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A STUDY OF CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE WORLD-VIEWS OF *ISI*XHOSA-SPEAKING SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THEIR QUEST TO SUCCEED IN THE WORLD OF WORK WITHOUT ABANDONING THEIR AFRICAN IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

The people with whom this thesis is concerned have chosen to participate in change and technological advancement. They are engaged in *development*. Development, as here understood, requires that individuals contribute to the advance of a technological society while affirming their Africanness, albeit a changing Africanness.

The study addresses the basic question "How can African youths, who desire to succeed materially, maintain some sort of integrated sense of self in a working environment dominated by a Western style of operation which potentially undermines their Africanness?" The answer is sought in terms of "mediation" between the conflicting African Traditional and Western Industrial world-views in such a way as to enhance development, while not being inconsistent with economic imperatives. It investigates empirically the content of what is being mediated and the mechanisms of the mediation.

Manfred Max-Neef's Theory of Human Scale Development and John Cumpsty's Theory of Religion as Belonging inform the study.

The sample populations consisted of 779 *isi*Xhosa-speaking Matrics who were about to enter the working-world and, for comparative purposes, 23 young black managers working in industrial corporations.

The instrument employs Cumpsty's general theory of religion as the theoretical framework in which the key elements of African Traditional and Western Industrial paradigms of reality are conceptualised. The Researcher went into the field with these theoretical elements to discover how they, and idiosyncratic elements, outcropped in context. This generated the two stories of "how life is", the one traditional, and the other modern industrial, which grounded the large-scale questionnaire.

Clear patterns relating to the two stories emerged and the criteria, to determine where one category ended and another began, defined working profiles. A structured question and an open, self-description question provided information on individual identity. Statistical analysis was followed by text analysis of responses to the qualitative question included in

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the questionnaire and of transcripts of subsequent in-depth interviews with selected respondents. The text analysis was undertaken with the help of QSRNUD*IST computer software.

Members of the sample were located in one of five profiles. The profiles are described as strategies for negotiating world-view and identity. There is evidence to suggest that those who share similar socio-cultural experiences adopt similar strategies.

The thesis concludes with a discussion of the findings and consequences for both education and development.

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PREFACE

This study arises out of the conjunction of two major streams of experience. The first of these has provided the motivation and set the commitments. The second has provided the theoretical tool with which we seek, in this project, to meet those commitments.

There is also a third stream, which partakes in both of the others and serves to cement the relation between them.

The first stream of experience was the work which the author did, between 1992 and 1995, in the field of youth development and training. Work in the African National Congress Youth League and the National Youth Development Forum involved facilitating youth development initiatives and skills training programmes in the Transkei (now part of the Eastern Province). With the open acceptance of Western economic models by the African National Congress a nation-wide campaign was launched to help black youths change from being "young lions" in The Struggle to being "young enterpreneurs" in a new South Africa.

These development programmes and, we understand, many other youth development projects throughout South Africa, focused primarily, and sometimes solely, on economic empowerment. Youth development was, on the whole, limited to teaching and developing skills intended to better equip young people to find work and fit into industrial society.

What was overlooked was that many African youths, especially those employed in business and industry, experience at some stage in their working life a conflict of world-views, one which we generally associate with traditional Africa and one which comes to them from Western Europe and North America. This is potentially a problem for all Africans but particularly for youths from more traditional homes. The individualising pressures of a modern technological society in many ways contradict the demands, values and priorities of the traditional African family.

Most desire to progress materially in an increasingly industrialised and technologically advanced society but many do not want to do so at the expense of their identity as Africans. How can an African youth, who desires to succeed materially, maintain an

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integrated sense of Self in a working environment dominated by a Western style - which undermines African traditional ways of seeing, being and doing? The desire to address this problem is what motivates this study.

The second stream of experience was an introduction to John Cumpsty's General Theory of Religion as a tool for world-view analysis. It offered a language in which to describe the elements which comprise this variety of potentially conflicting world-views and a framework in which to locate them, as well as a way of conceptualising interventions.

The need for something more than ad hoc interventions focusing on economic development and even, as in this study, on identity, drew the author to the third stream of experience. It is the stream which sets the total environment for this study and so contributes much to the motivation and something to the method. This is Max-Neef's Human Scale Development (1991). The assumptions that underlie Human Scale Development can be said to be that "development is about people and not about objects", that "people have the ability to creatively overcome their problems", that "the role of the interventionist is to facilitate a process in which people come together, start to listen to and support each other, identify their problems and the needs which are not being met, see any obstacles preventing them from meeting their needs, agree on how best they can satisfy their needs and design appropriate strategies together to make their lives more fulfilling". Above all it makes clear the need for, if not always the possibility of, a comprehensive development strategy. We have tried, within the necessary limitations of this study, always to keep this comprehensive approach in mind and, in what we propose, not to restrict it where we cannot promote it.

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In this Preface we have tried to locate the study in the most general terms by showing what drives and enables it. In the Introduction we will be saying what the study is seeking to elucidate and why.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 OBJECTIVES

Our primary concern in this study is to address the question:

> **How can African youths, who desire to succeed materially, maintain some sort of integrated sense of self in a working environment dominated by a Western style of operation which potentially undermines their Africanness?**

Our long-term hope is that we might be able to suggest and test collective strategies that provide ways of mediating between conflicting paradigmatic symbols and thus promote holistic development which supports an integrated identity. Such strategies might challenge and, perhaps change, the culture of institutions of learning, of the workplace, of the church, and of the home.

In this study, it is assumed that in addition to the basic drive for material survival there is a basic human drive for identity. In consequence, we assume the importance, beyond a reasonable rift between what one perceives oneself to be and what one is seeking to become, of an integrated sense of self. We will focus on the different ways people attempt to meet the fundamental human need for an integrated identity when they have to make certain choices under the pressure to achieve material success, or just economic survival.

A fragmented identity brings with it the loss of a sense of belonging. We will, therefore, be seeking ways to nurture a cultural continuity against the background of Africa's rapid socio-cultural change; and will be endeavouring to discover how the threat of alienation, self-alienation or of anomie might be overcome.

People are engaged individually and collectively in what is perceived to be, if it is conscious, a humanising activity called development. Often it is unconscious. The sought-after development, as it is here understood, requires that people advance in a technological society while affirming their Africanness, albeit a changing Africanness. A study of these

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activities will hopefully reveal the underlying elements and processes that ordinary people use to renegotiate their world-views and identities in modern Africa.

The people with whom we are concerned are those who have themselves chosen to participate in the processes of change and associate with the move into an industrial and technologically advancing world, albeit with different degrees of commitment.

We will wish, therefore, to learn what we can about the diverse ways in which this change is experienced; about the potential for identity fragmentation in those who embrace the objectives of a technologically advancing industrial society; and about integrative mechanisms in those who, within this, seem to best retain their identities as Africans, in order to help educators, pastoral workers, and development practitioners, better serve those who do not.

That some youths come through this experience better than others suggests either that they are choosing between the competing elements in their world-views or that they have some way of better holding together the conflicting elements, but for whatever reason, they seem more integrated. Others suffer from a fragmentation of identity. They are torn apart. Experience indicates that there also exists a whole range of people between these two extremes.

Though not every person who moves from a traditional African home to a Western industrial environment suffers a fragmentation of identity, a considerable number do. Those with any serious attachment to a more traditional African world-view almost invariably feel threatened by the individualising pressures of a modern technological society. When such pressures induce a fragmentation of identity they are as detrimental to the well-being of both individual and community as they are to a smooth social and economic development.

We may restate what has been said as a position we now assume but expect to demonstrate. This position, because, in an holistic development strategy, economic and social considerations cannot be separated, is expressed as follows:

> **Humanisation within economic and social development, in a situation of competing world-views, depends on the mediation of conflicting**

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paradigmatic symbols in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives.

We will need to understand both the content (what is being mediated) and the mechanisms of this "mediation".

Whether one is concerned with the educational, pastoral or developmental aspects of this process there is need to:

i. locate individuals and hence communities, by describing precisely the assessable elements which compete in the individual's world-view or mix of world-views;

ii. describe particularly those elements whose relative significance must change in any shift of world-view, thus making clear the calculus of loss and gain in the change process;

iii. discover the processes whereby different groups at different stages of change seek to hold together, or otherwise deal with, competing elements in their world-views for the sake both of unity in individual identity and the generation of a common purpose;

iv. suggest ways in which processes of change might be smoothed, for both individuals and community, by appropriate intervention that is consistent with human scale development.

Our short-term objectives, therefore, were the selection of a significant sample population and the design of some method, some instrument perhaps, which would give us access to these matters via the actual response profile of the individual. That, in turn, required some theoretical framework which would allow conceptualisation of the key elements of African Traditional and Western Industrial world-views.

Any work in this field relies on comparison, there being no absolutes. Therefore as a first step we felt the need to set up a database of quantitative data for as large a sample as possible, placing on record the spectrum and relative frequency of any broad positions held.

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Once we had described any such profiles we hoped to be able to identify among them those which seemed to minimise psychological cost or appeared to be the more enriching, and thus learn to facilitate interventions which would promote human-scale development.

At this point we pass from a concern with what we wanted to do to a concern with what we did.

1.2 THE SAMPLE POPULATIONS

Ideally we would have liked to include in the sample a wide cross-section of young working adults, but financial constraints and limited time prevented this. What has proved possible is an approach from both ends, that is, we have sought access to young African school leavers doing their final year in high school (who within themselves represent a wide cross-section of backgrounds) and then to a smaller group of persons who have already achieved managerial positions in a variety of industrial corporations.

We decided to focus first on Matric students because they are a group that is in transition between school and the job market or tertiary education with a view to entering the working world. They have been exposed to the industrial pragmatic world-view of a Western-style education and are at an identity development stage where the tensions between their cultural background and their educational conditioning are likely to be keenly felt. Also, when it comes to seeking comparison with other young African adults in Lesotho, KwaZulu-Natal and Namibia, a high school is probably the one setting that is most parallel in every other way.

We are well aware that people can live with two world-views, not only between school and home but also between the world in which they earn a living and the one in which they spend those earnings. They will not necessarily experience conflict between the irreconcilable elements in the competing world-views until they have to take responsibility within one of them which calls for a personal identification with the task if it is to be performed well. The real crunch, therefore, is more likely to come when these individuals enter managerial positions or the equivalent. It was with this in mind that we stepped across the intervening years and extended our research to young black managers.

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We decided that in the first instance the study would be confined to a single language group.[1]

Thus, our sample population was made up of people with the following characteristics:

i. their first language was *isi*Xhosa;

ii. they were familiar with African Traditional world-views, values and practices;

iii. they had spent at least eleven years in a Western orientated schooling system; and

iv. they were thinking about their future and, where appropriate, their career and work.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We return now to the requirement for some theoretical framework which would allow description, comparison and analysis of world-view elements; in this particular case to conceptualise the key elements of African Traditional and Western Industrial world-views and the possible individual response profiles to them.

It is not easy to separate out discussion of the selection of theory and the operationalisation thereof, but we begin with the former.

As we have said, this study is informed by Manfred Max-Neef's theory of "Human Scale Development" and in particular we seek always to have in mind the need for a comprehensive development strategy, which calls for a synergic relation not only between the economic and identity needs with which we will be dealing but also with the other fundamental human needs which he identifies.

We will differentiate between what Max-Neef calls "synergic satisfiers", and other less effective strategies. We return to these matters in the next chapter.

A number of other researchers are concerned about the strategies people use to renegotiate identity in situations of cultural diversity and change. The work of George and

[1] The extension of this study to KwaZulu-Natal, Lesotho and Namibia falls outside the scope of this study but references are made periodically to the larger Southern African project.

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Louise Spindler has proved informative and interesting. They have generated various models aimed at understanding how human beings adapt to changing cultural circumstances. The Spindlers' work has led them to advocate the use of what they call "cultural therapy" as a way to assist teachers and students in bringing their cultural assumptions to a level of awareness that permits them to perceive those assumptions as a potential bias in social interactions, and second, to understand and examine the adaptations they make across culturally different settings (Spindler and Spindler, 1993: 28). They also suggest that their programme of "cultural therapy" is able to effectively help resolve conflict that stems from inaccurate cultural perceptions of the "other" (ibid.: 29).

The Spindlers have developed the concepts of "enduring", "situated", and "endangered" selves with reference to culturally and socially maraginalised school students in America. They are obviously concerned that educators working with such students acquire the skills to assist culturally marginalised students to learn the economic competencies to operate in modern Western industrial society while retaining a strong sense of their cultural heritage.

Phelan, Davidson, and Yu (1993: 89f and 1998: 1-18) present a model of the interrelationships between students' family, peers, and school worlds. They specifically focus on how meanings and understandings derived from these worlds and everyday experiences combine to affect students' engagement with schools and learning. They are particularly helpful in pointing out that differences between family, peer, and school worlds do not necessarily lead to educational difficulties. They also identify types of borders that can exist between students' worlds that restrict their ability to interact in the schooling environment. The authors have developed a typology from case studies of adaptation patterns students adopt when they move across socio-cultural settings. The types which they distinguish as reflecting the various transition patterns are labelled: Congruent Worlds/Smooth Transitions; Different Worlds/Border Crossing Managed; Different Worlds/Border Crossing Difficult; and Different Worlds/Borders Impenetrable. Phelan et al. explore the students' perceptions of their circumstances and the factors that they believe affect their involvement in schools and learning. They also discuss the educational implications for students who exhibit these various patterns.

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Many of the questions which concern the Spindlers and Phelan et al. are similar to the concerns which drive our research, and we will certainly wish to draw on them when we come to our own proposals. There are, however, some differences.

Because we wanted to generate a database as a broad comparative baseline for our continuing research, we began in a quantitative style, and, therefore, with a world-view typology which would facilitate that. This choice of a different theoretical framework generates its own differences in procedure. In particular our types of profile are generated within the possibilities of the chosen theory not from the data of multiple free interviews. In the latter half of our investigation we move to a qualitative approach and to an Action Research style. In part, however, those "free" discussions at least take off from within a position generated out of the originating theory. The Spindlers and Phelan et al., on the other hand, adopt a strictly qualitative research methodology throughout.

A less significant difference is that we tend to focus our investigation on those who embrace both traditional African and modern industrial paradigms in their own world-views as being, in our context, the potentially most informative. The Spindlers and Phelan et al. do not focus on any one "adaptation pattern".

We have chosen to employ for our purpose aspects of John Cumpsty's general theory of religion, in particular his typology of three coherent and mutually exclusive world-views and the basic elements thereof. These are to be found in his "Religion as Belonging" (1991) and subsequent articles. It is a theory which was generated in Africa with problems similar to those with which we are concerned in mind. When the relevant sections of this theory are set out in the next chapter its appropriateness will become clear.

Cumpsty's theory may be seen to complement Max-Neef's general theory of development in that it addresses the fundamental human need for identity in the context of social change. Cumpsty makes a valuable contribution to the broader theory of development by investigating the links between identity, implicit religion and social change and presenting them in a single theoretical framework.

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In the following chapter we describe the theoretical base from which the study takes off.

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CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We begin with a background to and outline of those parts of Max-Neef's theory of *Human Scale Development* which are appropriate for our purpose.

2.1 HUMAN SCALE DEVELOPMENT

Some Background (Max-Neef, 1991 and Clarke, 1993)

Human Scale Development draws into a single theory the work done by Manfred Max-Neef, founder of CEPAUR (Development Alternatives Centre in Santiago, Chile) and a team of researchers from five countries in Latin America during 1985-6. The interdisciplinary team included experts in economics, sociology, psychology, philosophy, political science, anthropology, geography, engineering and law. They were all intensely aware of the failure of the conventional models of development, which dominated in 1970's and 80's, to improve the quality of life for the majority of the poor in Latin America. There was a widespread sense of discouragement as different attempts to bring about change failed to produce significant development. Max-Neef and his team were in search of a new approach to development which would revitalise the creative energies of local groups and build their capacity for greater self-reliance. They were also determined to lobby governments to change their priorities and their policies.

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The study was published in Spanish in 1986 and appeared in English in 1989. It created a great deal of interest, initially in Latin America and subsequently throughout the world. A Human Scale Development Network was started in South Africa in 1992. One of the main reasons for the interest was the emphasis placed on the role of human creativity in development, and the insistence that all must recognise again that "the purpose of the economy is to serve the people, and not the people to serve the economy".

Anne Hope (in Clarke, 1993: 6), one of the pioneers of the Human Scale Development Network, has said: "To understand the words 'poverty' and 'development' with deeper insight

we need theories which will interpret the inter-relationships between needs on the one hand, and measures to address them on the other". Clarke (ibid.) notes that development theorists, often cite Abraham Maslow's popular theory of a hierarchy of needs, despite its limitations to explain the complex subject of human motivation. Maslow argues that human needs are ranked in a ladder-like structure. On the first rung of the ladder is the need for *survival* - for food, clothing, water, etc. Only once this need is met does a person start to experience the need for *safety.* Similarly, once the need for safety is met and an individual feels secure from attack and destruction, the need for *belongingness and love* surfaces. Thereafter, the need for *self-esteem* emerges, followed finally by the need for personal growth, or what Maslow calls *self-actualization.*

In the 1970's and 80's the United Nations adopted this hierarchical view of needs. As a result their development aid programmes were aimed at meeting physical and safety needs as it was assumed that if these were met the poor would get far enough up Maslow's ladder to look after their own needs. This never materialised.

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The Theory

The theory of Human Scale Development begins with a far more sophisticated analysis of human needs. The fundamental need for physical survival, for subsistence, is, of course, basic. However there are a number of other needs which are also universal, and unless these psycho-social needs are met, it will never be possible to meet the subsistence needs of all members of society. Max-Neef (1991:17) says: "Human needs must be understood as a system: that is, all human needs are interrelated and interactive. With the sole exception of the need for subsistence, that is, to remain alive, no hierarchies exist within the system. On the contrary, similtaneities, complementarities and trade-offs are characteristics of the process of needs satisfaction."

The first main feature of the theory is the classification of needs into what Max-Neef (1991) calls the nine fundamental human needs which are common to all people of all cultures and equally valuable in human development. The nine fundamental human needs include

Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Identity, Idleness, Creation, and Freedom.

Subsistence: This need is satisfied by food, shelter, clothing and water. The conventional view of poverty is commonly described as simply the lack of adequate provision of these four things. With other fundamental human needs having been identified our understanding of what constitutes and maintains poverty has been considerably broadened.

Protection: This refers to the need to be protected from exploitation, violence, disease and many other things.

Affection: This speaks of the need to love and to be loved in warm and intimate relationships in which we are treated with respect.

Understanding: This includes the need to be educated and informed so that we can understand our world, our society and ourselves and, therefore, are not marginalised because we cannot make our needs understood.

Participation: This refers to the need to be involved with others in the making of decisions, plans and policies, and to worship, learn and play with other people.

Identity: This is the need to answer the question: "Who am I?" This includes a need for a clear sense of belonging to whatever is felt to ground identity, however vaguely that may be conceived.

Idleness: This term has for some people negative connotations of laziness. We, therefore, prefer to use the term relaxation. A tranquil state of mind and spirit allows for thought and reflection.

Creation: This refers to need to be creative; to exercise our God-given creative urge to make things and to see the finished product.

Freedom: This speaks of the need to enjoy the personal space within which to grow to our full potential free from restrictive barriers.

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We now turn to the second feature of Max-Neef's classification of human needs. To explain what these needs mean to people in practical terms, he proposes the following four ways of categorising and describing the satisfaction of the nine fundamental human needs:

Being: This refers to the qualities of the satisfier. For example, the need for Affection may be satisfied by the satisfier being receptive, generous, passionate or humorous. Another example is that being healthy can satisfy the need for Subsistence. The adjectives we use to describe the satisfier indicate the *being* dimension.

Having: For example, having trusting relationships with family and friends meets the need for Affection. And having food, water, shelter and clothes meet the need for Subsistence. The nouns we use indicate the *having* dimension.

Doing: The need for Affection is not satisfied by simply having caring family, we need to be doing something too, such as participating in family affairs, forgiving and helping one another, etc. Verbs express the doing aspect of a satisfier. Similarly the need for Subsistence is not met by merely having food we still need to cook the food.

These three ways of satisfying needs are clearly inter-related. "Although we may often wish the opposite were true, common sense indicates we cannot *have* without *being,* and we cannot *be* without *doing* ...Furthermore, we *are, we do* and we *have* within a specific space or context which influences and shapes the ways in which we satisfy our fundamental human needs. Because of this Max-Neef proposes a fourth aspect with which to classify satisfiers." (Clarke, 1993: 12)

Interacting: This refers to the environment - the location and milieu - within which needs are satisfied. Prepositions such as in, to, from, with, and by express the interactive aspect of a satisfier. For example, growing up in a family environment that accepts you for who you are can satisfy the need for Affection. And the need for Subsistence requires that we interact with the physical environment in the process of obtaining food.

