba abesifazane bavimbeleke ngezinye izindlela lapho abesilisa bekhululekile			
36. Umuntu angafunda okuningi ngokusebenza iminyaka emihlanu kunoma efunda esikoleni			
37. Ngihlale ngifuna izindlela ezahlukeni zokwenza izinto			
38. Inqubekela phambili empilweni iya ngokuthi kwakudalelwe ukuthi kuyokwenzekani			
39. Akusizi ukubhalela abasebenzi bamphakathi (public officials) ngoba abazikhathalele izinkinga zabantu			
40. Kumele sikholewe, ngaphandle kwemibuzo, konke esikufundiswa abantu abadala			
41. Umuntu akumele anike imibono ngezinto engakatholi ithuba lokuzwa imibono yalabo abahloniphayo			
42. Abazali kumele bazivumele izingane zithathe izinqumo			
43. Impilo iwumzabalazo kusuka ekuqaleni kuya esiphethweni			
44. Ngikulindele ngentokozo ukuguga			

45. Having good manners is one of the more important goals of life
46. The future is so uncertain that it is best to live from day to day
47. A person has the greatest obligation to his or her family
48. A child should be taught the old, traditional ways of doing things

Agree	Dis-agree	Uncertain

Finally we would like to know some personal details.

34. What is your marital status; are you currently single, married, separated, divorced or widowed?

Single 1
 Married 2
 Divorced/Separated 3
 Widowed 4

If married, ASK:

Do your children and/or wife/husband stay here in town or in the rural areas?

Town 1
 Rural area 2
 Both town and rural 3
 Other (specify) ----- 4
 ----- 4

- 35a) What is your occupation at present? Please give full details of the type of work you do and, if applicable, the type of organisation you work for.

If employed, ASK:
 How long have you worked in your present job?
 ----- years

If "housewife", ASK:
 What is the occupation of your husband?

If pensioner, retired or unemployed, ASK:
 What was your previous job?

If scholar, student, ASK:
 What is the occupation of your father or guardian?

48. Ingawe kufawela ifundiswe izindlela zakudala, zakwasiko ekwenzeni izinto

45. Ukuba nenhlonipho enye yemigomo ebalulekile empilweni

46. Ikusasa aliqiniseke kangangoba okungcono ukuphila usuka ngosuku

47. Umuntu unesibopho esikhulukazi kulabo bomndeni wakhe

Agree	Dis-agree	Uncertain

Okokugcina singathanda ukwazi iminingwane ethile eqondene nawe.

34. Njengamanje ngabe awushadile, ushadile, uhlukeni (separated), udivosile noma washonelwa?

Single 1
 Married 2
 Divorced/Separated 3
 Widowed 4

If married, ASK:

Ngabe abantwana no/noma unkosikazi/umyeni bahlala lapha edolobheni noma emaphandleni?

Town 1
 Rural area 2
 Both town and rural 3
 Other (specify) ----- 4
 ----- 4

- 35a) Msebenzi muni owenzayoyo njengamanje? Nika imininingwane ngenhlobo yomsebenzi wakho, uma kunokwenzeka, nohlobo lwenhlangano (organisation) oyisebenzelayo.

If employed, ASK:
 Usunesikhathi esingakanani kulomsebenzi wakho?

----- years

If "housewife", ASK:
 Msebenzi muni owenziwa umyeni wakho?

If pensioner, retired or unemployed, ASK:
 Wawukade wenza msebenzi muni?

If scholar, student, ASK:
 Msebenzi muni owenziwa ubaba wakho noma umphathi wakho?

35b) What was your first full-time job? Again please give full details.

c) Have you ever worked in an office, shop or factory?

Yes 1
 No 2

If yes, ASK:
 For how many years?.....

d) What is, or was, the occupation of your father?

 And your mother?

e) In ten years' time what work do you expect to be doing — not what you would like, but what you realistically expect?

f) Would you prefer to be doing some other kind of work to what you are doing now?

Yes 1
 No 2
 Uncertain 3

If yes, ASK:
 What work would you prefer to be doing?

35b) Kwakuyini umsebenzi wakho wokuqala? Phinda uchaze ngokuphelele.

c) Wake wasebenza ehovisi, esitolo noma embonini?

Yes 1
 No 2

If yes, ASK:
 Iminyaka emingaki?.....

d) Yini noma kwakuyini umsebenzi kababa wakho?

Bese okamama wakho?

e) Eminyakeni eyishumi ezayo msebenzi muni olindele ukuba uzobe uwenza — hayi lowo owufisayo kodwa lowo owulindele ngokweqiniso?

f) Ungathanda ukuba ngabe wenza omunye umsebenzi kunalo owenzayo njengamanje?