The Human Scale Development Network (South Africa) finds it helpful in the context of Africa to explain the theory using the symbol of a wheel. The first list of nine human needs

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can be thought of as the spokes of the wheel. A wheel, however, is not made up of spokes alone. "Firstly it needs to be centred and fixed on an axle (the being element). Secondly it needs to *have* a rim and a tyre pumped with air (the having element). Thirdly it needs to turn freely if it going to be of any use (the doing element). Finally, it needs to be in appropriate contact with the ground - the environment - in an *interaction* of forces that propel the wheel, and whatever it is carrying, forward. If one or more of the spokes is missing, or the tyre is punctured, or the wheel bearings are worn out, the wheel will buckle or breakdown" (ibid.).

For a group to develop as a fully human community, all the fundamental human needs of all the members must be recognised and satisfied. Max-Neef (ibid.: 18) says: "Fundamental human needs are finite [although recurring] ... [and] are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods. What changes, both over time and through cultures, is the way or the means by which the needs are satisfied".

For example, in Xhosa culture the mature boy's rite of passage into adulthood is called *ukwaluka,* which involves circumcision, learning about the tradition and spending time in the bush. In Jewish culture the rite of passage into adulthood is called a *barmitzar*. Both rites of passage have evolved to meet the need for identity and for freedom.

"Development will occur on a Human Scale where authentic satisfiers are sought, and where the needs are correctly understood as closely inter-related and interactive. Development will be frustrated where false satisfiers of the needs are pursued, or no opportunities or resources to authentically meet the needs are present in a community, or even where the needs are artificially separated from each other" (Clarke, 1993). In the long run we spend much more money trying to deal with the consequences of skewed development than we would seeking genuine human scale development.

Finally, to complete our explanation of *Human Scale Development,* we return to the word "authentic" used in the previous paragraph. Max-Neef distinguishes between different types of satisfiers. He talks about destructive satisfiers, pseudo-satisfiers, inhibiting satisfiers, singular satisfiers, and synergic satisfiers. The last mentioned provides authentic satisfaction.

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Destructive Satisfiers: Instead of satisfying a need, violating or destructive satisfiers fail to meet the need they are intended to and make the possibility of meeting other needs impossible too. For example, an authoritarian parent of a teenager, who supposedly is acting in the best interests of the teenager, has the opposite effect for he/she stifles the teenagers needs for affection, participation and freedom. Destructive satisfiers are almost always imposed by people who have power over others.

Pseudo Satisfiers: Here people rely on a false sense of satisfaction believing that they actually meeting a need. Advertisers are notorious at manipulating people by suggesting their products will meet a fundamental need. Clarke (1993) uses the example of adverts for motor cars and their effect on men. Men are promised various sorts of satisfaction for their needs for identity, affection, participation and so on. In reality the monthly repayments bite so deeply into the family budget that the needs of the family members are not satisfied and there is conflict in the family. Even the cost of the petrol needed to travel to all the wonderful places the new cars are filmed touring cannot be afforded.

Inhibiting Satisfiers: A particular need can be indulged to a point of excess so that the satisfaction of other needs is inhibited. Watching too much entertainment on television is a good example. It meets the need for relaxation, but inhibits any attempt to meet the needs for understanding, creation, participation and identity.

Singular Satisfiers: These types of satisfiers are inadequate because they fail to integrate simultaneously the satisfaction of more than one need. Soup kitchens and food aid that are not part of a broader development programme, are classic examples of singular satisfiers.

Synergic Satisfiers: These are the ideal because they effectively meet several fundamental needs at the same time. Breast-feeding is the best example of a synergic satisfier. It simultaneously meets the baby's need for subsistence, protection and affection and the mother's need for identity. Other examples include self-managed production, educational games, self-managed house building programmes, and preventive medicine.

Max-Neef's theory of needs and satisfiers can be used to diagnose the most pressing needs of a local community, or of the wider society. It also can shed light on the destructive ways in

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which an individual attempts to satisfy a particular need and at the same time blocks the satisfaction of several other needs.

It is clear from Max-Neef's understanding of development that it is about people and the way they live, not about objects, things or services given to them. No one can develop other people. It is something that a community or a society does for itself. The energy and values rise from within and express themselves in ordinary day-to-day activities and in concrete plans and action. Interventionists, however, do have a role to play in the development process. Interventionists such as development practitioners, educators, pastoral workers, and others in caring professions can facilitate a community process in which people come together and start to listen to and support each other; identify their problems and the needs which are not being met, see what is blocking them from meeting those needs, agree on ways of moving towards optimum satisfaction of those needs and plan action together to make their lives more fulfilling. Max-Neef et al. promote a process which encourages people to draw on the values and energies within their own culture as they seek to build communities and societies in which the fundamental needs of all their members can be met.

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We have tried to carry this approach over into our work and allowed it to guide our fieldwork. However, we would argue that this process in development is helpful to a point. Interventionists in development initiatives ought to caution against the small-scale society becoming so self-contained and inward looking that it becomes cut off from global sci-tech society. We do not want to exclude people and societies from the possibility of being in the forefront of competitiveness.

While our concern is positioned in Max-Neef's Human Scale Development, it is focused on the tensions that potentially arise between meeting the need for subsistence and the need for identity and whether people are using synergic or non-synergic satisfiers to meet these specific needs. For this we must rephrase the problem.

2.2 REPHRASING THE PROBLEM IN TERMS OF THEORY

The question which can never be far from the mind of any interventionist responsible for the moral and educational development of the young is, "Who will they become?" Within our area of concern that question becomes, "What shall we say to young people who are concerned about their African identity as well as economic success?" Does the drive to meet the need for subsistence take precedence over the need for an identity that acknowledges an African cultural heritage? Will they become people who are torn apart by irreconcilable commitments, or will they be people who have thought out, in context, their priorities and achieved a certain integration of identity? If they are to adopt the latter strategy, rather than the former state, the youths, and those who mentor them, need a special kind of help.

One of the things that is needed is a way of assessing just where the youth's identity investments are at any given time.

Another is to gain insight into the working world that these young people are about to enter, to discover the commitments which lie behind economic development as well as worker satisfaction, and by extension, such issues as mental health and social stability. The question is:

> **To what extent do individual working youths with an African traditional cultural heritage identify with the world-view, or world-views, embedded in the production, distribution and servicing sectors of an industrial and technologically advancing society?**

There is here a calculus of losses and gains at the deepest level of individual and collective identity.

Almost everyone growing up in Africa who has respect for the "old ways" on the one hand, and a desire for the advantages of a technological society on the other, is going to feel pulled apart. The need to be able to put together what was best in the old ways with the best of the new is everyone's problem. Whether one is an educator, a development practitioner, a pastor, one is inevitably confronted with this issue.

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The need for conceptualisation and assessment of elements of world-view and their relation to each other is met by John Cumpsty's general theory of religion, set out in *Religion as Belonging* and subsequent publications.[2]

2.3 SOME KEY CONCEPTS: WORLD-VIEW, PARADIGM AND TRADITION

Our use of the word *world-view* will become clear as we progress, but it may be useful here to make clear that by world-view we do not mean the proclaimed credo, conscious and cognitive, of some institution, although such a thing may play a part in what we have in mind. Rather our primary orientation in the use of the term is to that which actually shapes individuals. By world-view we mean a feeling for reality and whatever modelling, that is conceptualisation or symbolisation, it has received and the consequences of these for informing significant aspects of life.

We use it to refer to the world-view individuals have. It may contain both social or shared components and idiosyncratic components. We will be primarily interested in the social or shared components but the focus will still be on what actually shapes individual lives. World-view is not necessarily cognitive, much may remain affective; it is not necessarily conscious unless pressed to become so, perhaps by a crisis or when confronted by a world-view that is very different.

By *paradigm* we do mean that which is conscious and cognitive, logically and affectively coherent, for it is a theoretical construct. A paradigm is a theory, primary idea or cluster of ideas which determines the structure of that which grows out of it, or that which it gathers to itself in a broader constellation. The paradigm establishes the approach or way of seeing for the whole constellation. Paradigms may exist at different levels. We will see, as we introduce Cumpsty's theory, that his basic definition of religion as belonging might be termed a paradigm, although he does not do this. However, his three basic models of reality to which one might belong, are referred to as paradigms (Cumpsty, 1991: 173). At the next

[2] 1995(a) & (b), 1996, 1997.

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level, these three models of reality, together with the non-negotiable elements which they generate, are presented as paradigmatic ideal types for they in turn shape actual traditions.

In the present context, when a paradigm is filled out and given symbolic detail and it is located in time and space in the real world, it becomes a tradition used to interpret or perhaps escape the present. In the former case it will contribute to world-view, in the latter case it will constitute the world-view, albeit as a false consciousness in scientific materialist terms.

By *tradition* we mean the actual elements, whether of belief, behaviour or feeling owned by a *tradition community* and participated in by the individuals who comprise it. The tradition may be almost pure in terms of the ideal types and therefore coherent. It may, on the other hand, draw on more than one ideal type and be very complex. Most of the time we are looking at something in between. An individual's *world-view* may be influenced by a number of traditions as he/she participates in different tradition communities. Each aggregation that is significant in an individual's identity, operates, in some degree, as a tradition community.

A tradition, according to Cumpsty (1991: 55) "... might develop out of the interplay between some concrete particular, for example, some event, person, or book, and ongoing total experience." He goes on to say: "... logically speaking, it is total experience that is prior. In practice, it is usually the concrete particular within the developing tradition, accepted on authority, which first engages the adherent's attention" (ibid.). We will return to this when we consider how the communal pressure to maintain an African identity uncomfortably retains for Africans the authority of received "concrete particulars", in the face of a rapidly changing "total experience".

We now turn to appropriate sections of Cumpsty's theory. We will be selective in what follows and paraphrase and compress where appropriate, but much of what we include will be by way of extensive quotations from Cumpsty himself.

The validity of the theory (as Cumpsty himself indicates), and therefore also our choice of it for current purposes, can only be tested in terms of its effectiveness, that is, in its power to suggest and to do what we want done. One could, as Cumpsty (1991:169) does, offer some

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persuasive argument for beginning with this theory and not in some other way (but it is sufficient for our purposes to note that the theory has been used effectively in a number of similar multi-cultural studies[3]). After that, the validity of the choice must emerge in use.

2.4 CUMPSTY'S THEORY

Religion as Belonging

Following the example of A.N. Whitehead, Martin Buber and particularly the Dutch academic psychologist and Freudian psychotherapist H.C.Rümke, Cumpsty (1995b)[4] maintains that the distinctive religious stance is that of: standing back from all the bits and pieces of experience to ask the other side of the question, "Who am I?", namely, "What is all that out there and how am I related to it?".

Cumpsty argues that all human beings have two drives, the one for physical survival and fulfilment, the other for identity generation and its securing (1995b: 6). Religion, he argues, is about both drives. It is true that people may turn to religion when their physical and material well-being is threatened, but religion is more about the drive for identity. The martyr, of course, is the extreme case where the former is sacrificed for the latter.

The exception to this quest for identity would be the individual who has already decided that all is chaos or, if there should be some ordered reality, then we could never know that we are experiencing it. That is, that there is nothing to which we could belong or no way of belonging to it.

The question "Who am I?" is said to be the longest lasting and most significant question in life, but is particularly sharp at psychological puberty. During this period adolescents are going through the biologically necessitated process of breaking out of the family into which

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[3] In Cumpsty, Hofmeyr and Kruss, 1985; in Buijs, 1985; Cumpsty 1987 & 1995(c); and in Msomi, 1992.

[4] Cumpsty's note on this reads as follows: Whitehead expressed this as, "If you were never solitary, you were never religious" (1960:16). For Rümke, if you had not become an ego, that is individual, you could not begin upon religious experience. (1952: xvi) For Buber, to pass from relating to the bits and pieces of life, to relating to the whole, was the great divide in experience, for the "Whole" is "seamless and neighbourless" (1970:59) (Cumpsty, 1995b).

they were born, to become the potential nucleus of a new family. In so far as they achieve individuality, that is, know "that they are", they will seek to know "who they are".

This question cannot be answered in a vacuum. It is the other side of the question, "What is all that out there and how do I belong to it?"

All-that-out-there may be relatively immediate at puberty but it becomes ever more universal (cosmic) with maturity.

Standing back from all the bits and pieces of life to ask, "What is all that out there and how do I belong to it?", Cumpsty argues, is the basic religious stance. That is, the basic issue in all religions is the overcoming of existential cosmic alienation. Then, he says that "one needs to go beyond stance to its purpose", and suggests that the "purpose has to do with identity but is more than identity" (ibid.). In order, not only to establish an identity but to secure it, individuals need to "secure their relation with whatever grounds it (identity) ultimately" (ibid.). Because this securing of a relationship with whatever grounds identity, establishes reciprocal expectations, including material expectations, Cumpsty writes of a quest for "belonging" rather than a quest for identity. He goes on to say: "Religion is more than identity and its securing, but identity is a *sine qua non* of religion. Without a sense of self (something to belong) there can be no sense of belonging" (ibid.: 312). He then offers the following definition:

> "Religion in all traditions might be said to be the quest for, maintenance or realisation of, belonging to whatever is felt to be the Ultimately Real and at least a minimal conceptualisation of that Ultimately Real. The Ultimately Real is that to which the individual most needs to belong to in order to secure, give meaning to or otherwise enrich his/her life" (ibid.: 172).

"Whenever it is maintained that, beyond the individual there is something on which he/she is dependent for the development and security of self-knowledge then religion is present even though it may be in an elemental form" (ibid.).

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While at the cognitive level, the quest is to answer the life-long question "Who am I", or, "What is all-that-out-there and how am I related to it?", at the more profound, affective level the quest is for a *felt* sense of the Ultimately Real distilled from the individual's total experience and a sense of belonging to that" (ibid.).

Cumpsty then proceeds to argue that possible answers to the question "What is all-that-out-there?" are not unlimited. There are only three paradigms for modelling the nature of an Ultimately Real to which one would belong, i.e. there are only three ways of modelling the world-out-there (1985: 173). There are a myriad of forms of identity, but they are rooted in one or more of these three paradigms for reality. There are, perhaps, relatively few situations where a person or group of people draw on a single ideal type but many where a single type predominates.

These three paradigms for reality give rise to some necessary consequential symbols. These symbols are non-negotiable in the sense that to reject them is to reject the paradigm which generates them. These sets of non-negotiable symbols together with the models of reality which generate them, constitute three ideal types of religious world-view and thence of tradition.

The three paradigms for reality arise as follows:

Humankind's primary response to the world-out-there is a monistic one. In other words, it says of the world in which it finds itself, visible and invisible, "This is the real". If, however, total experience cannot be affirmed as the real to which one would belong ultimately, then the quest for belonging will lead to a splitting of that which can be wholly affirmed from that which cannot. This "splitting" sets up the expectation of something to be overcome and it establishes the distinctive character of what have been called "religions of salvation or release"[5]. The splitting can take two forms only. The split can be modelled as a divide between reality and its appearance, or as a divide within reality itself (ibid.:172). In the first option, which remains monistic, the reason the immediate world-out-there cannot be affirmed is understood to lie in the individual's perception. In the second, which becomes

[5] See Michael Pye, 1989 and 1995

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dualistic concerning reality, the split is understood to lie in reality itself, the real and the Ultimately Real being quite different in kind.

As was said above, these three possible paradigms for reality give rise to consequential necessary symbols which, together with the paradigm for reality which generates them, constitute three coherent "ideal types" of religious tradition.

"People in relative security are frequently happy to draw their symbols from two or even three of the paradigms. In insecurity, however, there is a tendency to return to the logical clarity offered by a single type" (Cumpsty, 1995b: 8).

One of these ideal types dominates in each of the three major families of world religion. Why a particular paradigm is chosen or comes to dominance within a culture may be accidental, but there seems to be evidence for some predisposing conditions (see Cumpsty 1991: 175).

"We emphasise that these are theoretical ideal types. No actual religious tradition may fit without remainder into any one of them. They, nevertheless, serve to provide a permanent frame in which ever-shifting, actual traditions can be located and movements explained" (Cumpsty, 1995 (b)). As coherent ideal types they are logically mutually exclusive, but in practice people's world-views and traditions often incorporate elements of more than one paradigm.

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The Mode of Engagement of adherents of a tradition with their immediate world-out-there is the source of the names Cumpsty gives his three ideal types and is a particularly important feature of the types for a number of reasons. It is important because:

i. the mode of engagement with the immediate world out there is the most obvious thing about a tradition to the outsider;

ii. the modes of engagement are at a logical level mutually exclusive, that is, one can, at the same time, do only one of the following: fit into and maintain, withdraw from, or take hold and shape the world out there (this does not prevent people from drawing into

their world-views non-negotiable symbols from the other paradigms if the dissonance can be tolerated); and

iii. any considered mode of engagement with the world-out-there implies an ontology i.e. it presupposes some understanding of what one is engaging with, even if there is no overt symbolisation of it.

In this project we are interested in the ideal types whose modes of engagement are to "Fit Into" and to "Take-Hold-and-Shape". We restrict our discussion to these two types and drop the third, i.e. Withdrawal, from our discussion.

In the *Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm*, to which the Abrahamic family of traditions most closely approximate, the mode of engagement with the immediate world of experience is an individual and collective taking hold and shaping. The adherents of this type strongly affirm the reality of the immediate world of experience but at the same time deny its ultimateness. Thus the immediate world is perceived to be secular. Cumpsty calls such traditions "Secular World Affirming".

In the *Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm*, the immediate world and all that is in continuity with it, that is, the whole natural order, is perceived as the real and handled with respect. The mode of engagement is a fitting into rhythms and maintaining of harmonies.

The distinguishing features of these two paradigms are summarised below.

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The Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm:

In this ideal type, experience of the immediate world out there is experience of the real and it is monistic. The world out there may be regarded as divine and eternal or just as a given, without having a clear beginning or a destiny. Creation myths are concerned with how things gained their present form. There is no difference of kind, but only of level, between gods or powers and the world of ordinary experience. Religion is not separated from life in general because all belongs to one monistic reality.

As the world is experienced as a given, time does not run in linear fashion but is cyclical; it is not dominated by historical events but by natural ones. The ideal person is one who fits him or herself into the given rhythms, maintaining or restoring harmony with others and with the whole natural order. Because the system is a closed one, neither chance nor new beginnings are possible, there being explanations for all that happens and every action having its effect.

Religion, magic, healing, science, are all one, in that they involve knowing and manipulating the causal nexus.

Reality may be modelled in personal or impersonal terms. "In religions with a monistic view of reality, the power, or powers, do not have to be perceived as personal and in many cases are not. That does not mean that they are impersonal, only that the personal-impersonal distinction is not felt to be significant" (Cumpsty,1991: 125-126). Cumpsty (ibid.: 126) goes on to say that there is a tendency in all religions to speak of the powers-that-be in personal terms. Humankind's most typical experience of the unique is another person, when treated as a person, and there is a tendency to carry the feeling over to other unique experiences and to transfer a sense of the personal to the unique *per se*. The real test of how personal reality is conceived to be is whether there is real volition in the power or whether the powers are themselves part of the closed system of cause and effect.

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According to Cumpsty, for life to be meaningful, one of two conditions must be fulfilled. Either there must be individual achievement which will probably include survival after death, or there must be participation in some grand design.

Inherent in the *Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm* is belief in some sort of *grand pattern* in which everything participates. Each person contributes to the completion of the grand pattern and is, therefore, a *Pleroma* (one who fills up something to completeness) and in that sense each individual entity is necessary to the good of the whole. This type of religious tradition is focused on the communal. It is extensively evident in traditional African world-views.

Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm: (ibid.: 123f)

In this ideal type the immediate world out there is affirmed as real but secular and not as the Ultimately Real. Reality is dualistic, the Creator and Creation quite different in kind. The transcendent, therefore, must be conceived as personal, the world as secular. The divine may be discerned in and through the world-out-there but the world-out-there is not divine. The Abrahamic family of faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and those traditions that have evolved from these are the ones which fit most closely in this type of paradigm. This paradigm forms the backdrop for a whole host of Western "secular" traditions and shapes the implicit religion of the Western world. The neo-classical liberal tradition, the Marxist tradition, the Western materialist pragmatic culture we find in the Western industrial world, are all firmly located in this paradigm, albeit for the most part in the secular half of the paradigm.

Time in this paradigm is understood to be linear. It runs from creation to destiny and change is a positive step for or against a divine purpose. Because God is essentially personal, human kind enters into some form of volitional covenant with the divine in which the ideal person is the one who actively takes hold of this real, secular and essentially good environment, seeking to shape it in conformity with the divine will. In this paradigm chance is possible and in particular there can be new beginnings. Forgiveness becomes a possibility in which human shortcomings are absorbed or washed away by the divine. There is scope for miracles (understood as intervention from without, unlike magic which manipulates the causal nexus in the closed system). Because the real and the ultimately real are separated, there is a constant sense of possible progress and individuals are goal orientated, as well as present texture orientated. In setting longer term goals for themselves they come to evaluate their lives according to their contribution towards or success in terms of those goals as well as in terms of how they feel now. They may be prepared to sacrifice much present texture for those future goals.

Meaningfulness is assessed by the extent to which something fits into a "grand purpose", although the idea of a grand pattern in which everything participates, remains a contributor.

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The non-negotiable paradigmatic symbols in each of the two logically coherent ideal-type paradigms are presented in the table below. This is an adaptation of Cumpsty's table (see 1991:218). We have dropped all references to the "Withdrawal Paradigm".

Table 1: The Non-Negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols

Two Logically Coherent Ideal Type Paradigms			
Non-Negotiable Symbols		**Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm**	**Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm**
Mode of Engagement with the world-out-there	is	FIT INTO	TAKE HOLD AND SHAPE
Experience of immediate world-out-there is	is	AFFIRMED AS OF THE REAL	AFFIRMED AS OF THE REAL BUT NOT ULTIMATE
Reality	is	MONISTIC	DUALISTIC
Chance and Determination		CHANCE EXCLUDED	CHANCE, with new beginnings
Belonging to Ultimately Real	is	ASSUMED must be maintained or repaired	to be SOUGHT individually
Nature of Ultimately Real	is	without rigid distinction between personal and impersonal	PERSONAL
Time	is	CYCLICAL biological	LINEAR
Test of Quality of Experience	is	TEXTURE ONLY	LONG TERM GOALS & TEXTURE
Ground of Meaning	is	GRAND DESIGN (pattern)	GRAND DESIGN (purpose)
Social Features:			
1. Individual or Communal		COMMUNAL (centred)	COMMUNAL (solidary)
2. Social Cohesion		BEHAVIOUR PATTERN	BELIEF PATTERN
3. Social Coercion		"LOVE", "FEAR"	"LOVE", "GREED"
Sources of Ethics	is	HARMONY, INDIVIDUAL PURPOSE	THE END, THE ABOVE
The Modelling of Survival		TO BE AN ANCESTOR	TO HEAVEN
Religious Knowledge	is	WISDOM	REVELATION

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Most of the above "non-negotiable paradigmatic symbols", speak for themselves, given that they follow from the originating paradigm for reality. Some have been dealt with above, e.g. Mode of Engagement, Chance, Time and Ground of Meaning. Others, however, are more central to the concern of this thesis, and call for particular comment. They are the Nature of the Ultimately Real; the Test of the Quality of Experience; the Three Social Features (Individual or Communal, Social Cohesion, and Social Coercion); the Source of Ethics; and the Modelling of Survival After Death.

Nature of the Ultimately Real

Cumpsty says that human beings have two and only two models of causation. One they can conceptualise. It is mechanistic. The other they cannot conceptualise but they are so familiar with it they can accept it. It is volition. In the dualistic, Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm the mechanistic model is excluded by transcendence (the Creator and Creation being quite different in kind) so resort must be had, as in the opening passages of Genesis, to volition. In this paradigm therefore the Ultimately Real is inescapably personal. In the monistic paradigms the Powers-that-be can be modelled either as personal or impersonal (1995b: 11). Cumpsty says that whatever symbols are chosen to speak about the powers that be, personal or impersonal, if the powers are understood to be bound by properly performed ritual, that is, if we are operating in a closed system of cause and effect, then there is no real volition and the powers are not truly personal. (ibid.)

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The Test of Quality of Experience (ibid.: 188)

Cumpsty tells us that there are two ways in which humankind evaluates the quality of present experience, by its present texture and by its goals. If there is no sense of linear time and therefore no goals, the only possibility is to ask about the harmony, health and richness of individual and collective life or their opposites. Where there is a sense of linear time, then there is also the possibility of asking about achievement of individual goals or contributions to corporate goals which one has made one's own, both of which may call for some sacrifice of present texture.

Social Feature 1: Individual or Communal (ibid.: 196)

According to Cumpsty, the Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm is essentially communal. The community includes the living and where appropriate the living dead, the ancestors. In the Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm and its associated religious traditions each individual needs to enter the covenant relation with the Ultimately Real but thereafter he/she is engaged in a communal quest for the Kingdom. Because there are different ideas of the Kingdom and ways of seeking it, this quest can become competitive between different groups. This is why Cumpsty calls it "communal solidary", to distinguish it from what he calls "communal centred" found in the Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm.

Social Feature 2: Social Cohesion (ibid.: 200)

Every group or community must have a principle of cohesion which is usually a common belief pattern or a common behaviour pattern or some combination of the two. In the Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm participation in religion and, therefore, the community would be largely by the observance of a communal behaviour pattern. Holding a wrong belief would certainly not be ground for exclusion. Certain behaviours and practices for the maintenance of belonging would be indistinguishable from everyday life activities but the restoration of belonging might require the performing of a special and distinctive ritual.

In the Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm the longer term goal orientation necessitates a high cognitive content and, therefore, a common belief pattern overshadows any behaviour pattern as the binding force that draws people together.

Social Feature 3: Social Coercion (ibid.: 202)

Apart from the habitual, all actions of humankind seem to be motivated by what Cumpsty calls bluntly love, fear or greed, or some mixture of these. Most, if not all, religious traditions look for the time when all actions of humankind will be motivated by love or altruism. The question then is in what direction do traditions move when altruism fails.

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Traditions based on the Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm are essentially shared and communal and therefore discourage self-interest and differences of material prosperity that would threaten community. These tradition communities, therefore, tend to rely on "fear" as the instrument of social coercion when altruism fails. In the traditions that arise out of the Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm the tendency is to move to "greed", for that maintains the sense of freedom in individual choice which seems necessary in what is a goal orientated world-view.

Source of Ethics (ibid.: 205)

Cumpsty understands "Ethics" to refer to the specific rules by which, the individual or community govern their relationship with themselves, each other and the world around them. Ethics is the detail of the Mode of Engagement. In the Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm the sole source of ethics is the grand pattern, which is the whole natural order, seen and unseen. To diminish any part of it is to diminish self and *vice versa.* In the Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm, there are two sources of ethics. Ethics may be understood to be directly revealed or to arise from a divinely given capacity (transcendental) or, for the secular, a possibility inherent in human rationality (deontological). On the other hand, it can arise from consideration of a revealed end (teleological), and these two sources may conflict with each other.

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Modelling of Survival After Death

Cumpsty (ibid.: 207) tells us: "If a religious tradition affirms the existence of life after death then the belief that one will continue to belong to the Ultimately Real after death will be modelled differently within the various paradigms of reality."

In the Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm, where the present reality and the Ultimately Real are one, there is no reason for the departed to be far removed from the living. There is every reason for them to remain, albeit in a different state of being, as a spirit or ancestor. In the Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm when the Ultimately Real is visualised in spatial terms, life after death is expressed as going to be with God or going to heaven, therefore, the two

statements, "when I die I will be an ancestor" and "I will go to heaven", are not truth claims in conflict. They are the necessary consequences of the modelling of reality with which one starts. If you start with a dualistic paradigm then you must "go"; if you start with a monistic paradigm then you must remain. The two statements express the same thing, namely, "When I die, I will not cease to belong to the Ultimately Real as I model it".

This concludes our summary of two of Cumpsty's three models of reality. The questions employed in the structured interviews will be designed to locate the respondents in relation to each of the ideal types by locating them in relation to a number of these non-negotiable symbols. The form that each question takes will be determined by the manner in which the variable manifests itself in the community concerned.

The previous section discussed the analytical tools we have used in our quest to understand African Traditional and Western Industrial world-views. Models of reality are always taken from the life world and can give one the impression that world-views are more fixed than they are. The world-views and identities of ordinary people are negotiated and re-negotiated in an ever changing world as they seek to meet their need for belonging and to establish a style for their engagement. Traditions, of course, lag behind everyday experience, but they are not in the longer term able to contribute to their adherents' sense of belonging unless they reflect the changing socio-cultural experience of the tradition community. No discussion of world-views and traditions would be complete without a reference to their dynamic nature in response to social change. Having said that, it is also important to recognise that it is not easy to escape the world-view enshrined in one's inherited culture. Hence the problem faced by African youths who seek to be African yet want to succeed in a Westernised economic environment.

Cumpsty attempts to capture a particular example of this dynamic process in his section on religion and change (ibid.: 228). It shows how a tradition might change as its adherents strive to maintain their sense of belonging when their life-world is disturbed. This is discussed in terms of the possible changes in religious traditions, in this case African Traditional world-views, due to the increasing presence of Western culture in the socio-cultural experience of the tradition community.

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African Traditional World-views and Social Change

The ideal types provide a conceptual framework in which African traditions can be located. It also allows us to show that traditions are dynamic and that there is a relationship between traditions and socio-cultural experience.

Although this relationship is clearly two-way, Cumpsty chooses to develop his argument looking at the potential influence of socio-cultural experience on the tradition.

He feels able to assume that in a situation of relative stability there is a higher degree of "fit" between the tradition and socio-cultural experience. He then sets up his model in terms of "the effects which socio-cultural change could be expected to have upon religion" [the tradition]. The tradition is of course a primary source of identity for those who belong to the tradition community. He points out that his model is a needs-satisfaction model and asks at each stage how a need created by a particular level of socio-cultural disturbance is likely to be met by a modification of the religious tradition. The need he is discussing is, of course, for a sense of belonging.

It is useful, as we explore this need, to remember Max-Neef's view of needs as always present and limited to what he calls the *nine fundamental human needs*. A need is not created, but rather becomes more conscious as people seek to find contextually appropriate new ways of satisfying the need. In a situation of socio-cultural disturbance the need for belonging and identity may not be adequately fulfilled by the received tradition. Then, hopefully, the tradition will modify over time to better meet this need. Where there is a poor fit between the tradition and socio-cultural experience the tradition can no longer be serving as synergic satisfier. It may even become an inhibiting satisfier.

Before we explore Cumpsty's (1980:61) presentation of the relation between religious tradition and socio-cultural experience through the need for and provision of a sense of belonging we must define some of his terms.

The term "socio-cultural experience" is used by Cumpsty (1991: 228) to mean the "sum total of each individual's every experience of the world-out-there, which, although unique to the

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individual, will be very much controlled by the culture and social structures of which he/she is a product and in part a creator." It includes, of course, whatever experience of others past and present he/she has made his or her own including any religious tradition.

In this particular discussion Cumpsty (ibid.: 229) needs to use "tradition" in a manner which does not include prescribed relationships and behaviour patterns belonging directly to the everyday life of the community. In this context it is more useful to include those categories of relationships and behaviour patterns as part and parcel of the individual's socio-cultural experience. He uses "tradition" in the more limited sense of :

i. beliefs (including any which explain or lend authority to the prescribed relationships and behaviour patterns that he has temporarily excluded from the term "tradition"), and of

ii. specifically religious practices which are seemingly unrelated to the everyday life of the community.

"Tradition is used, therefore, in the limited sense of an overtly religious set of words and practices by which people express, conceptualise and communicate, their feelings for, and understanding of, the ultimately real" (ibid.: 229). This is done, he says, recognising that these same things may also be expressed in the activities and relationships of the everyday life of the community.

In traditional Africa there is no separation of religious and secular life. Traditional African world-views and traditions reflect the *Fit Into the Natural Order* paradigm which is monistic. In this sense all of life is religious. The same cannot be said of the world-view of Western technologically advancing industrial society. This world-view grew out of the Abrahamic religious traditions with their *Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm*[6]. The world-view of the classroom and the workplace in Western industrial society makes no explicit reference to a religious tradition. It is, nevertheless, there in the background[7]. The incoming Western

[6] Cumpsty, but see also Wiener, 1973, pp. 633f and Singer, 1959, pp. 239-257.

[7] Bailey (1983) uses the term "Implicit Religion" in this regard. Cumpsty refers to the "faith reality of "western" implicit religion" in his paper *Work as a Sacrament of participation in the Faith Reality of "Western" Implicit Religion*. The world-view of the Sci-Tech (see Aronowitz and DiFazio, 1994) society is the

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culture (whether explicitly or implicitly religious) with its Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm causes socio-cultural disturbance in the life of the tradition community.

Cumpsty (ibid.) argues that people's feelings for the nature of the real (what he calls the *felt sense of reality*) are in the long run distilled from, and certainly verified, in the socio-cultural experience. He goes on to say "It [the felt sense of reality] will receive, in the short run, some modification from the religious tradition through which the socio-cultural experience is viewed." The individual's felt sense of reality and his/her sense of belonging to it is largely derived from either his/her socio-cultural experience or his/her tradition or form some combination of the two. For this reason Cumpsty (ibid.) argues that ***there must be a fit in the longer run between the felt sense of reality and the tradition, or the sense of belonging will be lost.***

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Returning to our main theme, Cumpsty proceeds to offer a description of a number of levels of intensity of disturbance in socio-cultural experience, and a statement of what changes in beliefs and practices one might anticipate at each stage from a consideration of the continued need for a sense of belonging.

Cumpsty (ibid.: 230) says in this regard: "I have set these stages out in the order in which they might take place in a situation where an incoming secular world affirming tradition (*Take Hold and Shape Paradigm*) actively confronts a nature religion tradition *(Fit Into the Natural Order Paradigm*) as a primary concern or as a by-product of other (economic or political) concerns. This does not suggest any order. ... It is not implied that one has to begin where I do, nor pass *seriatim* through every stage described, nor that stages cannot be missed out, nor that the direction of change could not be reversed. Still less is it implied that religion at the end of the series is somehow more advanced than religion at the beginning".

The situation he describes reflects the first serious encroachment of Western culture and Christianity upon the dominant traditional culture.

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secular half of dualistic world-view associated with the Abrahamic traditions which was left to us by the Enlightenment with most of the dualistic consequences still in place (Cumpsty 1996: 2).

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The stages, which he distinguishes, begin with the situation in which the socio-cultural environment has been stable for a considerable period. This he calls the **Static Stage**. He then takes a look at the idea of a **Conservative Stage** where there is minimal disturbance, but does not develop it. He goes on to describe the **Protective Stage**. This is followed by the **Search Stage**, the **Paradoxical Stage** in which the intensity of belief is more important than what is believed and, finally, the **Integrative Stage** emerging when the level of disturbance decreases.

In our situation the Static Stage can hardly exist, if it ever did save as an ideal. The second culture no longer actively confronts but envelops and entices individuals by its very presence, so while the Paradoxical Stage might be found in some extreme situations and certainly in some insecure individuals, it is not significant in the community at which we will be looking. There is something to be learned from the affinity of the current situation with the Protective Stage, the Search Stage and the Integrative Stage but we will not be elaborating upon these here.

Rather we will be looking at the situation in which individuals and communities experience traditions which have all come to draw on different paradigms. People may embrace a mix of paradigms or a single paradigm tradition which has, under pressure, reached out toward the symbols of another tradition. Cumpsty says that beyond simply living with this situation there are three ways of coping with such dissonance. He calls these strategies "containment", "allocation" and "bridging". We argue that these are attempts at what Max-Neef calls synergic satisfiers. These strategies enable the individual and communities to meet their need for subsistence in an ever-advancing technological society while simultaneously meeting their need for an African identity.

We once again begin with Cumpsty's assumption that religion is concerned with belonging and, therefore, that it will change as and when necessary and in such a manner as to maintain or restore the sense of belonging (ibid.:274).

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Containment:

Containment is, according to Cumpsty (ibid.: 418), "... the encapsulation of intruding elements of an alien world, which otherwise threaten a community's unified sense of reality, within symbolic and ritual sub-sets of the home tradition."

The capacity of a tradition to encapsulate elements of an incoming tradition depends on a number of factors, not least the "transformative capacity" of a tradition under relatively low levels of disturbance (ibid.: 418 note). Other factors that would affect the tradition's ability to encapsulate "alien" elements include, of course, external factors such as the level of disturbance, the pace of change in the community's socio-cultural experience, and a number of internal factors, such as how strongly integrated the tradition community is, and the extent to which a wide range of significant identity aggregations are effectively held together, and whether appropriate institutionalisation exists.

Containment would be an appropriate strategy in a situation where the socio-cultural experience was disturbed but manageable, in that only a small amount of "alien" symbolic material need be admitted to the system in order to give meaning to the changes experienced by a significant number of the members of the tradition community so restoring a sense of belonging.

It would not be appropriate in situations where the socio-cultural experience of the incoming tradition was more substantial. It would be difficult, probably impossible, to opt for containment of larger quantities of foreign material. In such situations allocation or bridging strategies would be more effective in maintaining or restoring a sense of belonging.

Where the incoming tradition is actively pressing but only enticing some individuals away from the tradition, containment would be all that is necessary to neutralise the threatening tradition, although in the early stages of this situation the incoming elements of the foreign tradition and those who embrace them would probably be labelled deviant. All established traditions will have such methods for the containment of frequently experienced lower level threats to their world-view.

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Containment takes various forms. The form it takes largely depends on perceived permanence, benefits, and scale of borrowing of elements that would otherwise threaten the world-view of the community.

One observes evidence of these forms in the way Southern African traditional rural communities have responded historically to increasing contact with the Western industrial world. Cumpsty says that the individualism of the urban industrial situation has been both a continuing lure and a threat to these traditional rural communities. "The communities first line of defence would be to treat involvement in the urban situation as it would any other deviant behaviour. When the necessity or advantage of being involved in the industrial sphere had been recognised, however, an individual's choice to be involved could no longer be treated as deviant behaviour. It might still be possible to see it as undesirable and to hope that it would be temporary, it might then be *contained* within the sub-set of symbolic understanding and ritual behaviour associated with war - dangerous, necessary and hopefully *ad hoc*, calling for strengthening and protection beforehand, purification and rejoicing when a warrior returns, hopefully with spoils" (ibid.: 419). There is an excellent example of what we call containment in McAllister's chapter entitled "Work, Homestead, and the Shades: The Ritual interpretation of Labour Migration among the Gcaleka", in *Townsmen or Tribesmen* (Mayer: 1971)

Cumpsty (1991) says that when this level of involvement in the foreign world is ongoing and longer term and associated with a degree of continuing benefit to the community then it could be included in a traditional symbol and ritual sub-set such as the hunt, or if, as in a more pastoral community, the hunt is not part of their way of life, then war might have to remain the containing sub-set. McAllister (1971) describes how becoming a migrant labourer in the distant alien world of Johannesburg was reinterpreted as a rite of passage to adulthood in much the same way as becoming a hunter or warrior in traditional society.

As exposure to the foreign, urban, industrial world was experienced by many, and ever increasing numbers received education from those with the city's world-view, the scale of the problem enlarged. Cumpsty says, "now there need to be symbolic and ritual spaces where involvement in that individualistic world is legitimated in its own right, rather than as

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hunting or trading". One now needs some kind of "plug-in module" from the foreign world to legitimate individual initiative. This must evolve in such a way that it does not threaten the communal world-view. "It might be a call for individual effort to speed the coming of a not too distant Kingdom or Classless Society, but in some way it would have to be the restoration of true community" (ibid.: 419).

Cumpsty suggests that the rural-based African independent churches may provide containment. He says: "If one were looking for evidence of containment within these churches, one would be looking for apocalyptic language that stressed the proximity of the Kingdom and true community, rather than of divine power or the inversion of present power relations, or anything else that might lead to quietism rather than to individual initiative. In this situation the emphasis would not, as in the paradoxical stage, be world rejection, but rather the containment of a linear time, goal oriented module within an immediate experience affirming, communal world-view and ritual" (ibid.: 420).

A point may be reached where the plugged-in modules are numerous and they begin to flow together. People no longer relate to the two traditions as a big established tradition and a small incoming tradition. The scale of influence of the incoming culture reaches a level where there are two world-views in equal competition. Under such circumstances a situation may arise where the members of the tradition community enthusiastically embrace both the old tradition and the new incoming tradition in their world-view. If such a situation came about Cumpsty (ibid.:420) argues that allocation or bridging would need to take place for the individuals to maintain a sense of belonging.

We have talked about containment as an appropriate strategy in rural traditional communities but this does not mean it is inappropriate in an urban context. The determining factor is not whether the community is rural or urban but whether or not the community members see themselves as traditional.

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Allocation

In a community where two or more traditions co-exist side by side, sub-groupings in the community may in time embrace substantial elements of each tradition. People may somehow hold these competing elements together in an uneasy tension or they may allocate them to different life spaces, thereby deliberately breaking up their world. Allocation is a strategy to divide up one's life space so as to make room for traditions otherwise in conflict.

When allocation is used as a strategy to deal with such tension between traditions, people come to inhabit multiple worlds on a more or less permanent basis.

"Allocation may be just a *modus vivendi* but it suggests that there exists at least the sense of a whole, in which the different frames of social existence participate" (ibid.). This is clearly a way of dealing with what could be rather a stressful experience. The different traditions may come to serve different needs. One tradition might, for example, serve the need to belong to a wider community, while another serves the needs of family and the local community, and still yet another tradition may serve the needs of the workplace.

The life-world could also be divided up into what we will later call aggregations significant in identity. If one's world-view draws on a single paradigm the world-view associated with the different aggregations would not be in conflict. If, however, one were drawing on two or more paradigms one could potentially have conflict between each aggregation. What allocation does then is to seek to confine a particular tradition to a particular aggregation, for example, home community, and workplace community, and thereby limit the conflict.