Yes 1
 No 2
 Uncertain 3

If yes, ASK:
 Msebenzi muni ongathanda ukuwenza?

36a) What was the highest formal educational level that your father achieved? And your mother? If you do not know, please give the best estimate.

	Father	Mother
None	1	1
Substandards/Std 1	2	2
Std 2-3	3	3
Std 4-5	4	4
Std 6-7	5	5
Std 8-9/"O" levels	6	6
Std 10/"A" levels	7	7
Diploma/certificate	8	8
University degree	9	9

b) What educational level would you like to reach?

37. Could you please give me a rough indication of your household's income per month, from all sources. (INT: Mark with an X)

None ₁	Under R100 ₂	R100-299 ₃	R300-499 ₄
R500-999 ₅	R1000-1499 ₆	R1500-1999 ₇	R2000+ ₈

AND INT: ASSESS SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	Relative to Neighbourhood	Relative to typical family in Umlazi
Destitute	1	1
Poor	2	2
Average	3	3
Above average	4	4
Well-off/rich	5	5

38a) Were you brought up in your present religious faith?

Yes 1
No 2

If no, ASK:
What religion were you before? Please give full details

When did you change your religion?
.....

36a) Ubaba wakho wafunda wagcinaphi? Umama wakho yena? Uma ungazi, ungazama ukulinganisela.

	Father	Mother
None	1	1
Substandards/Std 1	2	2
Std 2-3	3	3
Std 4-5	4	4
Std 6-7	5	5
Std 8-9/"O" levels	6	6
Std 10/"A" levels	7	7
Diploma/Certificate	8	8
University degree	9	9

b) Iliphi izinga lemfundo ongathanda ukufika kulo wena?

37. Ungazama ukunginika isilinganiso semali isiyonke engena kulomndeni ngenyanga. (INT: Mark with an X)

None ₁	Under R100 ₂	R100-299 ₃	R300-499 ₄
R500-999 ₅	R1000-1499 ₆	R1500-1999 ₇	R2000+ ₈

AND INT: ASSESS SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

	Relative to Neighbourhood	Relative to typical Family in Umlazi
Destitute	1	1
Poor	2	2
Average	3	3
Above average	4	4
Well-off/rich	5	5

38a) Wakhuliswa kulenkolo yakho yanjengemanje?

Yes 1
No 2

If no, ASK:
Wawukade ukholwaphi kuqala? Chaza ngokuphelele

Wayijika nini inkolo yakho?
.....

38b) A man's only son is killed by a reckless driver while walking on the pavement. The father asks himself: "Why should this have happened to my son?" What are all the answers you could give this father? (INT: Probe with "And what else?")

39a) What are the things that you like to do most in your spare time? (INT: Probe thoroughly)

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 4. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 5. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 6. _____ |

b) What clubs or organisations do you belong to within your community? You need not give names, simply the type of club or organisation. (INT: Probe)

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| 1. _____ | 6. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 7. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 8. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 9. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 10. _____ |

40. In what type of community did you spend most of your life before the age of twenty? (INT: Repeat all the options if necessary).

- | | |
|--|---|
| In an isolated rural community | 1 |
| In a rural community in close proximity to a trading store/outpost/railway station | 2 |
| In a rural community in close proximity to a town | 3 |
| In a community bordering a city | 4 |
| In a town | 5 |
| In a city | 6 |

41. How many years in your life have you lived in a city or town?

_____years

38b) Indodana yomnumzane othile ekuyiyo yodwa ibulawa imoto yomuntu obeshayela budedengu kade izihambela emgaqweni. Uyise azibuze ukuthi: "Kungani lokhu kwenzeka enganeni yami na?" Zimpendulo zini, zonke, ongazinika lomlisa na? (INT: Probe with "And what else?")

39a) Yiziphi izinto othanda ukuzenza ngesikhathi sakho sokuphumula? (INT: Probe thoroughly)

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 4. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 5. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 6. _____ |

b) Yiziphi izinhlangano noma amaclub oyilungu lazo emphakathini? Awudingi ukuzibiza ngamagama, yisho nje uhlobo lwenhlangano noma club? (INT: Probe)

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| 1. _____ | 6. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 7. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 8. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 9. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 10. _____ |

40. Ngaphambi kokuba ube neminyaka engamashumi amabili (20) ubudala wahlala isikhathi eside kuhlobo olunjani lomphakathi? (INT: Repeat all the options if necessary)

- | | |
|---|---|
| Umpakathi osemaphandleni phaqa | 1 |
| Umpakathi wasemaphandleni kodwa oseduze nesitolo/nesiteshi samabhasi kaloliwe | 2 |
| Umpakathi wasemaphandleni oseduze nedolobha | 3 |
| Umpakathi osemaphetheleni edolobha | 4 |
| Idolobha elincane (Town) | 5 |
| Idolobha elikhulu (City) | 6 |

41. Mingaki iminyaka okewayihlala edolobheni empilweni yakho?

_____years

42. Do you have family living in the country?

Yes
No

1
2

If yes, ASK:

- a) How much money do you send to the rural area? R _____ per month
- b) How often do you visit your family in the country?