Cumpsty (ibid.:421)) says that allocation is particularly suitable in a situation where the adherents subscribe to a non-linear world-view because there is the presumption of unity in the background. If it is sufficiently dominant to maintain a sense of unity it is able to meet the need for a sense of belonging. The more goal orientated the community is, the less will allocation serve to hold together competing traditions. In this regard Cumpsty (ibid.) says: "If individual and corporate identity is to be possible, if life-worlds are to feel coherent and community values to be reasonably integratable, ways must be found to bridge the competing logical systems".

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We now turn to a discussion of Cumpsty's notion of "bridging".

Bridging

Cumpsty argues that in all situations where traditions from different paradigms co-exist in the individual's world-view, the development of bridging myths, or alternatively the embracing of bridging symbols, becomes an appropriate means of integration. Where a relatively integrated tradition has developed and in the course of its evolution it has included symbolic material from different paradigms, then it will have included this additional type of symbol which seeks to hold together the irreconcilable elements from the different paradigms. It is the attempt to provide a substitute for a clear logic of belonging in the maintenance of individual identity. Without effective bridging a mixed tradition cannot lead to a clear and relatively unambiguous communal mode of engagement.

It follows then that in many a situation where there are indigenous responses to incoming traditions and where insecurity has been experienced, the outcome is a mixed tradition in which one would find:

i. paradigmatic symbols and dependent elements that belong to each internally coherent but mutually incompatible paradigm; and

ii. bridging elements.

Where two traditions co-exist over an extended period the bridging symbols will, in Cumpsty's view, become elaborated and integrated into what he calls a *bridging tradition*.

Bridging symbols can take many different forms. Some bridging symbols tend to become fixed while others remain fluid. Cumpsty refers to the following examples. (ibid. : 424)

i. It can take the form of a story, which may be originally independent of both traditions, strongly integrated in itself and integrating as the old and incoming traditions are firmly woven into it.

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ii. A bridging symbol can also be a charismatic individual from the past or a present day person who in some way is linked to the adherents and to both traditions.

iii. A bridging symbol can also be some or other vaguely defined mystical or historical entity such as "Ethiopia" or "the Black Christ", as found in Black Theology, linking Christianity and Blackness.

iv. It can also be a symbol appropriated from one tradition and reinterpreted to conform to the other.

Cleansing

Cumpsty (ibid.: 425) says that " ... cleansing means discarding (or storing away against future need) bridging symbols that no longer function for that purpose and therefore do not seem to belong (perhaps in retrospect may seem never to have belonged) to the tradition."

Cumpsty maintains that bridging symbols are, given the situation in which they arise, probably going to be temporary. Bridging symbols are most effective if they allow change to take place smoothly and then fade into insignificance.

We have had occasion to refer to Cumpsty's use of aggregations that are significant in the formation of identity. We need to return to this to make the point that identity is not monolithic. Apart from the idiosyncratic elements in identity, individuals participate in any number of groupings. The sense of cosmic belonging, which Cumpsty identifies with religion, calls for an integration of the "religion", values, or aspirations of each of these aggregations to which an individual belongs. We now elaborate on this.

Identity Significant Aggregations

We have previously said that we are primarily interested in the social dimension of the individual's identity or what Cumpsty calls the "corporate aspect of identity". We are dealing with social beings constituting and constituted by their participation in social groupings. Cumpsty uses the term "aggregations" to describe groupings significant in the

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identity of an individual. They are therefore defined by the individual even if they have an institutional referent. An aggregation is an entity in which a person shares a collective identity. It enables a person to say: "I am an African, a school student, a supporter of Cape Town Spurs, a member of the Leta clan, a socialist."

Cumpsty (ibid.: 319) says: "... every such aggregation, insofar as it is not simply a collection of individuals, has its own value system - in fact its own religion in Durkheim's terms. Thus belonging to an aggregation significant in identity necessarily means espousing a set of values which are felt to be significant for the survival of the aggregation." The members of an aggregation may, of course, not weigh the values associated with the aggregation equally. It depends largely on how important the survival of the aggregation is to the member, i.e. to what extent the individual's sense of self and belonging depends on his or her membership of the aggregation, and what she or he feels about the role of each value in that survival. To know which aggregations individuals perceive themselves to belong to is to know their values. On the other hand, aggregations or their referents are the context within which whatever values or world-view an individual may espouse become operationalised, that is, actualised in reality. To know the individual one needs to know the values espoused and the aggregations in which those values are operational.

According to Cumpsty (ibid.: 322) for a person to feel a sense of cosmic belonging he/she will need a sense of belonging to a hierarchy of aggregations starting with immediate groupings, such as family and peers, which in turn belong with other families to a local or perhaps ethnic community; that community along with other communities belongs to the nation, the individual's nation then associates itself with other nations to form a collective, say Africa or more inclusively the Third World, which in turn is part of humanity and at the most inclusive end one may talk of belonging to creation or natural order.

Such hierarchy is the natural source of ethics and provides the sanctions for abiding by them. For example, to know how to treat one's own family in relation to other families one must have a concept of what the ideal community of families would be. That one should so perform is motivated by the desire to belong to such a community of families.

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A person may not always be conscious of the different significant aggregations in his/her identity unless something happens to focus attention on them. This may happen when a person's loyalty to significant aggregations sets up a conflict in values, or when he/she becomes irritated when an outsider criticises one of them.

We are here interested in situations which arise when an individual (or whole communities) experience loyalties to aggregations on the same or different levels which conflict. Because individuals may be torn apart by loyalties to different aggregations with conflicting values and aspirations, differences need to be integrated or reconciled or, where they cannot be, the tension between them needs to be as far as possible constructive. That calls for justice in the competition.

That membership of such a hierarchy is necessary for a sense of belonging and is the natural source of ethics, indicates that a problem exists if one has a missing or weak level of belonging in the hierarchy. For many in South Africa during the recent past there was a symbolic gap at the level of the Nation State. This is not the same thing as having a small hierarchy, beginning with family and reaching little beyond the local community and the work-place, for that is whole and may link directly to the cosmic (ibid.: 324).

Cumpsty (ibid.: 321) makes the following remarks about the size and definition of aggregations in relation to identity: "If I draw the lines between myself and others, between my community and other communities, too weakly I lack clarity of definition, if I draw them too strongly, I diminish the others in relation to myself and therefore their power to define me significantly. In general terms, the smaller the aggregations, membership of which most clearly defines who I am, the clearer can be my identity; the larger [more inclusive] the aggregations the more strongly is my identity supported [by others]".

While aggregations significant for an individual's identity formation are part of the world out there they are also that through which the person relates to the wider world. At the most conscious level of identity formation a person is in the process of answering the question "What is all that out there?". At the level of belonging they are seeking to participate in all that out there. Both of these purposes are served by aggregations significant in identity.

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Cumpsty identifies a number of key questions one would want to ask about an individual's relation to the world-out-there as he/she perceives it. They include:

i. What is the perceived size of the world-out-there, that is, to what level of generality beyond, say, family and local community, do the aggregations extend?

ii. Within that hierarchy, what are the really significant levels of aggregation?

iii. Are one or more aggregations weak or missing in this hierarchy?

iv. Does the individual experience divided loyalties because of his/her participation in aggregations, that is, does the experienced world seem coherent or disjointed?

v. If there is conflict between aggregations, whether moves are being made to preserve or restore the integrity of identity?

vi. What is the quality which the overall experience of the world-out-there has for the individual?

Identity is obtainable in its detail in relation to a world-out-there. But this very relation to the world-out-there has the power to inhibit or distort belonging (ibid.: 313). "If identity is prevented from forming and one remains anomic, there is no self to belong. Likewise identity once formed may become fixed and potentially the seat of a false or alienated consciousness." (ibid.)

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We have discussed what is necessary in the formation of an identity which is able to belong ultimately. We must now say something about **moves to preserve whatever identity** is established when that is threatened with fragmentation.

Cumpsty discusses a number of different situations. The first is where a tradition previously at one with itself becomes potentially divisive when the context in which it operates changes. His example is modern Israel where elements of the received tradition, that is, the universal ethic on the one hand and the particularist symbols of people and land on the other, have come into conflict and the traditional piety has become one way to escape the conflict.

He (ibid.: 246) writes that when the context of modern Israel brought universal values and particularist loyalties into conflict, the choices open to those who needed to take the stresses out of their self-understanding were limited. It was possible to leave the State or to give up the tradition. Some did that.

For those who held on to both state and tradition some opted firmly for the Land and People and with it, most frequently, for the corporate behaviour pattern aspects of the tradition. For example, the *Gush Emunim* (Block of the Faithful). Others opted equally firmly for the ethical aspects. For example, members of the Peace Now movement. A large group of those who felt torn apart by this situation opted for pietism, that is, many who had previously only a traditional attachment to religious observance gave themselves to the performance of the mitzvot, leaving the destiny of the State in the hands of God; for example, the *Ba'al T'shuva* (penitence movement). "All of these groups, having settled for one aspect of the tradition and having rejected conflicting aspects, were free to prophesy with clarity from their chosen position. Others, who tried hard to hold the whole tradition (traditional symbols, ethic and piety) together, could say nothing without qualification and, not having an audience, fell silent. They felt themselves to be sidelined and seemed to others to be apathetic." (ibid.) "These are always the short-term options in preservation of identity when rapid change of context produces conflicts within the tradition. One may opt out of a tradition, or out of the context (if that is possible) or opt firmly for one conflicting aspect of the tradition to the rejection of others, or opt into a religious quietism and thereby out of responsibility for the context." (ibid.)

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Cumpsty (ibid.: 323) returns to generalise this theme, when he has discussed aggregations significant in identity. Under the heading of Pietism, Sectarianism and Utopianism he discusses identity-maintaining moves which may be attempted when the integration of aggregations becomes difficult or impossible. Pietism he understands as an extreme emphasis upon the ultimate aggregation to the neglect of all the others. Sectarianism is this same emphasis but bolstered by a positive rejection, even hatred, of all lesser aggregations. Utopianism is a sort of "secular pietism", a form of pseudo-activism; that is, an emphasis upon high level aggregations like humanity, the created order, and upon values like love,

peace, justice, which are in reality beyond the control of those who espouse them, with neglect of those more immediate aggregations, membership of which would call for practical steps and which might lead to conflict.

Somewhat parallel to the spatial concept of the need for an integrated hierarchy of aggregations to which one belongs, is the temporal concept of short, medium and long range goals. Goals, Cumpsty (ibid.: 316) says, arise by the bringing together of values and possibilities. "Decisions made about short term goals of say, 5, 10 or 15 years according to the matter being dealt with, tend to be pragmatic, the choices being controlled by medial axioms. By medial axioms in this situation I refer to those generally accepted directions of development, or more vaguely defined community strivings, which, having become established, are largely unquestioned. They might, however, have little continuing relation to the more abstract values that the community lays claim to and which it supposes to have generated, or at least to be in keeping with, these lower level objectives" (ibid.). They can frequently be seen as temporary expedients. To be concerned with them, therefore, is not too great a threat to identity. A major emphasis on short term goals has been called the "magical approach", that is, the covert hope that if one deals with immediate issues the longer term problems will just disappear. Manganyi (1981: 147f) discusses this in the context of South Africa in "Soweto on my Mind", in *Looking Through the Keyhole.*

Cumpsty (ibid.) says: "Medium term goals, say 15 years to a life-time, tend to be hammered out in terms of the perceived real possibilities and the values associated with civil religion [a community's self understanding]. Goals of this length affect the self evaluation of every participating individual and can therefore threaten identity. One cannot say of a goal of this length, if one is seeking it, 'it is not really me'."

"Long range goals, that is, those for which members of a generation may be prepared to sacrifice present texture of life in order to improve the lot of future generations. These will be to a considerable extent expressions of pure value because the material possibilities are much less clearly defined and therefore goals can hardly be formulated. Long term goals are inextricably bound up with identity but they are far less easily threatened by the vicissitudes

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of the immediate situation, for they have not been cashed in terms of contemporary possibilities." (ibid.)

As with investment in high level aggregations, long range goals tend to be utopian.

The point that Cumpsty makes is that the real threat to identity occurs in the middle range level and an over investment of identity in short term goals and long range visions may seek to compensate for the neglect of potentially divisive middle range investments.

Pietism, therefore, is not only a way of dealing with conflicts in the hierarchy of significant aggregations, but may also be a way of avoiding involvement in identity threatening middle range goals.

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In the next chapter we will be describing how the study was conducted. Then will follow the data and its analysis.

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CHAPTER 3

METHOD

In this chapter we seek to provide a clear description of the steps which we took to address the research questions set out in the Introduction.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The choice of sample population and research design are interdependent and have to be chosen and then refined in conjunction each with the other. The circularity aside, the process which gave rise to our research design was much as set out below.

Our assumptions concerning identity tensions in a population living with competing paradigms having been stated; the general nature of our sample (*isi*Xhosa-speaking Matric students) having been decided; and the theoretical base chosen; we turned our attention to a research design.

As our overall research design was informed by our commitment to the assumptions that underlie Human Scale Development, our research instruments would, as far as possible, be designed to stimulate, among the participants, thought and discussion about African Traditional and Western Industrial ways of seeing, being and doing; and about the choices which confront those who are exposed to the "old ways" and the "new ways", and the consequences thereof. In this sense the research project could not escape including educational and therapeutic components and being, to that degree, action research (see below). Beyond this the in-depth interviews would aim, as action research often does, to get closer to the participants and to facilitate a process in which people came together and started to listen to and support each other; to identify common problems and unmet needs, to see what was blocking them from meeting these needs and to discover from each other better ways of moving towards their synergistic satisfaction.

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3.2 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

3.2.1 The Process of Developing the Instrument

The next step was the choice and design of an instrument that would give us access to the world-view profile of the individual.

We wanted an instrument which would assess the world-view commitments of black *isi*Xhosa-speaking school leavers so as to provide the data in which we hoped to identify natural groupings, the profiles of which we could describe, and in which we might detect whatever strategies participants were using in negotiating their views of the world.

In addition, we wished to determine which of the respondents experienced a situation of competing world-views,[9] and discriminate between those whose world-view was fragmented or potentially fragmented and those whose world-view was more integrated. Because values are frequently associated with a particular aggregation which is significant in identity, it would be an advantage if this instrument were able to identify these aggregations.

The choice, at this point, between highly structured or less structured interviews, or some form of a questionnaire survey for assessing the level at which the theoretical entities outcropped in the concrete situation, was determined by a number of factors:

i. the absence of extensive data required that we use as large a sample as possible, placing on record the spectrum of, and relative support for, broad positions;

ii. our desire to have a representative coverage of the whole social and geographical variety within our sample population;

iii. the need, because the fieldwork assistants would be relatively inexperienced, for an instrument that would be reproducible;

iv. the necessity for in-depth interviews; and

[9] We argue that many Africans are exposed to different world-views but only some experience competing world-views. For example the integrative mechanisms which Cumpsty calls "encapsulation" or "allocation" are entertained precisely because they are ways of reducing the tension in living with two conflicting world-views.

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v. despite "iv." the instrument would allow respondents to stand back and view the issues.

To achieve both the depth of involvement and the self-detachment necessary a story-linked questionnaire followed by semi-structured in-depth interviews seemed to offer the best chance for success. We will return to this later.

The analysis of the completed questionnaires would enable us to select those with whom we wished to have in-depth interviews, the questionnaire providing some continuing structure for those interviews.

So a questionnaire was developed to assess world-view commitments.

It was assumed that the ideal types, namely, the Fit Into Paradigm and Take-Hold-and-Shape Paradigm would provide the outside theoretical parameters within which the more popular but less clearly defined traditions, African Traditional and Western Industrial, can be located and their potential conflict points identified.

The first requirement was to discover how each of these theoretical variables manifested in actuality in the lives of the selected sample population; in other words, the form in which they receive contextual expression. We wanted to be able to assess to what degree each variable was present or absent.

To assess the outcropping of the variable in any specific context we would have to ask questions. In general the questions would attempt to assess the variable indirectly, though occasionally we might ask more direct questions.

The coming and going between the theoretical variables and the life world of the population cost much time and effort. It is here that the project stands or falls. Questions lucid in the sample's context, must assess what they are intended to assess at the theoretical level.

Because the variables were all interrelated and because we were investigating world-view, we chose to seek responses to two stories about how life is. Each story would represent the competing theoretical world-views in true to life situations but because we

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wanted to test how frequently as many as possible of the theoretical variables were manifest and produce a data base, free response to the stories was excluded in favour of set questions about the characters and expressed values.

The advantage of the story-response method, for research in the whole area of values, is very great. We have already mentioned the detachment, the distancing that it provides, thus deterring "freeze-up". Also, as we were trying to test what people feel at the deepest level, not what they think that they believe or, worse, what they think they ought to believe, we wanted to ask, "How do you feel about the way this hypothetical character, or these different hypothetical characters, think, believe or feel about something?". We felt that if we asked for the first considered response and did not allow respondents to go back and change answers, the story method would get nearer the feelings which actually motivate people when they are not operating in the public gaze.

Clearly any stories told or indirect questions asked, not only have to be in the local language and idiom, but must, as we have said, be presented in terms of the way in which the variables to be assessed "outcrop" in the life-world of the people concerned. That the questions were understood, and that they assessed what we wanted them to assess had to be tested in the consistency of response in a variety of similar situations. If the questions generated answers that reinforced each other in different places we could be almost certain that they would measure what we wanted them to measure, and that failures of consistency recorded were really in the respondent and not in the instrument. With this in mind we sacrificed some of the contextual flavour in the questions in order to gain more universality in the concepts and more control of the instrument used for comparative purposes. This meant that as what is sometimes called the "operationalisation circle" was in progress, the developing instrument needed to be submitted and resubmitted not only to the sample population but also to "experts" in comparable situations in KwaZulu-Natal, Lesotho and Namibia in order to make sure that the most universal choices of image were made where local alternatives allowed for them.

So the objective was to design, test and refine a story-response type questionnaire, in a form which was non-directive and non-startling, but would provide cross-checks, and

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which would identify Western Industrial and African Traditional elements in people's world-views as problematised in terms of Cumpsty's theory.

The process of establishing a story and suitable questions to it is never complete. Rather, the operationalisation circle continues until there comes a time when one emphasises the use of the instrument rather than the refining of it. The reality is that potential refinements occur, hopefully in diminishing degree, each time the instrument is used.

The first stage of the instrument design required that we write a traditional story about "how life is" for people who live in the most traditional areas. We had selected the Transkei for this purpose, so we employed four fourth year *isi*Xhosa-speaking social work students from the University of the Transkei to help with the task. Our immediate concern was to gain access to the most traditional people in the most traditional areas.

The four students and the author visited two such areas of the Transkei [10] on three occasions. The author's ability to speak *isi*Xhosa fluently and the fact that he was known to individual families in these areas made accessing the communities relatively easy. Having gained the confidence of a group of local families we recorded their views and between visits synthesised a statement of "how life is", which we then tested for agreement with the persons concerned. We then matched items within this statement with elements in the ideal type, being particularly aware of those elements which are mutually exclusive with elements in the other type, and produced the first version of the African Traditional story which became known as "Ibali likaFaku" (Faku's Story). We also translated the story into English.

The story was checked for comprehensibility and accuracy with two *isi*Xhosa-speaking "experts", a school teacher and a minister of religion, both of whom have qualifications in Religious Studies but remain very involved at a grassroots level. The accuracy of the English translation was also checked with them.

A similar procedure, but on a more individualistic basis, was followed in the urban area, in order to produce a Western Industrial story in both *isi*Xhosa and English. This story was called "Ibali likaSipho" (Sipho's Story). The statements in Sipho's Story were

[10] We visited Mpimbo village in the district of Ngqeleni and Caguba village in the district of Umzumvubu.

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selected from comments made by up and coming black urban professionals from various centres but mostly Umtata.

We were satisfied that in the final version, Faku's story represented the most traditional statement still to be found in rural Transkei, while Sipho's story represented a position a little more extreme than one might find among the most urbane black "Yuppies". Both stories represent actually expressed world-views, each, no doubt, already influenced somewhat by the other and, while pressing toward one of the pure world-views which are the theoretical limits, they are not as extreme.

Questions, in both *isi*Xhosa and English, were then associated with each item in the stories, but not every variable in the theoretical world-views.[11] While it would have been ideal to test each theoretical variable, it was not always possible nor necessary, the theoretical entities being themselves interrelated.

Some of the entities are more consciously present in one or other of the two world-views. For example, goal orientation is a conscious factor in world-views with a Take-Hold-and-Shape mode of engagement and can be enquired about directly. Concern to Fit-into-and-Maintain-the-Rhythms-and-Harmonies-of-Life (the alternative mode of engagement) however, is not so consciously held in world-views where it is in fact present, and it must be enquired about through its consequences such as mutuality in community. So, while we attempted to include as many as possible of the theoretical entities in the stories, we in fact settled for clusters of questions assessing the significance or otherwise of the entities that outcropped into consciousness in each of the contexts from which the stories were drawn.

Thus the questions fall at different ends of a spectrum. For the most part they operate within, and relate specifically to, either the Western Industrial Paradigm or an African Traditional Paradigm. For the most part, the questions are phrased in a non-overtly confrontational way. The conflict between the paradigms is for the most part not

[11] At this time the instrument was sent to persons in Namibia, KwaZulu-Natal and Lesotho to determine whether it could be translated easily and meaningfully, or whether the images would also need changing. They reported that minor changes would have to be made in the translation but that no major changes were required. The changes were not of the sort where more universal images had to be found and substituted in the original text. We were prepared to sacrifice a little local familiarity to gain something in comparability of findings in the different Southern African localities but that was not necessary.

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obvious, thus allowing for the possibility, in a single world-view, of embracing elements of both paradigms. Inevitably, however, there are some overtly confrontational questions where the two paradigms come into conscious conflict.

The two stories and associated questions comprising the instrument were tested for lucidity and discriminating power in a pilot study back in the rural contexts and with a group of senior high school students at Zingisa High in Umtata. In the light of that experience, the stories and the questions were refined in a further session with the two "experts".

We were made aware that presenting the two stories separately might lead the respondents to identify with one story and reject the other, whereas in real life they picked up bits and pieces of both. We acknowledge that we could have designed the instrument differently. We had to choose between an instrument that presented a sort of running dialogue between the two stories or present the two stories separately, each of the stories representing an extreme position. We chose the latter, taking care to familiarise the respondents with both stories before posing any questions. We did this because the coherence of each story is part of its appeal in a situation where individuals are seeking coherent identity, even if they are not aware of it. This element in the situation could have been lost in a running dialogue between competing elements.

The trial run with the students from Zingisa High (some of whom were second generation urban dwellers, others of whom still called a rural area "home") demonstrated that they did not individually locate in the same position across the variables, nor did they tend to reject one story in favour of the other. From the students' responses a number of natural groupings emerged. The instrument appeared to test what it was meant to test and provided a good distribution of responses.

The stories, the questions and an explanatory introduction to be used by the questionnaire administrators before each application of the instrument were tested with a group of *isi*Xhosa-speaking undergraduates to make sure that the language was sufficiently colloquial and not in any way offensive. Again, a few minor changes were made.

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Personal data questions were appended to the front of the questionnaire and a few questions, significant but not related to the stories, were appended at the end. These latter questions included ones aimed at discovering what aggregations were significant in identity.

The instrument was submitted to Dr. Shutte of the Human Science Research Council in Cape Town for technical advice. He made valuable suggestions concerning the form of the questions and the scales employed. We initially had a five point Likert Scale but on his advice we changed this to a ten point Likert Scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", with no mid point, so as to force a decision. Dr. Shutte suggested that we use a visual aid indicating how the strength of the response changes as one moves from points 1 to 10.[12]

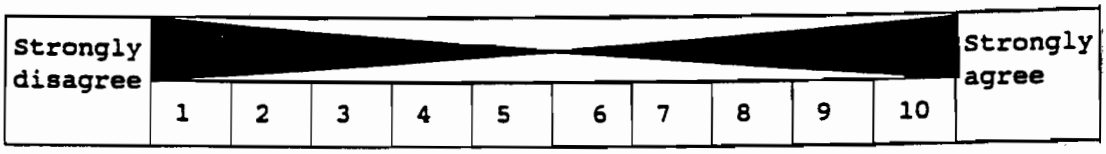
The final questionnaire took about eighty minutes to administer. This is a long questionnaire and it was not always possible to ask all the additional questions in every situation. We found, however, that, in general, the controlled conditions of a high school made it was possible to administer the entire questionnaire.

The questionnaire, in both *isi*Xhosa and English, was administered to some eight hundred Matric students in seven high schools and subsequently to a small number of black managers. We will return to the choice of schools and managers below.

Responses to the research instrument appeared to record effectively the choices the participants made between the range of elements associated with the two paradigms and thus to map individual world-view profiles. Elements of the paradigms which are experienced by individual respondents as conflicting, were identified, and one began to perceive which participants were more integrated and which were potentially more fragmented as integrative mechanisms mediating between the conflicting elements began to appear.

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[12] A replica of the Ten Point Likert Scale as used in the Questionnaire follows:



After its general application, the questionnaire formed the basis of group discussions in which, among other things, Matric students talked about their responses to the different elements in the African traditional and the Western industrial stories, and how they perceive the world they experience.

The fact that the questionnaire dealt with elements of paradigms which are really in contention became manifest in the response of the students, who expressed gratitude that the issues which generate much personal and social tension were brought into the open. They mentioned that the questionnaire and the subsequent discussions had allowed them to think more clearly about what they value of the traditions and of Western Industrial society. They had, they intimated, previously felt tensions between traditional and Western values without being able to locate the exact source of the conflict. A few of them said after the exercise that they were more confident about their particular set of values and that the discussions had helped them to think about how they might handle work situations that called on them to choose between traditional and Western values. The questionnaire has since been used in personal development programmes in Umtata and Cape Town. On this anecdotal evidence anyway, the questions undoubtedly reached their mark.

We now turn to a discussion of the rationale for each of the questions asked in the Questionnaire (see Appendix 1).

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3.2.2 Rationale for Each Question in the Questionnaire

We have already mentioned that, in addition to questions soliciting personal data, the Questionnaire was divided into three sections, namely, the Faku story-based questions, the Sipho story-based questions and the additional questions. We begin with the story based questions.

The Story-based Questions

We deal with the questions, not in the order in which they appear but grouped according to different themes which we will later refer to as mega variables. These themes, for the most part, correspond with what Cumpsty (1991) calls the non-negotiable paradigmatic symbols.

The questions which relate to Faku's story were grouped according to the following themes: Communalism, Monism, Traditional Social Features, God of the Ancestors, No Chance, Becoming an Ancestor, Grand Pattern, Cyclical Time, Fit Into (Mode of Engagement), Traditional Spiritual Explanations, and Vital Force.

The questions which relate to Sipho's story were grouped as follows: Individualism; Dualism, Social Motivation, Personal God, Chance, Going to Heaven, Grand Purpose, Linear Time, Take-Hold-and-Shape (Mode of Engagement), Secularity, Goals, and Seek Belonging.

The story-based questions, with one exception, namely **Question S14.4 Do you think of God more as a power or more as a person?**, ask the respondent how much he/she agrees or disagrees with the statement in question. These questions allowed us to assess the extent to which the respondent agreed or disagreed with key aspects of the stories.

Some of the questions may appear to be similar yet the slight differences are nevertheless significant. The ancestors, for example, are referred to in a number of questions. The notion of the ancestors is multi-faceted and affects numerous elements in the traditional paradigm. Gwembe (1995:30) talking about the belief concerning the ancestors says: "...the religious universe of the black-African gravitates around the cult of the dead".

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Questions about Communalism and Individualism

In relation to **Faku's story** there are a number of questions that test the respondents support for **communalism**.

Question F1.1 How much do you agree with the statement:

My line is my father's and it goes through his father, his father's father and those before him, and it carries on through me, my sons, my grandsons, the sons of my grandsons and so on. A person alone is not strong - it is a "togetherness" of many people that has the strength to survive. A person is a person through other people. It is these people of my line, other relatives and neighbours, whom I belong to and who belong to me - members both past and present, and those yet to come. We all depend on one another.

Question F1.2 How much do you agree or disagree with the statement [13] "Umntu ngumntu ngabantu" (translation: a person is a person through other people)[14]

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[13] Almost all statements that are tested are preceded by the phrase "How much do you agree or disagree with the statement:" We will not repeat this phrase.

[14] The phrase in the original *isi*Xhosa is far richer than the English translation. We decided therefore to use the *isi*Xhosa phrase throughout this report.

The statement that a person is a person through other people, or, I am because you are, you are because we are is a loose translation of the notion of *ubuntu* which lies at the heart of a communalistic world-view. The implication is that each individual's value and utility lies in helping others and treating them as important members of society. Khosa (1994:5) says: "*Ubuntu* is a concept that brings to the fore images of supportiveness, co-operation and solidarity; i.e. communalism". Moemeka (1996:197) defines communalism as "...the principle or system of social order in which the supremacy of the community is culturally and social entrenched". He goes on to say that "[t]he individual is not important in his or her own right. Individuals are an integral part of the whole - the community - and derive their place in the context of the community." (ibid.) Moemeka (ibid.:102) says in this regard that "...the individual needs and aspirations are viewed as extensions of community needs and aspirations and are examined in the light of the welfare of the community. ... the desires, wants, and needs of the individual members of the community are not, as it might seem, subjugated to those of the community; rather they are merged with community needs in a holistic attempt aimed at ensuring effective prioritization."

Question F1.1 tests a strong sense of community in terms of family lineage and view of the world. The individual is the link in a chain which connects the past with the future. It is an ontological statement about the nature of reality for a traditional African person. Question F1.2 is a philosophical statement which need not be traditional. A socialist would probably not relate to Question 1.1 but the statement in Question 1.2. would certainly ring true for him/her.

Triandis (1989) has argued that differences in the premium placed on the collective versus the private aspects of self reflect ones cultural orientation. In their study of the relationships between communalistic, and collectivistic and individualistic values Jagers and Mock (1995: 153-167) found that the communalism construct dovetailed with, but was not identical to measures of collectivism/allcentrism[15]. Their evidence is not

[15] Moemeka (1996: 198) argues that although there are similarities between collectivism and communalism they are different. He seems to be saying that one of the differences is that collectivism is a strategy for the survival of the individual whereas communalism is about community survival. He says: "Unlike in collectivism where the concern of the individual is with the adaptability of self-presentation image in communalism the concern is with the authenticity of community-presentation image. Hence the guiding dictum is, 'I am because we are' ". Mary Douglas (1970) in her well known discussion of collectivism and communalism coins the phrases "grid and group".

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conclusive but it would suggest that greater emphasis on social aspects of self is associated with communalism.

Question F6.2 Sometimes I know that I have been neglecting them [the ancestors] and will correct this by performing a ritual to honour them.

This question draws attention to and tests the view shared by traditional *isi*Xhosa-speaking people that the deceased are an integral and very real part of the community. There is no clear divide between the living and the dead hence the notion of the living-dead. An individual relates to the ancestors in much the same way as he/she relates to the senior elders in the clan; with deep respect and reverence.

Question F10.3 It is better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves.

This question tests the traditional view of work which is a communal activity[16] from beginning to end. A situation where individual members of a community compete to acquire a surplus of commodities, in excess of what is to be had from what is produced, is regarded as a social ill. To work for wealth implies general welfare and the betterment of communal life.

Question F11.1 The ancestors will look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings for anyone and that person will feel happy because he knows that he/she has acted in the right way.

Hospitality, peace and co-operation are central to the maintenance of social harmony. This statement highlights the role of the ancestors in the maintenance of communal social order. Moemeka (ibid.: 210) points out that in traditional African communities "the role of the ancestors ...is used as a tool for safeguarding social order and for protecting social norms". We asked this question to test whether respondents acknowledge the role of the ancestors in maintaining social harmony, i.e. whether they feel obliged to promote harmony as sanctioned by the ancestors. We were aware, of course, that social relationships are the cement that keeps things together, whether people believe the

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Where grid refers to the organisational quality of collectivism with its structures necessitated by the situation. Contrasted with group associated with communalism in which the structures are assumed to be a feature of reality related as the feet are to the head in the New Testament image of the body.

[16] Alverson (1978: 118-119) describes a similar understanding of work found among traditional Setswana-speaking people of Southern Africa.

ancestors are providers of health or economic prosperity, or not, but here we are asking about ancestors.

In relation to **Sipho's story** there are a number of questions that test the extent of respondents' support for **individualism**.

Question S7.1 I am determined to make it on my own.

This tests the individuals' single-mindedness about personal achievement. It also indirectly refers to the willingness of the individual to take the initiative and to take responsibility, at least in part, for things not working out according to plan. It asks the respondent to consider how high up in his/her value system self-reliance is.

Question S7.2 Independence is something I treasure.

This question asks about the extent to which the respondent values the freedom to control his/her own life, free from a sense of obligation to others, free from commitments that are not of his/her own making.

Question S7.3 Family often holds one back and can stifle ambition.

This question tests whether the respondent personally experiences the demands which the family makes as burdensome. It allowed us to identify a category of students who, though they treasure their independence, accept that right of the family to make demands.

Question S7.4 People should be encouraged to provide for their own future.

In as much as Questions S7.1, and S7.2 say I am responsible for my acts and what I do, this question, in conjunction with Q. 7.3, is saying that while I may be responsible now for my family members, it would be better if each felt responsible for their own future.

Question S8.1 I will co-operate with people ONLY if it helps me to achieve my goals.

This tests a minimum level of solidariness. People will only work with other people when it is in their best interests.

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Question S13.3 **It is sensible to appoint the person who can do the job the best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help.**

This question tests the respondent's commitment to the whole notion of economic rationality and the primacy of economics over family relations and loyalty.

Questions about Dualism and Monism

In relation to **Faku's story** there are a number of questions that test for a **monistic world-view**.

Question F2.1 **I believe that my ancestors ensure the health and general well-being of my family.**

Question F2.2 **I believe that my ancestors oversee the things that I and my family have.**

Question F5.1 **There are others who are also working and living in the world. They are called ancestral spirits and they live in rivers, mountains and forests.**

Question F6.1 **The ancestors are important in my life. They are not cruel to me. They behave like people in that they get angry and sometimes feel neglected ... punishing us when it is appropriate.**

Each of these questions speaks of an African Traditional world-view in which there is no clear distinction between the sacred and the secular or between the spiritual and the material areas of life. The traditional view of the ancestors among many *isi*Xhosa-speaking people is that they are physically near and their presence is felt everywhere as they watch over individual and communal behaviour. Each question emphasises a different aspect of traditional African monism. The first two questions in this section focus on the ancestors' intervention in health matters and relationships and the economic order. Question F5.1 locates the presence of the deceased in features of the physical environment, Question F6.1 the active involvement of ancestors in this world, in one's personal affairs.

In relation to **Sipho's story** there are a number of questions that test for a **dualistic world-view**.

Question S14.1 **The physical world around us is just mechanical.**

This question tests the sense of secularity of the natural order which remains monistic.

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Question S14.2 **The physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is.**

With this question we are testing whether the respondent believes in a clear divide between the secular and the sacred worlds, and an ultimate reality that transcends mundane reality, that is, a dualistic reality.

Question S14.3 **God is in heaven and heaven is where God is.**

This question tests for transcendence expressed as the "otherness" of God to which human beings seek to relate, a characteristic of a dualistic world-view.

Questions about the Nature of Divinity

We wanted to test whether the respondents had an impersonal or personal sense of God, and whether God was remote or very involved.

In relation to Faku's story (*Qamata* or the God of the ancestors) the questions test for a **relatively impersonal and not frequently involved** sense of God.

Question F4.1 ***Qamata*** **made the earth and everything in it** tests the respondents' sense of a creator God which is essential to the dualistic paradigm, but is present in a basically monistic one forming a sort of bridge between them. A positive position, therefore, is not a vote for either story.

Question F4.2 ***Qamata*** **is far away and not very active in our lives** tests the respondents sense of a distant God that rarely intervenes in the daily lives of humans, that being left to the ancestors.

Question F4.3 **It is true to say that we pray to and praise *Qamata*** tests the level of interaction with God and the transposition of Christian features of God onto the traditional African notion of God.

Question F4.5 **It is ONLY during times of crisis that people communicate directly with *Qamata*** tests the respondents' view of God as a remote ultimate power.

Question F4.6 **Can a person talk directly and regularly with *Qamata* as they would with an elder?**

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This question was subsequently dropped. It contains two questions which respondents might wish to answer in opposite ways.

In relation to Sipho's story the questions test for a belief in a **personal God**.

Question S14.4 **Do you think of God more as a power or more as a person?** tests the extent to which the respondent relates to God in personal terms or as vital force.

Question S14.6 **God is like a person.** tests whether the respondents relate to God exclusively in personal terms.

Questions About a Vital Force

In the African Traditional Religion with which we are concerned God tends to be impersonal, more like a power than a person. This power or vital force flows through all of nature including human beings.

Question F7.3 **Bad luck is not good for it makes a person lose strength** tests this notion of a vital force by focusing on the immediate evidence for the loss of harmony in things. Harmony is the condition for and product of a functioning vital force.

Question F12.1 **Everything has power starting with ancestors, then men, then women, children, animals, trees and river currents. But some are more powerful than others. However, if I despise any I weaken the power within me** tests the notion of a vital force but it focuses the traditional view that a person's divisive attitude drains him/her and the community of vital force.

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Questions about Traditional Social Features

In relation to Faku's story a number of questions test traditional roles in African society.

Question F3.1 **Our children are our wealth for without them a man is poor indeed** tests a traditional African view of children as investments in the future. Alverson (1978), writing about traditional Setswana speaking people of Southern Africa, says that wealth is seen to be the attainment, at the personal and the social levels, of the conditions necessary for a meaningful cultural existence. Wealth is value, but only a very small part of this is regarded as exchange value. Children are considered as wealth because they are

important in the production of the means of culture and social existence and not because of some or other exchange value. It is not uncommon to hear older more traditional *isi*Xhosa-speaking people say, "I want my children to get an education so that when I am old and unable to work, they will be able to take care of me the way I have taken care of them". The continuation of the family name and line is valued fairly universally but in a traditional African world-view not to have children to look after one in ones old age is very unfortunate.

Question F3.2 **Fertility, obedience and hard work are what I look for in a wife, and in return I will care for her and never mistreat her** tests the extent of the support among our respondents for traditional gender roles. The story is told from a traditional male perspective and assumes a traditional patriarchal view of the role of women as child bearers.

Question F3.3 **How much do you agree that women think they should be fertile, obedient and hardworking?** We have included the latter question to gauge whether the respondents think women value the traditional view of women's role in society.

Question F8.1 **Older people expect to be respected by the youth because they have wisdom, they know the customs and traditional things, they know the history and are very close to the ancestors thereby increasing their power** and **Question F8.2** **The old are expected to pass on the ancient traditions and rich heritage** test for support among the respondents for a traditional view of the role of the elderly in society. In traditional African world-view the elderly are given a special place of honour. Moemeka (1996: 211) says of the elderly that they are given a place of honour in the government of the community and their advice in general is not easily set aside or ignored. They are expected to guide the community, leading it to actions that will fall in line with the cherished traditions of the people. He adds that, "The exalted position that the culture has bestowed on old age gives communalistic communities a learning environment in which the experienced and knowledgeable are culturally encouraged not only to guide the community, but also to educate and guide the inexperienced and the young".

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Questions about Social Motivation

Although there is no overt reference to what motivates people in the traditional world-view in the Faku story, the issue is raised in Sipho's story.

Question S4.1 It is better to reward those who do much for their community than to punish those who do little!

Question S6.1 The best sort of society is the one in which individuals compete with one another for the greatest rewards.

These two questions test the extent to which the respondents support a motivational system based on individual reward that will inevitably bring about inequality in society. Human behaviour is said in Cumpsty's theory to be motivated by love, greed or fear or a mixture of these, the question is, which way does a culture go when love fails. Social coercion in Western industrial capitalism is largely based on a system of individual reward with its consequent social inequality. Moemeka (ibid.) says that in a traditional African society the welfare of the community of which the individual is an integral part takes precedence over that of individuals. He goes on to say that those who can make positive contributions but fail to do so are usually lashed with the tongue at gatherings and meetings. They are made fun of and classified as lazy. The encouragement of self-interest is regarded as contrary to the traditional African world-view. The fear of social alienation or worse in the case of a witch-hunt maintains social cohesion.

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Questions about Chance

In relation to **Faku's Story** there are a number of questions that test the respondent's support for a **closed system of cause and effect where chance is excluded**.

Question F7.1 When things are not going well we know that the balance has been upset. Something has caused this.

Question F7.2 If the ritual you perform to address your illness does not heal you then it is because someone else is performing a more powerful ritual?

Question F7.4 If things still do not go well when one has been to the *igqira* (traditional healer) and followed his/her instructions then it may be witches or bad spirits that have caused the misfortune.

All three questions refer to what Cumpsty calls a closed system. Cumpsty says that in monistic traditions there is no such thing as chance, because everything takes place in a

closed causal nexus. Magic, religion, healing, all have to do with knowledge of that causal nexus. There is no miracle, that is a power acting from beyond.

The notion of closed causality has been, of course, a crucial methodological choice for science although, perhaps, not what motivates it. Traditional African cultures appreciated the notion of causality very well but it is within the one system, even when it is said to be spirit or other mystical power. In extreme situations where other explanation fail, witchcraft provides a frame of reference by which the relations between people and unfortunate events are explained. Empirical causation, which asks what-and-how questions, is replaced with agentive causation, which asks who-and-why questions. Many in our sample population said that they attributed certain categories of misfortune to witchcraft unless there is evidence that a ritual was not performed correctly.