- c) How many head of cattle does your family own?

43. Which of the following do you feel yourself to be? (INT: Read out all the options mentioned)

- A person who is fully of the city, whose life and future is in the city 1
- A person whose real place is in the rural area but who has to come to the city to work 2
- A person who is changing from being a rural person to a city person 3
- Other (specify) ----- 4

44. Where would you like to live when you retire, in a rural area or in the city, assuming that you could find a place to live anywhere you want?

- Rural area 1
- City 2
- Uncertain 3

45a) How many adults live in your household in the city?

1-2 ₁	3-4 ₂	5-6 ₃	7-8 ₄	over 8 ₅
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	---------------------

b) And how many children under 18 years of age?

None ₁	1-2 ₂	3-4 ₃	5-6 ₄	7-8 ₅	over 8 ₆
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42. Unawo umndeni ohlala emaphandleni?

Yes
No

1
2

If yes, ASK:

- a) Ingakanani imali oyithumela emaphandleni ngenyanga? R _____ per month
- b) Uwuvakashela kangaki umndeni wakho emaphandleni?

- c) Umndeni wakho unezinkomo ezingaki?

43. Kulokhu okulandelayo ikuphi ozwa ukuthi kuwwe? (INT: Read out all the options mentioned)

- Umuntu ongowasedolobheni ngokugcwele ompilo nekusasa lakhe lisedolobheni 1
- Umuntu ondawo yakhe isemaphandleni kodwa oze edolobheni ngomsebenzi 2
- Umuntu oqukayo ekubeni owasemaphandleni eseba owasedolobheni 3
- Okunye (Chaza) ----- 4

44. Uma usuthatha umhlalaphansi ungathanda ukuhlala emaphandleni noma edolobheni, sithatha ngokuthi ungayithola indawo noma kuphi lapho uthanda khona?

- Rural 1
- City 2
- Uncertain 3

45a) Bangaki abantu abadala abahlala ekhaya edolobheni?

1-2 ₁	3-4 ₂	5-6 ₃	7-8 ₄	over 8 ₅
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	---------------------

b) Bese zibazingaki izingane ezingaphansi kweminyaka eyishumi nesishagalombili ubudala?

None ₁	1-2 ₂	3-4 ₃	5-6 ₄	7-8 ₅	over 8 ₆
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45c) Could you also please tell me who these people are in relation to you (adults and children); for example mother, father and sister's children?

d) If you had a choice with whom would you enjoy to live, assuming you live where you are now?

You alone 1
 You and your wife/husband 2
 You and your wife/husband and children 3
 Other (specify) -----
 ----- 4

46. What do you think is the best number of children for a person like you to have during your lifetime?

None 1	1-2 2	3-4 3	5-6 4	7-8 5	More than 8 6
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Why do you say this?

Thank you for your participation.

45c) Ungangitshela ukuthi lababantu bahlobene kanjani nawe (abadala nezingane); e.g. umama, ubaba noma abantwana bakadadewenu?

d) Uma wawunokuzikhethela, ubani ongathanda ukuhlala naye, sithatha ngokuthi uhlala lapha uhlala khona njengamanje?

Wena wedwa 1
 Wena kanye nomkakho/nomyeni wakho 2
 Wena nomkakho/myeni nabantwana 3
 Okunye (Chaza) -----
 ----- 4

46. Iliphi inani lezingane ocabanga ukuthi umuntu angaba nazo empilweni yakhe?

None 1	1-2 2	3-4 3	5-6 4	7-8 5	More than 8 6
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Ukusho ngani lokhu?

Siyabonga

ADDRESS: -----

PHONE NUMBER: -----
DATE OF INTERVIEW: -----
DURATION OF INTERVIEW: -----
NAME OF INTERVIEWER: -----

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS:

How well did the respondent cooperate with the interview?

Very cooperative	1
Cooperated	2
Uninterested but probably honest	3
Questionably honest	4

How private was the interview?

Alone with respondent	1
Distractions	2
Others present, no interference	3
Other people gave answers	4