Each of these questions focuses on different levels of explanation for misfortune, from the trivial to witchcraft.

Question F7.1 is a general statement about the operation of a causal nexus. Question F7.2 relates persistent misfortune specifically to a ritual performed by someone else that cancels out attempts to overcome it. Question F7.3 relates persistent misfortune to someone with ill intent, the belief in witchcraft is the most extreme form of this view. The level of triviality is the issue. For example if a boy knocks his foot against a tree stump in the centre of a bush path (a common occurrence in sub-tropical parts of the Transkei) and suffered some brief pain, the matter would be dismissed and forgotten. If, however, he got dirt into the cut and the wound became septic the *Why* question arises, and traditional explanation in terms of ancestors or, in the last resort, witchcraft, would be called upon.

We asked this range of questions to test the acceptability explanations, from a general feeling that there is a cause, to a personal cause, to the view that there was malicious intent.

And in relation to **Sipho's Story** that a dualistic world-view is open to **chance and new beginnings**.

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Question S5 **When things go wrong in life I don't waste too much time finding out why, I just get on with starting again** tests the extent to which the respondent is open to chance.

Questions about the Models of Life After Death

The traditional notion of the living-dead or ancestors and the Western notion of heaven are models of life after death.

In relation to Faku's story because, in a monistic world-view there is no divide between the ultimately real and present reality, the deceased must somehow remain part of the present reality. The traditional African view among *isi*Xhosa-speaking people is that there is a continuum between the category of living elders and that of the deceased ancestors.

Question F9.1 **When I die I will not be far from the living. I will continue to be part of the world my children and grand children live in** tests this model of existence after death.

In relation to **Sipho's story** because, in a dualistic world-view the ultimately real and real are separate, one must indicate the transition from life to life beyond.

Question S14.8 **I hope to go away to Heaven after I die** tests an after death model of heaven that is not part of the present world.

Questions about Spirituality vs Secularity

It is possible to move out of a world-view in which religion and life are one, into a world-view which still feels monistic but becomes secular, or into one which is spiritual but becomes dualistic.

In relation to **Faku's story** there are a number of questions that test the respondent's support for **traditional spiritual explanations** of natural phenomena such as the growth of crops and illness.

Question F4.4 ***Qamata*** **along with the ancestors controls the way the crops grow.**

In this question we did not want to pose a distinction between *Qamata* and the ancestors but to focus on the intervention of the spirit world in agriculture. We wanted to test

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whether the invisible world exercised control over what is for Western Industrial society a secular matter. We were interested to measure how much the traditional notion had been eroded by creeping secularity.

Question F12.2 **When I am seeking strength and protection I go to the traditional healer** tests the respondent's adherence to an extremely traditional practice of consulting a healer/diviner for physical and spiritual strength and protection. We imagine that this practice is readily lost but the belief continues a lot longer (see below).

In relation to Sipho's story **Question S13.2** **Human behaviour must now leave behind traditional ways of doing things and concentrate on what is to be achieved** tests the extent to which the respondent has embraced secularity with or without transcendence. This question directly confronts the African Traditional Paradigm.

Questions about Time

We are aware of the debate about cultures (or world-views) and time (see Masolo, 1994: 103-123). There seems sufficient evidence, however, to suggest that in an African traditional paradigm a cyclical image of time dominates and in a Western Industrial Paradigm a linear image of time dominates. These are reflected in the two stories.

In relation to **Faku's story** (cyclical time) time is dominated by natural events, agriculture and pastoral concerns, the human life cycle, and therefore appears to be, and is, cyclical (c.f. Evans-Pritchard, 1997: 24). It is the latter theme that dominates **Q.13.1** **A person is born, grows, reproduces, dies and goes to be an ancestor. But birth, growth, death and becoming an ancestor go on forever.**

Question 13.4 **Life, time and all that *Qamata* has made go on forever** tests a view of time and a view of history that rolls on without any obvious end in sight.

Evans-Pritchard (ibid.: 24-37) in his study of Nuer concepts of time also refers to structural time. This system of time-reckoning is, according to Evans-Pritchard (ibid.: 30), about structural distance between specific sets in the age-set system, and distances of kinship and lineage order. Evans-Pritchard (ibid.: 32) says: "It is less a means of co-ordinating events than of co-ordinating relationships, and is therefore mainly a looking-

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backwards, since relationships must be explained in terms of the past." The part of Question F1.1 which reads: **My line is my father's and it goes through his father, his father's father and those before him, and it carries on through me, my sons, my grandsons, the sons of my grandsons and so on** comes closest to representing structural time.

In relation to **Sipho's story** we get a concern with linear time. Cumpsty (1991:188) argues that once the symbol of transcendence has been established, in a dualistic paradigm, linear time is one of its logical consequences. A number of questions test a linear conception of time.

Question S12.1 **It is important for a meeting to start on time and for people not to arrive late** tests a view of the world dominated by punctuality and scheduling which arises out of a need to quantify abstracted time measured by the clock.

Question S13.1 **History is moving forward** measures a Western view of history that is forever forward looking and future orientated. Bellah et al. (1985: 27) says: "In our forward-facing society ...we are more apt to talk about the future than the past... This notion of history moving forward is captured in the expression: *Lost time is never found again.*"

Questions about Goals vs Texture

The Goals vs Texture theme that underlies the following series of questions is not represented in the Faku story as such. There are, however, a number of questions that refer to what might be called present texture. These include Q11.1 **The ancestors will look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings for anyone and that person will feel happy because he knows that he/she has acted in the right way** dealt with under the Communalism theme and Q13.2 **I need to fit into these rhythms of nature to have a good life** which we will deal with below under the Mode of Engagement theme.

Each of the following questions deals with a different aspect of goal orientation at an individual and collective level as depicted in the Western Industrial Paradigm.

Cumpsty (1991:188) says that in linear time traditions, both goals and texture are available as tests of the quality of life, but one would be moving out of the type if goals did not play a major role.

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In relation to **Sipho's story** the following questions all relate to different aspects of a future orientated model of the world-out-there concerned with achievement and becoming.

Question S1.3 **I think more about what I am to become rather than simply what I am now** tests the extent to which the individual's self-perception and identity are future orientated. In an Western Industrial world-view one is encouraged to almost give birth to oneself, to break free from family, community and inherited ideas (also linked to the meaning of individual existence, see "Grand Design" below).

Question S1.1 **I am most happy when I know that I am in the process of "achieving" or "becoming" something** tests the individual's future orientation toward particular goals.

Question S1.2 **There is a great deal of pressure on me to achieve** tests the individual's experience of social pressure to progress towards one or another goal.

Question S2.1 **I need to be a goal orientated person to achieve** tests the link between goals and achievement. The respondent who supports this is saying I cannot get anywhere without goals.

Question S2.2 **It is goals which give my life purpose and direction** is a statement about the importance of goals in self-understanding.

Question S2.3 **I have greater admiration for people who work towards achieving a better future for all than I have for people who are concerned with other people's well being in the here and now** focuses on the tension between goals and texture at a collective level.

Question S2.4 **I am prepared to sacrifice something now for a better quality of life in the future** tests the extent to which future goals take priority over present texture in the individual.

Question S3.1 **I am very frustrated when I am prevented from pursuing my goals** is a stronger form of Question S1.1

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Questions about the Grand Design

The questions that follow revolve around the meaning of individual existence. Cumpsty (ibid.:190) says: "To have caught sight, for a single moment, of the grandeur of the design of which one is part, however small, is sufficient to invest the individual's life with significance. If there is no [such] grand design, ...meaning [must depend] ...on individual achievement..." Meaningfulness in the Western Industrial paradigm is mostly associated with purpose but a sense of meaning and worthwhileness may come from an awareness of a grand pattern of which one is a part. In an African Traditional Paradigm worthwhilenesss comes from a sense of belonging located in a Grand Pattern.

In relation to **Faku's story** there are a number of questions that test the respondent's understanding that a **Grand Pattern** gives them a sense of meaningful existence.

Question F10.1 **Every person and thing has its place and they give importance to each other** tests a general sense of grand pattern.

Question F10.2 **To treat something or someone with disrespect is to weaken all things** tests the view that all people and things are interrelated.

Question F13.3 **Every person and thing has a purpose to work out in its own time** points to a view that while there is no grand purpose, everything within the grand pattern has its own purpose to work out. This is why in African traditional societies one respects, for example, an animal as it fulfils its purpose when it is killed.

In relation to **Sipho's story** the following questions test the respondent's understanding that a **Grand Purpose** gives them a sense of meaningful existence.

Question S10.1 **It is exciting to be the first to do something and to discover things and to invent things** and **Question S10.2** **The investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement is money well spent** test the extent to which worthwhileness of the individual and society is felt to be determined by pushing the frontiers.

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Questions about the Mode of Engagement

In relation to **Faku's story Question F13.2 I need to fit into the rhythms of nature to have a good life** tests the African traditional view that one ought to *fit-into* the natural order and maintain its harmonies and balances.

In relation to **Sipho's story** the questions that follow reflect a Western Industrial society's desire to *take-hold-and-shape* the environment to fit its vision of how it ought to be.

Question S9.1 People should try to reshape the world in which they find themselves tests the level of individual commitment to getting the world to conform to one's image of how it should be.

Question S10.3 I am excited about being part of the process of reshaping the future for all our children to enjoy tests the individual's commitment to efforts to change the world which they may not be around to enjoy but which others may enjoy.

Question S11.1 I would send a son of mine to the school known for teaching science and a scientific approach to life tests the degree of commitment to an aggressive *take-hold-and-shape* approach to life which involves pushing the frontiers of science and technology as opposed to preserving the present texture of the world-out-there.

Question S15.1 A person's life really starts when he or she leaves school and is as good as over when he or she retires tests a view of the world where reality progresses and one participates in that reality through work.

Question S15.2 In the Western world the people who are admired most are the young go-getters who always look good tests whether the respondent supports this popular image of participation in progress.

Questions about Belonging

This was only asked in relation to **Sipho's story**.

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Question S14.7 **God has sought us but I must also seek him** tests a dualistic view of the world in which belonging cannot be assumed, as in an African traditional paradigm, but it must ever be sought.

Additional Questions A1 and A2

These are questions about Aggregations Significant in Identity and related Values. Questions A1 and A2 seek to elicit aggregations to which the respondent perceives him/herself to belong and to be living out the values systems dealt with in the stories.

Question A1 is a free-style self-description. The value of this question lies in the respondent's freedom to choose any seven phrases to describe who he/she is.

We asked the free-style self-description question before the 14-item table of triggered aggregations to minimise the influence of the latter over the former.

Question A2 is a measure of the significance of 14 given aggregations based on how upset the respondent feels if one of the aggregations is criticised. We asked this question because we needed to know where the respondents invested their identity in a group of aggregations with which they were familiar including a hierarchy of communities and whether there were gaps in that hierarchy. That is, we wanted to know how small or large their effective world was.

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Question A1 **You are asked to describe yourself to a stranger. Describe who you are in 7 phrases.**

Question A2: **How upset do you feel when an outsider criticises:**

1. **People who speak your home language**
2.a **If you are a man, men as a group**

or

2.b **If you are a woman, women as a group**
3. **Supporters of individual initiative**
4. **Your family**
5. **Your age group**
6. **Workers**
7. **People of South Africa**
8. **The group you feel you belong to beyond the national level**
9. **People who work for social justice**
10. **People who do the same work as you do**
11. **Your local community**
12. **Those who share your political position**
13. **Those who share your religious position**

3.3 THE SAMPLE

3.3.1 The Survey Sample of Matrics

The questionnaire was administered to Matric classes in selected schools in rural, semi-urban, and cosmopolitan urban settings.

Our primary objective was to find a sample that cut across the range of possibilities - from the most rural to the most urban, from the most ad hoc to the most established. Once we had identified the different socio-cultural settings we wished to include in the sample we discussed, with teachers in the field, the types of schools we wished to access. Fortunately we had an excellent network of contacts in schools in both Eastern Province and the Western Province.

We were finally able to pinpoint schools we thought would represent the best cross-section of the range. We chose seven schools, three in the Transkei (part of the Eastern Province) and four in Cape Town. Of those in the Transkei, Zingisa High School in Umtata represented a well-established school in an urban area. A number of its students were in Umtata solely for the purpose of attending school, and would have to be regarded as rural dwellers. Then there were two schools in Willowvale, which is regarded as one of the most traditional areas of the Transkei [17]. Neither had a large number of Matrics. Of the Cape Town schools, Langa High School is a well-established school in a long established urban area, and Langa Comprehensive High School which, although newer, draws its school students from the same pool. Thandokhulu High School, in Mowbray, and Intlanganiso High School, in District Six, are spill-over schools drawing on many areas not least the rapidly expanding, unsettled Khayalitsha township and squatter settlements. Thandokhulu has only Standard Nines and Matrics, Intlanganiso has only Matrics, and these in very large numbers. Many students in these two schools are recent arrivals in the urban area. These seven high schools, it was felt, well represented the range of possibilities we were looking for.

In total we administered the questionnaire to seven hundred and seventy nine students.

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3.3.2 The Sample for In-depth Interviews with Matrics

By the time we were ready to conduct in-depth interviews, the original Matrics were no longer available as they were preparing for their final examinations. It was, therefore, necessary to administer the questionnaire to the next year's group of Matrics at Zingisa High, in Umtata, and at Langa Comprehensive, in Cape Town. This early start gave us the opportunity to administer the questionnaire and then conduct interviews with groups of Matrics before they wrote their final school examinations and disappeared. We first worked with a Matric class from Zingisa High and then returned to Cape Town to work with a new group of final year students attending Langa Comprehensive. The in-depth sample consisted of 43 Matrics: twenty from Langa Comprehensive and twenty-three from Zingisa High. We chose these schools because between them they gave access to urban and rural Matrics as well as what we called cosmopolitan. They also happened to coincide with teachers who thought the project potentially useful in their student personal development programmes and encouraged ongoing participation.

This 43 member sub-set of Matrics from the main sample embraced values and norms drawn from both of the stories on which the questionnaire was constructed and, having in mind the conflicting elements in the ideal types, their world-views represented a range of positions from relatively integrated to potentially very fragmented.

As indicated earlier, we followed this up by administering the questionnaire and conducting group discussions and in-depth interviews with what might best be described as a "convenience" sample of 23 black managers. The Matric students were our primary concern but, given the students' aspirations to be upwardly mobile, we wished to be able to see what shifts might occur, in whatever profiles emerged among the students, some years down the line.

3.3.3 The Sample of Black Managers

We solicited the help of the Director of the *Associates in Management Programme* at the University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business and with her co-operation

[17] The majority of the people from the Willowvale district are *amaGcaleka*. Among the *isiXhosa*-speaking people of the Transkei the *amaGcaleka* are historically known for their cultural conservatism and militant resistance to white settlers and Western influences.

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contacted black managers who had completed the AIM programme, a one year intensive programme for young managers already established in the commercial world. Three groups were located, the first group at the University of Cape Town (they were about to graduate), the second group in the Eastern Cape and the third group in KwaZulu-Natal.[18] We contacted each of them and presented an outline of the study and its possible use to black managers, particularly those with a strong African cultural heritage.

Of those contacted, twenty-three could be included in the survey. The participants represented a good cross-section of those who had passed through the AIM programme which itself seemed to have drawn a fairly representative sample of young black management as a whole. We travelled to each location and organised an initial meeting with the participants in order to discuss the study and to consider any related issues the participants wished to explore during the course of group discussions. We then set up further meetings to administer the questionnaire and conduct in-depth interviews.

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3.4 THE PROCEDURE

3.4.1 Procedure for the Survey of Matrics

The administration of the questionnaire called for the training of fieldworkers. This required that they understand sufficient of the theoretical base and objectives of the project to answer questions about it, and of the technique of administering questionnaires in general. With respect to the latter it was necessary that those administering the questionnaire appreciate the task in hand so that they neither led nor misled the interviewees. We went to great lengths to ensure that each fieldwork team followed the same procedure in administering the questionnaire.

Once in the chosen school the questionnaire administrators set up a meeting with the Principal to discuss the project and its use as an educational tool to stimulate among the Matrics individual thought and group discussion revolving around African Traditional and Western Industrial ways of viewing the world. Once they had obtained the necessary

[18] The managers from the Eastern Province were *isiXhosa-speaking* and those from KwaZulu-Natal were *isi*Zulu-speaking. Both language groups belong to the Nguni people of Southern Africa. The languages and African traditional world-view of these groupings are very similar.

permission from the Principal they met with the Matrics in order to introduce themselves and talk about the project. They then arranged a time with the class teachers to return and administer the questionnaire.

The order of presentation, was to read the introduction and to answer any questions which might arise, then to have the personal data section completed, then to read both stories, Faku's in *isi*Xhosa and Sipho's in English, making sure that they were fully understood before proceeding to explain how the questions and Ten Point Likert Scale responses work. Experience having shown that the African Traditional story is clearer in an indigenous African language and the Western Industrial story is clearer in English, the students were encouraged to read all the Faku story segments and associated questions in *isi*Xhosa, and Sipho's story segments and questions in English, and only to refer to the translations when necessary. The exact list of instructions used during the field trips is included in Appendix 1.

3.4.2 Procedure for the In-depth Interviews with Matrics

We abandoned the idea of a second structured questionnaire and opted for a series of questions that guided the group interviews. Two factors prompted this decision. The first was the Matrics' obvious desire to discuss issues that arose out of the original questionnaire. The second was that the interview style made it possible to get as near as possible to "action research", involving the target group far more in the research process than might be the case in more conventional styles, the Researcher acting as facilitator.[19]

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[19] An extended note on Action Research.
McNiff (1988: 2) says that action research is a way of characterising a loose set of activities that are designed to improve the quality of life of a particular community. It is essentially an eclectic way into a programme of self-reflection aimed at improving the quality of life of those involved in the action (ibid.).
Although the literature offers numerous and varied definitions of "action research" there are certain characteristics, principles and practices shared by the different modes of action research:
i) Symbiotic relationship
The relationship between the researcher and the participants is collaborative. The researcher has a symbiotic relationship with the participants and it is a joint experience of mutually supportive dialogue that brings people together to explore some problem. McNiff (1988) notes that one of the earliest propagators of action research, Kurt Lewin, was convinced that the best way to move people forward was to engage them in their own enquiries into their own lives. He, furthermore, stressed democratic collaboration and participation.
ii) Usable Knowledge
Argyris et al. (1985: x) singles out the need for usable knowledge as one of the primary characteristics of what they call "action science". "In proposing an action science, we hope to articulate the features of a science that can generate knowledge that is useful, valid, descriptive of the world, and informative of how we might change it." Action science, they go on to say, aims to generate knowledge that will help people in their everyday lives and generate liberating alternatives.
iii) Action that leads to change

We also wished to give the participants opportunities to explore issues that related to the way they seek to combine Western Industrial and African Traditional ways of seeing, being and doing.

We say "as near as possible to action research" because the story-response questionnaire had indeed provoked deep responses to the issues dealt with, and while the ethos was one of facilitated free problem-solving, the problems had, to a significant degree, been set in the interplay between the students' prior experience and the questionnaire.

In-depth interviews were conducted with two groups, one from the Eastern Province, the other from the Western Cape.

In the Eastern Province we began with an interview with the whole group before moving to discussions with groups of between seven and nine students, each group meeting on three, sometimes four, occasions. In the Western Cape we moved straight to the small groups.

The interviews took place for the most part during school hours, the programme being considered by the Principals and Guidance Teachers as an integral part of school guidance. On average we had four 3/4 hour group interviews with each group. At the first group meeting we explained to the participants why we had chosen to work with them. We spent some time discussing the value of the study and how useful they had found the questionnaire. We then agreed upon a *modus operandi* for the group discussions and we raised the issue of confidentiality. During the first two group discussions we used the questionnaire as a point of departure. We referred to particular questions in the questionnaire and asked each participant to explain their response to the question. This often stimulated spontaneous discussion among the participants. Thereafter, and for the remaining group meetings, we drew on a set of guide questions to

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"The action scientist is an interventionist, seeking not only to describe the world but to change it. More precisely, he or she seeks to help members of client systems reflect on the world they create and learn to change it in ways more congruent with values and theories they espouse" (Argyris, 1985:98). Action scientists point out that research of this nature does not pretend to be value-free. Values are recognised to be involved in the change process. As action researchers work within this framework they contribute to raising of awareness and consciousness.

iv) Feedback mechanisms

An action researcher is accountable to those engaged in the action, the participants, i.e. observations, findings, speculations and alternative perspectives are fed back to the participants.

v) Process rather than product

Action researchers are more concerned about the process than the product.

stimulate discussion while at other times we simply explored issues that came up during the course of the discussion. Periodically a discussion became so intense that the students insisted that we continue with it during their lunch break or after school.

This interview phase in the research, while it checked the reliability of the survey and further investigated what we had learnt from the participants' responses to the questionnaire, was guided by our concern that it should reveal more about the students' world-views, both the obstacles hindering the integration of identity and any integrative mechanisms in operation. Furthermore, group discussions helped us to discover what significant symbols (see Cumpsty on "Aggregations" in the previous chapter) were employed by those who have a more integrated identity in the mediation of competing world-views.

We were interested in investigating a number of questions further. They included:

Is there evidence to suggest that those students who manifest a strong desire to support the major elements in both of the competing world-views, experience tension?

Is there evidence that among the participants in the discussion groups there are those who adopt mediation strategies in an attempt to integrate or least sufficiently hold together the two traditions? Was there evidence of common mechanisms such as "containment" (encapsulation) or of "allocation" or "bridging"?

Are there obstacles hindering the integration of identity?

With the participants' permission we recorded all the group discussions. On occasion individual Matrics wanted to discuss more personal problems which may or may not have been triggered by the group discussions. We did not record these sessions.

3.4.3 Procedure with the Black Managers

The procedure for administering the questionnaire to the managers was the same as that followed for the students, so in most cases, the questionnaire was administered under supervision. In a few cases this was not possible and the participants completed it at home, returning it the following day when they attended the group discussion session.

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The interviews took the form of a single extended group discussion which varied in length from two to three hours. One participant in KwaZulu-Natal was unable to join a group as he worked for another company. He was, therefore, interviewed separately for about an hour.

With two exceptions, the meetings with the managers took place outside the work context.

The discussions involved exploring the tension between elements of the dominant world-view underlying the corporate culture and the non-negotiable aspects of the world-views drawn on by individual managers with an African cultural background. We started the discussion with an open-ended question which focused our attention on some of the more common problems experienced at work by these managers. Thereafter, the participants and the Facilitator identified problems we thought may be the result of differences between the world-view of the individual and that of the corporation. We then discussed the form each of these problems took and whether individual managers perceived them to be the source of ongoing tension. Where a problem was a source of tension, we were keen to know how the individual managed or failed to manage the problem. Our thinking was guided by our suspicion that many of the longer term problems which African personnel in management positions experience, are less related to a deficiency in technical knowledge of their jobs than to the fact that Western Industrial perceptions of the world are in conflict with specific aspects of African Traditional world-views.

The managers, during these extended discussions took more of a lead than had the Matrics and, therefore, Action Research principles were more fully adhered to. The questions raised by the study, on occasion, led participants to raise issues that only indirectly related to the study. These other issues were nevertheless important for the participants and, in keeping with Action Research, we undertook to compile a separate report which summarised these issues. Copies of this report were sent to the participants and, at their request, a copy was sent to UCT's Business School of which they were all graduates (see Appendix 6).

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RESULTS - PART ONE:

TWO STORIES, FIVE PROFILES

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CHAPTER 4

THE MATRICS

Introductory Note

In this part we present some descriptive statistics about the sample and then proceed to focus on the profiles that emerge from the responses to the story-based variables. We have two main objectives in mind when presenting the results. The first objective is to show statistically that there were distinct groupings in the data. The second objective is to summarise the numerical data from the responses to the story variables, and what the participants had to say in the in-depth interviews, which shows that the Matrics were in fact located in distinct profiles while sharing certain underlying features.

In order to achieve the second objective we proceed to i.) describe the patterns that emerge from the way the Matrics, located in their profiles, responded to the story variables, ii.) uncover some of the thinking behind these responses, iii.) highlight the similarities and differences within each profile and between profiles, and iv.) present evidence of attempts to manage incongruence, differences and seemingly incompatible ideas (i.e. accommodation strategies, selection strategies).

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4.1 THE MATRICS ACCORDING TO SCHOOL AND GENERATION AS URBAN DWELLERS

Using Microsoft Excel[20] and Statistica[21] we generated descriptive statistics showing the distribution of the respondents according to their schools, and the generation of urban dweller they represented[22].

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[20] Microsoft Excel is a spreadsheet and data management computer software package which also has a range of statistics functions and graphical display features. We used it primarily to manage our data and to write a formula for multiple frequency counts using sets of criteria which was necessary in the creation of the profiles variable.

[21] Statistica is a computer software package designed to analyse statistical data. It is used to generate descriptive statistics and to perform a range of basic and advanced statistical tests.

[22] We could not find an appropriate place in the text to refer to the spread of the respondents' ages and gender. The age distribution is as follows: 70% of the respondents were 15-20 years old, 26% were 21-25 years old and 4% were over 25 years. The gender divide was as follows: 62% of the respondents were female and 38% male. Variables AGE and GENDER did not prove to be good predictors of PROFILE. Personal data variables SCHOOL SUBJECTS, EDUCATION, RELIGION, ECONOMIC STATUS, CHILDREN and

We mentioned earlier that we chose our sample of *isi*Xhosa speaking Matrics from a cross-section of schools. The results presented in Table 2 below show the distribution of Matrics in each of the schools according to the generation of urban dwellers[23] they represent. It can be seen that the different generations of urban dwellers are well distributed throughout the urban schools. Thus the schools represented the wide range of socio-cultural experiences typically found in the Eastern and Western Provinces.

Table 2: Frequency Distribution of Matrics According to their Schools and Generation as Urban Dwellers (as a percentage of valid cases)

School	Count	Generation as an Urban Dweller			
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Thandokhulu (Cape Town, WP)	104	**34%**	**57%**	9%	-
Intlanganiso (Cape Town, WP)	91	**26%**	**51%**	**19%**	4%
Langa High (Cape Town, WP)	98	**20%**	**58%**	**22%**	-
Langa Comprehensive 1 (Cape Town, WP)	107	4%	**61%**	**35%**	-
Langa Comprehensive 2 (Cape Town, WP)	66	12%	**62%**	**26%**	-
Zingisa 1 (Umtata, EP)	106	**33%**	**56%**	11%	-
Zingisa 2 (Umtata, EP)	127	**32%**	**42%**	**26%**	-
Xolilizwe (Willowvale, EP)	53	-	-	-	-
Nondwe (Willowvale, EP)	27	-	-	-	-
Missing	0				
Total	779				

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Observations

The following observations were made:

- The Matrics from Thandokhulu and Intlanganiso high schools were, in the main, first and second generation urban dwellers. Although there were a substantial number of third generation urban dwellers from Intlanganiso High.
- Langa High Matrics were mostly second generation urban dwellers but there were substantial numbers of first and third generation urban dwellers.
- Both groups of Matrics from Zingisa High were mostly first and second generation urban dwellers although a substantial number of Matrics from the second group (Zingisa 2) were third generation.
- None of the Matrics from the rural village schools Xolilizwe High and Nondwe High had been urban dwellers.

POSITION AT WORK (only in the Questionnaire for the managers) were also not good predictors of the variable PROFILE.

[23] First generation urban dwellers are those who are the first members of their families to reside for extended periods in an urban area, second generation urban dwellers are those who were born in an urban area and whose parents were the first generation to reside there and so on.

- Both groups of Matrics from Langa Comprehensive were mostly second and third generation urban dwellers.

Comments

The first generation urban dwellers from Thandokhulu and Intlanganiso, and Zingisa High were new to city life, whereas the third generation urban dwellers from Langa Comprehensive and Langa High were well-seasoned city dwellers. The Matrics from Xolilizwe and Nondwe high schools had no sustained exposure to industrial city life. Second generation urban dwellers from all the city-based schools were very familiar with urban culture. This study therefore includes a little under 800 black *isi*Xhosa speaking Matrics with an African Tradtional cultural heritage but very varied socio-cultural experiences.

4.2 THE MATRICS ACCORDING TO PROFILE

Method of Analysis

The responses of the Matrics to the story-based variables were captured in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In order to get a "feel" for the responses of each case to the Faku and Sipho story variables we manually scanned the responses of each case. We observed a number of patterns from visually scanning the data. We wanted to describe the natural groupings in the data in order to generate profiles and, therefore, a new variable called PROFILE. This required translating our crude impressions of natural groupings in the data into carefully defined sets of criteria for mutually exclusive categories that nevertheless reflected the natural groupings.

Criteria for Grouping the Data

We collapsed the ten point scale responses into a three point scale consisting of the categories "Disagree" (Likert Scale scores of 1, 2, 3, 4), "Uncertain" (scores 5 and 6) and Agree"(scores 7, 8, 9, 10). This was done with the help of Excel and the use of a formula to count the number of scores in each of the three categories. At the end of this exercise we had a frequency count of the number of disagrees, uncertains and agrees for each case (with the exception of invalid cases) for the Faku and the Sipho story variables.

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We decided to establish the profiles on the basis of the number of scores in the "Disagree" and "Uncertain" ranges. In other words we established sets of criteria to classify the cases in the dataset into six broad categories (which we later called profiles) on the basis of the number of times a respondent scored in the "Disagree" range and the number of times a respondent scored in the "Uncertain" range (see Table 3, below).

The new variable "PROFILE" served as a grouping variable. This had a dual purpose. Firstly, it allowed us to see how the cases in each profile responded to a particular variable. This in turn helped us to determine which variables were good discriminators of the profiles and which ones were not. Secondly, the new variable PROFILE helped us to observe general patterns in the responses based on their natural groupings.

It is important to note that respondents were located in profiles based on the frequency count of the number of "Disagrees" and "Uncertains" in their responses to the story variables. When allocating a case to a profile we did not take any particular variables into account. Hence there was no guarantee that the cases allocated to a particular profile would respond in a similar fashion to specific variables. We were keen that patterns emerge from the data itself.

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Table 3: The Criteria Used to Locate Respondents in Each Profile

Profile Label	Profile Description	Number of Scores in the Disagree range[1]		Number of Scores in the Uncertain range[2]	
		Faku's Story Variables	**Sipho's Story Variables**	Faku's Story Variables	Sipho's Story Variables
Affirm	Affirm Faku & Sipho	≤ 5	≤ 5	< 1/3 of the story variables	< 1/3 of the story variables
AF-SS	Affirm Faku - Selectively Reject Sipho	≤ 5	> 5	< 1/3 of the story variables	< 1/3 of the story variables
Unsure	Unsure of Faku & Sipho	any number in fact	any number in fact	≥ 1/3 of the story variables	≥ 1/3 of the story variables
Select	Selectively Reject Faku & Sipho	> 5	> 5	< 1/3 of the story variables	< 1/3 of the story variables
SF-AS	Selectively Reject Faku - Affirm Sipho	> 5	≤ 5	< 1/3 of the story variables	< 1/3 of the story variables
Non Specific[3]		respondent did not fall into one of the above mentioned categories			

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Notes:

1. We opted to allow a maximum of five grace "Disagree" responses . A respondent may have responded in the "Disagree" range on five occasions but on the whole he/she affirmed the story. Beyond five disagrees was considered selectively rejecting the story. We obviously had to decide how many grace "Disagree" responses we would allow. Five graces was not an arbitrary number. In addition to allowing for a margin of error where respondents mistakenly scored in the "Disagree" range two factors persuaded us that five "Disagrees" would be a suitable cut-off point for the graces. The first factor was informed by the natural groupings in the data. The second factor became apparent during the piloting stage. Respondents indicated during feedback sessions that beyond five "Disagrees" they were clearly rejecting substantial parts of the story in question, whereas those whose total number of "Disagrees" was between 1-5 generally supported the story. This had nothing to do with the number of variables in the story but rather at what point the respondents perceived they were selectively rejecting the story. Subsequent checks during the in-depth interviews confirmed this. The specific cut-off points (i.e. the number of "Disagrees" and "Uncertains") may well change from study to study but the guiding principles would not.

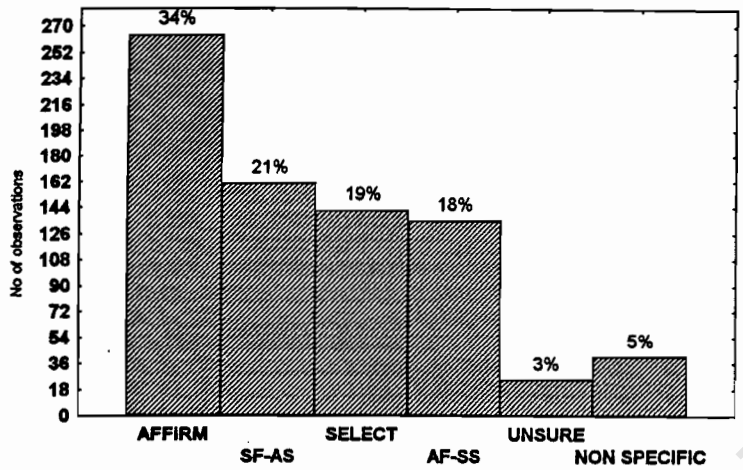
2. We decided that where a case had eleven or more "Uncertain" responses to the Faku story variables the respondent was Unsure in his/her response to the Faku story variables (11/33 is a third of the total number of Faku variables). We decided that where a case had twelve or more "Uncertain" responses to the Sipho story variables we could argue that the respondent was Unsure in his/her response to the Sipho story variables (i.e. 12/35 is almost a third of the total number of Sipho variables).

3. A small number of respondents did not meet the criteria for any of the profiles. These were located in the "Non Specific Profile". For example, where a respondent disagreed with less than five variables across the Faku variables (i.e Affirm Faku) but scored a "5" or a "6" on twelve or more occasions across the Sipho variables this respondent located in the Affirm Faku - Unsure Sipho Profile. There were, however, too few cases to warrant a profile Affirm Faku - Unsure Sipho. Similarily, there were too few cases for us to create a profile Unsure Faku - Affirm Sipho or Unsure Faku - Selectively Reject Sipho.

Findings

We now take a closer look at the new categorical variable PROFILE.

Fig. 1: Bar Chart Showing the Spread of Matrics Across the Profiles



Note: There were 11 missing cases (N = 779)

Observations and Comments

Approximately one third of the respondents were located in the Affirm Profile and approximately one fifth of the respondents were located in each of the three profiles SF-AS, Select and AF-SS. Few respondents were located in the Unsure Profile and the Non Specific Profile.

Substantial numbers of respondents were located in the four of the five profiles we are concerned with in this study. The questionnaire, therefore, did not lead the participants to respond in any one particular way.

A statistical test was used to check the statistical distinctiveness of the profiles.

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4.3 TESTING THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE PROFILES USING MULTIPLE DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS[24]

Multiple discriminant analysis was applied in order to ascertain statistically whether the *a priori* profile groupings of the Matrics were genuinely distinct, and to detect significant discriminator variables of the grouping variable PROFILE from among a range of potential (Likert scaled) predictor variables.

Method of Analysis

In preparation for multiple discriminant analysis, the potential predictor variables from among the story variables were screened for inter-correlation. Where strong correlations between potential predictor variables were detected the more important variable was included in the analysis. The profile means of all the story variables were inspected in order to assess which of these variables could potentially be included in the multiple discriminant model resulting from the analysis. Details of these evaluations are presented in Appendix 1.

Within Statistica's Discriminant Analysis module, a forward step-wise analysis was then performed using the variable PROFILE as the grouping variable. F to enter for the analysis was set to 3, the tolerance at the default setting of 0.01 and the Wilks' *lambda* controlled the entry order. A discriminant function analysis summary of the model and tests of the significance of this model are shown in Appendix 2. These summaries indicate i.) whether or not there are significant differences between the profiles, and if so ii.) the relative importance of each of the predictor variables in the discrimination between the profiles.

We decided to remove both the Unsure and the Non Specific profiles from the analysis. The Non Specific Profile was excluded because it is not a true profile. The Unsure

[24] The primary task of discriminant analysis according to Wegner (forthcoming publication: 356) is "to identify group membership of objects [sic]", which in our study are matric students. Wegner (ibid.) says that "the objects within each group will have similar profiles, but will differ significantly from the profiles of objects in other groups". Discriminant analysis not only tests whether or not the groups are significantly different but also identifies the discriminating criteria (or discriminant variables) which distinguish the participants belonging to one group from participants belonging to other groups. "As part of this process of identifying significant discriminant criteria, discriminant analysis can also be used to confirm whether the a priori groups are genuinely distinct from each other" (Wegner: ibid.).

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Profile was excluded because it consisted of too few cases and it prevented us testing the distinctiveness of the four major profiles.

The classification matrices for the multiple discriminant model were then inspected in order to assess the predictive power of the model to predict profile membership. We then used a standard method to check the results of the multiple discriminant model by repeating the procedure on the first and second halves of the data.

Findings

Appendix 2 provides a detailed record of the findings.

The multiple discriminant analysis summary (see Table A1 in Appendix 2) indicated that there was a significant discrimination ($F = 21.226$ with $p<0.0000$) between the profiles Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS. Furthermore, the significant p-levels for the four group centroids showed that the groups were effectively separated from each other in terms of the multiple discriminant analysis model.

The Wilks' *lambda* for the model was 0,185 which is closer to 0 than 1 thereby showing that the model has strong discriminatory power[25].

The best predictor variables of profile membership selected by the discriminant analysis model were in descending order (from left to right).

- F16 Ritual to correct my neglect of the ancestors
- S14 Family holds one back
- S16 I co-operate only if it helps me
- F29 I go to the *igqira*
- F11 *Qamata* & ancestors control the crops
- S35 Young go-getters most admired
- F23 When I die, not be far away
- F7 Women agree they should be fertile …
- S26 World is just mechanical
- S29 God as power ... God as a person
- S11 Best society competitive
- S28 God is in heaven
- F12 Only communicate with Qamata during crisis
- S15 Provide for own future
- F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual
- F28 Everything has power
- S24 Leave behind traditions
- S18 Exciting to be the first to do something
- S34 Life starts … leaves school … over when retire
- F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have

[25] The Wilks' *lambda* value varies from 0 for perfect discriminatory power to 1 for no discriminatory power (StatSoft, 1995).

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Examination of the classification matrix showed that the application of the classification functions resulted in the correct classification of 78% of the cases in the analysis. The accuracy of the classification was particularly good among the actual members of the Affirm Profile where 91% of the cases were correctly classified using this model. It was also fairly good among the actual members of the AF-SS (with 67% correctly classified), Select (with 66% correctly classified) and SF-AS (with 76% correctly classified).

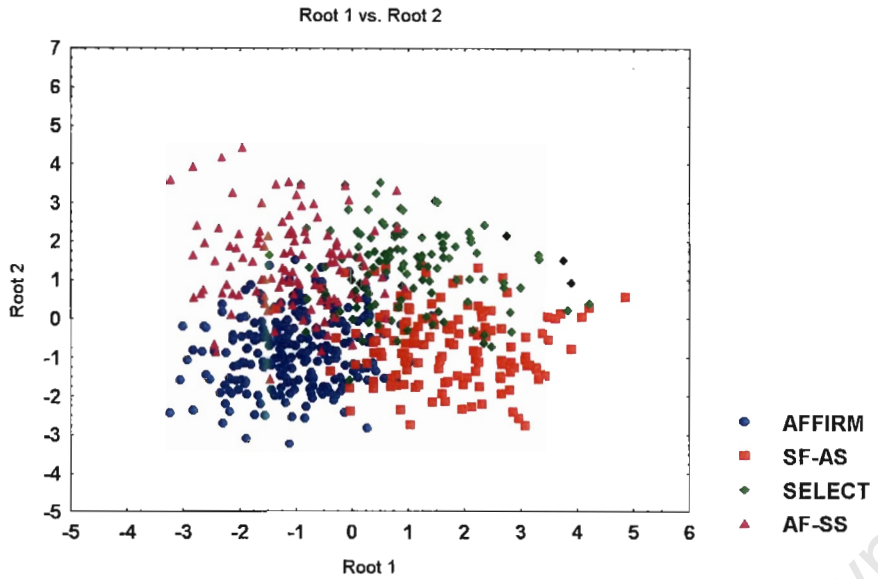
The results of the repeated procedure using the first half and then the second half of the data confirmed our previous findings[26].

In Fig.2, below, is a scatterplot of the canonical scores for the first two canonical functions using the above model. It shows graphically that the profiles are distinctly separate.

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[26] The results of the repeated multiple discriminant analysis (MDA) using the first half and second half of the data were as follows: 1.) The MDA summary indicated, for both subsets of data, that there was a significant discrimination (first half: F=12,620 with p <0,0000, second half: F=14,697 with p <0,0000) between the profiles Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS, 2.) The significant p-levels for the four group centroids in both subsets of data showed that the groups were effectively separated from each other in terms of MDA model, 3.) The Wilks' lambda for the model was for the first half of the data 0,192 and the second 0,156 which is closer to 0 than 1 thereby showing that the model has strong discriminatory power, 4.) Examination of the classification matrix showed that the application of the classification functions resulted in the correct classification of 78% in both subsets of data of the cases in the analysis, 5.) The accuracy of the classification for both subsets of data was particularly good among the actual members of the Affirm Profile where in the case the first half of the data 88% and the second half of the data 86% were correctly classified using the respective models. It was also fairly good among the actual members of the AF-SS (with 59% correctly classified using the model generated from the first half of the data and 68% correcly classified in the model generated from the second half of the data), Select (with 70% correctly classified using the model generated from the first half of the data and 72% from the model generated from the second half of the data), and SF-AS (with 76% correctly classified using the model generated from the first half of the data and 79% correctly classified using the model from the second half of the data). The only substantial deviation was the drop from 67% in the main model to 59% correctly classified in the AF-SS using the model generated from the first half of the data. This is probably explained by the fact that a little less than 1/4 of the Matrics located in the AF-SS Profile were from Xolilizwe and Nondwe high schools, which were not included in the first half of the data.

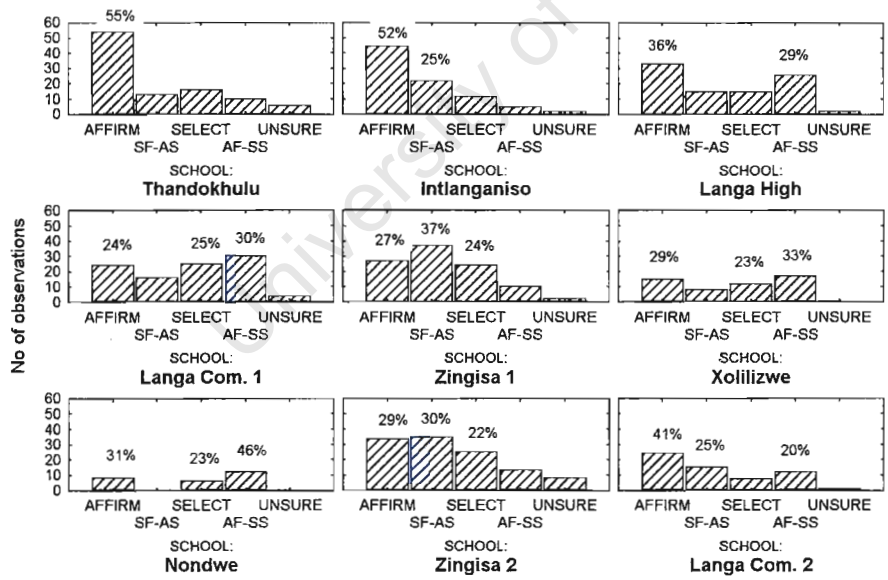
Fig. 2: Scatterplot of the Canonical Scores Derived from the Discriminant Analysis Model.



We now inspect the participants in each school according to their profiles.

4.4 THE MATRICS IN EACH SCHOOL BY PROFILE

Fig. 3: Bar Charts Showing the Profile Distribution of the Matrics in Each School



Note: 1.) Only percentages ≥20 are shown. 2.) The Non Specific Profile is not included.

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Observations:

- Substantial numbers of Matrics in all the schools were located in the Affirm profile. However, the Affirm Profile was by far the most dominant among the Matrics from Thandokhulu and Intlanganiso with over 50% of the respondents in these schools locating in this profile.
- The schools where the AF-SS Profile was the most dominant included Langa Comprehensive (1), Xolilizwe, and Nondwe where 30% or more of the Matrics located in this profile. The AF-SS Profile was also prominent among the Matrics in Langa High and Langa Comprehensive (2). The AF-SS Profile hardly featured at all among the respondents from the other schools.
- Zingisa (both group 1 and group 2) was the only school where the SF-AS Profile was the most dominate profile (30% or more of the Matrics located in this profile).
- The schools where the Select profile was prominent (i.e. more than 20% of the respondents located in this profile) included Langa Comprehensive (1), Zingisa (1), Zingisa (2), Xolilizwe and Nondwe.

Some Comments on the Distribution of Profiles that Characterise Each of the Schools

We observed that over half the respondents in Thandokhulu and Intlanganiso High Schools located in the Affirm Profile. Table 2, above, shows that the overwhelming majority of these Matrics were first or second generation urban dwellers. Of those who indicated the name of their birthplace a little over half in each of these schools were first generation urban dwellers[27] who were born in Eastern Province[28]. This is consistent with the typical young person from Khayelitsha township which we know to be the home of many of the Matrics in these two schools.

The relative dominance of the AF-SS Profile in the two rural schools of Xolilizwe and Nondwe was to be expected. Table 2, above, shows that none of the respondents from

[27] Of the respondents in these two schools who recorded the number of years they had spent residing in an urban area 56% wrote four or less years.

[28] The Eastern Province is largely made up of small towns and villages. The rural areas are sometimes referred to as the Transkei and Ciskei. Most *isi*Xhosa-speaking people have historical links with this area.

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these schools were urban dwellers. However, the prominence of the AF-SS in the two schools from Langa township is particularly noteworthy. Fig.3, above, shows that almost a third of the respondents from Langa High and Langa Comprehensive 1 were located in the AF-SS Profile. Table 2 shows that the overwhelming majority of the respondents from Langa High (80%), Langa Comprehensive 1 (96%) and Langa Comprehensive 2 (78%) were second generation or third generation urban dwellers. Most were born in Cape Town[29]. This suggests that from among our respondents those who were well established urban dwellers from Langa township were reclaiming and asserting their traditional cultural identity.

While there were substantial numbers of respondents from both Zingisa High groups who located in the Affirm and Select Profiles the relative dominance of those who located in the SF-AS is noteworthy. The overwhelming majority of the respondents in both groups of Matrics from this school were first and second generation urban dwellers. Although a substantial number of respondents (26%) in Zingisa 2 were third generation urban dwellers. The relative dominance of the SF-AS Profile in Zingisa High is significant. Umtata is a small urban centre surrounded by villages that make up what was previously known as the Transkei. Herein lies the reason for a substantial number of the Matrics in Zingisa High locating in the SF-AS Profile. Many living in Umtata seem to experience added pressure to assimilate an urban life-style brought about by the need to create cultural distance to compensate for the lack of geographical distance between the city and rural villages. It is almost as if they are in an imaginary castle surrounded by rural villages and they feel the overwhelming need to pull up the drawbridge to experience the life within the castle walls.

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4.5 PROFILES OF THE MATRICS' RESPONSES TO THE STORY VARIABLES

Method of Analysis

The Matrics' responses to the story variables took the form of Likert Scale scores from 1-10. In this section we summarise the responses their (collapsed into three categories

[29] Of the respondents from Langa High 65% indicated that they are born in Cape Town.

"Agree", "Uncertain" and "Disagree") profile by profile. The Faku and Sipho story variables are grouped according to the themes we generated in Chapter 3 to form what we call "mega variables". Each mega variable effectively aggregates the variables that constitute it. We use this to facilitate the presentation of the findings. Where, however, constituent variables differ substantially from the mega variable which they comprise we will highlight this in the presentation of the findings.

The names we gave to the Mega variables are as follows:

From Faku's Story:

- Communalism
- Monism
- Traditional Social Features
- God of the Ancestors
- No Chance
- Becoming An Ancestor
- Grand Pattern
- Cyclical Time
- Fit Into (Mode of Engagement)
- Traditional Spiritual Explanations
- Vital Force

From Sipho's Story:

- Individualism
- Dualism
- Social Motivation
- Personal God
- Chance
- Going To Heaven
- Grand Purpose
- Linear Time
- Take-Hold-and-Shape (Mode of Engagement)
- Secularity
- Goals
- Seek Belonging

Fig.4 and Fig.5 below show the profiles of the Matrics' responses to the mega variables.

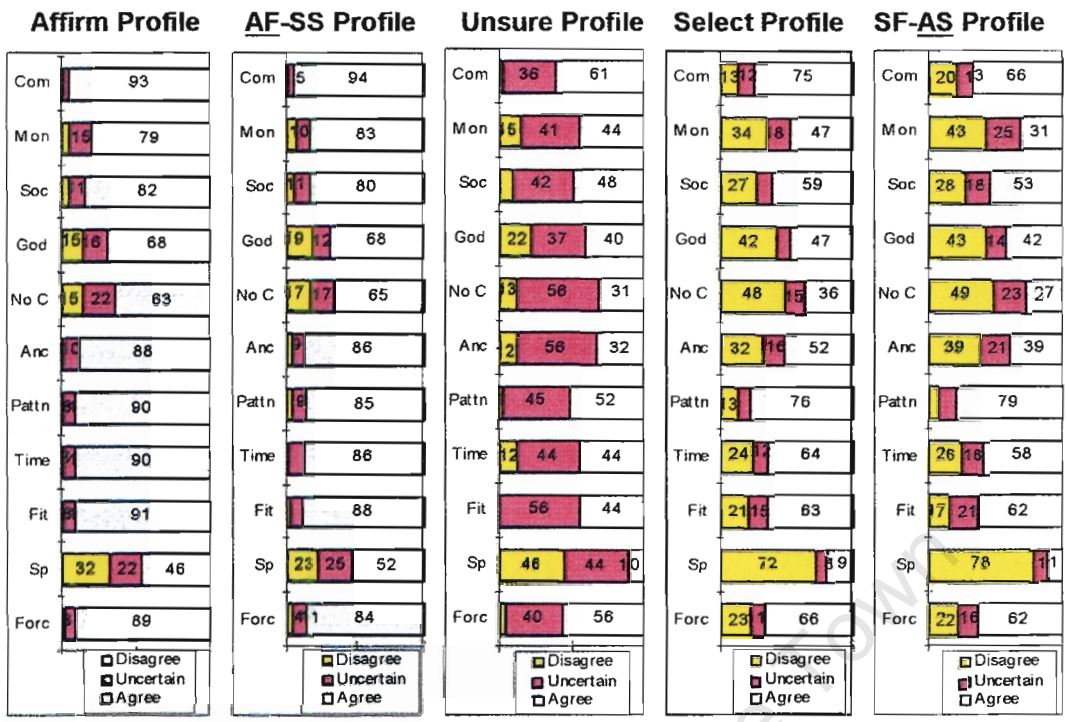
To the percentage spread of the responses to the story variables across the three categories we add extracts from the in-depth group interviews in an attempt to provide a picture of the Matrics located in each profile. With the exception of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile who barely participated in the discussions, the responses of those who actively participated[30] in the in-depth interviews to the story variables were similar to the responses of the sample of Matrics located in each of the profiles.[31] Therefore the extracts from their interviews, which we include below, are seen to add to our understanding of the profiles as a whole. Time constraints and the interests of the

[30] Of the 43 Matrics involved in the interviews 30 participated regularly and actively. Their individual responses to each story variable and mega variable are recorded in Tables A5, A6, A8, A10 in Appendix 3.

[31] Tables A5 and A6 in Appendix 3 show the similarity in the *pattern* of responses to the story variables of all the Matrics in the Affirm Profile and those who participated in the interviews. To compare the *pattern* of responses of all the Matrics in each of the other profiles with those who participated in the interviews see Tables A7 - A10 also in Appendix 3.

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Fig. 4. Bar Charts of the Matrics' Responses to the Faku Story Mega Variables



Note: 1.) Where the category is too small the percentage does not show. This also applies to Fig. 5, below.
2.) Missing data is not shown.
Chart Key: Com = Community; Mon = Monism; Soc = Traditional Social Features; God = God of the Ancestors; No C = No Chance; Anc = Becoming an Ancestor; Pattn = Grand Pattern; Time = Cyclical Time; Fit = Fit Into; Sp = Traditional Spiritual Explanations; Forc = Vital Force

Fig. 5. Bar Charts of the Matrics' Responses to the Sipho Story Mega Variables

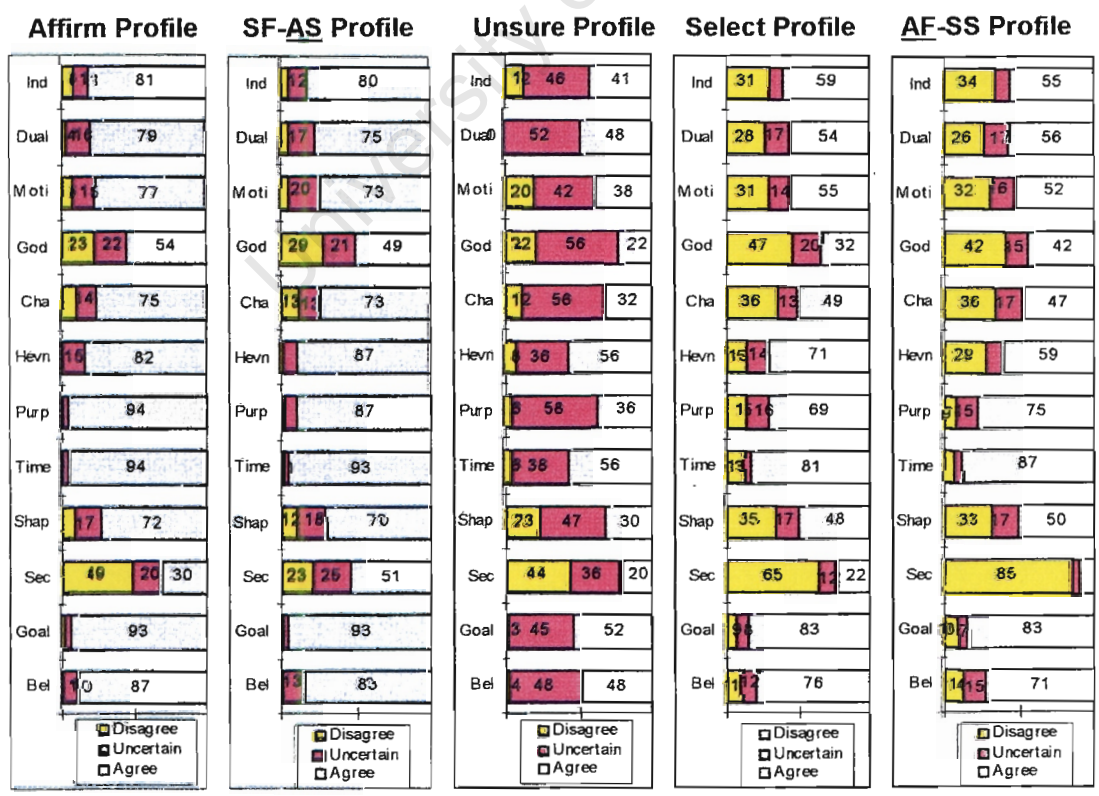


Chart Key: Ind = Individualism; Dual = Dualism; Moti = Social Motivation; God = Personal God; Cha = Chance; Hevn = Going to Heaven; Purp = Grand Purpose; Time = Linear Time; Shap = Take-Hold-and-Shape; Sec = Secularity; Goal = Goals; Bel = Seek Belonging

Matrics, however, prevented us from asking the Matrics in the group interviews to respond to each and every variable.

In general we shall be dealing with the profiles comparatively, except in the case of the Affirm Profile, which we will now present on its own, though later we will compare it to the other profiles. We start with the Affirm Profile for the following reasons:

i. Whereas each of the other profiles is in itself a strategy for negotiating world-view and identity, the Affirm Profile is not. The Affirm Profile represents an experience of competing world-views, where the respondents embrace both paradigms and find it difficult to opt for one or the other. The situation of competing world-views and potential identity fragmentation represented by this profile is complex and requires careful examination. It was only on closer inspection and with the help of extracts from in-depth group interviews that certain strategies emerged. Some of these strategies seem to be the beginnings of a move to the strategies represented by the other profiles.

ii. The choices that the respondents in the other profiles made and the strategies they adopted are better appreciated once the problem of trying to embrace both paradigms is established.

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Findings

We first present collectively the profiles of the Matrics' responses to the story variables. We do this to get an overall picture of the patterns of responses of the Matrics located in the different profiles and to show the similarities and differences between the profiles. While we are interested in comparing all the profiles, our particular focus on the Affim Profile and how it compares with the others has led us to place it first in Fig.4 and Fig.5 below.

Observations and Comments about the Matrics' Responses to the Story Variables

On the whole the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported the Faku Story Mega Variables, the Unsure Profile was the most "Uncertain", and the Select and SF-AS profiles were the most critical. A similar pattern emerged in the responses to the Sipho Story Mega Variables but there is one major difference. The AF-SS and the SF-AS profiles changed places, with the AF-SS the most critical of Sipho's Story Mega Variables and the SF-AS supporting the Sipho's Story Mega Variables.

A number of other patterns emerged.

Given our criteria for locating the Matrics in the various profiles we expected some Matrics, who on the whole affirmed the story, to respond in the "Disagree" and "Uncertain" ranges to some of the mega variables. What we did not expect was the high level of agreement among these Matrics over which mega variables they did not support.

We discovered the following in their responses to the Faku Story mega variables:

- Substantial numbers of Matrics in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles did not support (i.e. responded in the "Disagree" and "Uncertain" ranges) the God of the Ancestors, the No Chance and the Traditional Spiritual Explanations mega variables
- These were the same mega variables that were among the least supported by the other profiles with more Matrics in the Unsure Profile "Uncertain" rather than "Disagreeing" and more Matrics in the Select and SF-AS profiles "Disagreeing" than "Uncertain".
- Conversely the Communalism, the Grand Pattern, the Fit Into and the Vital Force mega variables were the most supported.

We observed a similar trend in the Matrics' responses to the Sipho Story mega variables.

- Substantial numbers of Matrics in the Affirm and SF-AS profiles did not support the Personal God, the Chance and the Secularity mega variables.
- These were the same mega variables that were among the least supported by the other profiles, with more Matrics in the Unsure Profile "Uncertain" rather than

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"Disagreeing" and more Matrics in the Select and AF-SS profiles "Disagreeing" than "Uncertain".

- Conversely the Going to Heaven, the Grand Purpose, the Linear Time, the Goals and the Seek Belonging mega variables were the most supported.

It would seem that while there are substantial differences between the profiles a common culture is shared by the Matrics irrespective of the profile in which they located.

We now turn to the Affirm Profile followed by a comparison of the profiles.

4.5.1 The Affirm Profile in Detail

4.5.1.1 The Faku Story Variables

The Communalism Mega Variable

The Communalism Mega Variable aggregates variables F1 Interdependence statement, F2 *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*, F16 I will correct my neglect of the Ancestors by performing a ritual, F26 It is better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves, F27 Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings.

Fig.4 shows that the overwhelming majority (93%) of the Matrics located in the Affirm Profile supported Communalism. The two aspects of communalism raised in the group interviews were the interdependency reflected in variable F26 and the social sanctioning role of the Ancestors to perpetuate the ideology of communalism tested in variable F27.

The remarks of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile during the interviews revealed that while the interdependence dimension of communalism was greatly valued their views of how it applies in modern society differed.

A number of themes emerged from the remarks made by these Matrics.

i.) Communal interdependence is the natural way.

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PE, DM and MB were among those who believed in the traditional ideal that it was "better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves".

PE summed up their views about the interdependency of human existence when she said: "...*kuthiwa: ' intaka yakha ngoboya' "* **[It is said: 'A bird builds its nest with other birds' feathers]** (File 10A2 Text Units 55-70) quoting a well known *isi*Xhosa saying.

MB longed for the restoration of the spirit of communalism he believed was practised by his forefathers. In the following extract MB decries the selfishness of modern society and calls for a return to a golden age before the influence of Western values and Christianity:

> *Noko ngathi kungabhetele ukuba sinokusebenzisana. Umntu angibi nguhlohle-sakhe. Kuba kudala ngela xesha lobaw' omkhulu wayethi umntu ukuba ngaba unenkomo ezilishumi, umelwana wakhe akananko mo. Amnike inkunzi nemazi kuba ziza kuzala eza nkomo, umelwane abe nenkomo.. Ngela xesha lika Qamata, ngoku ayisenzeki ngoku.Ukuba umntu unemali unethousand rand ebhankeni uza kumhleka umwelwana ukuba akanayo.* **Things would be better if we could work together. People ought not to think constantly of enriching only themselves. In the days of my grandfather if a person had many livestock and his neighbour had none, he would give the neighbour a cow and a bull in order for the neighbour to start producing his own livestock. That was during the times we worshipped the God of our Ancestors. Nowadays it's not done. When a person has R1000 in the bank the person looks down upon his neighbour, he laughs at his neighbour who has no money.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 563)

ii.) Poor communities rely on a culture of interdependence for survival.

NV associated the sharing of limited resources and interdependency with the culture of poverty in her own community. The following extract reflects this practical view of interdependence as a survival strategy and suggests that it would be abandoned once people became financially independent:

> NV: *Ndiyangqinelana nalento ibhalwe apha. Kuba sometime wena akunayo imali kufuneka uboleke komnye umtu. Kufuneka laa mntu akunike imali, ukwazi naye xa enganamali aboleke apha kuwe.* **I agree with what is written here. Because sometimes you do not have money and you have to borrow money from someone. That person will give you the money for he/she knows that when he/she does not have money he/she can borrow from you.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units: 558 - 578)

iii.) Communalism does not always work in practice where individualism dominates

Some like PT and NZ supported communalism as an ideal but recognised that today there are problems applying communalism when individualism seems so dominant. They seemed to experience the tension of living with the individualising pressure to look out for oneself in a less than ideal world and wanting to believe in community.

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In the following extract PT explains that in principle she supported the idea that people should seek to always work together, but she was not convinced that in practice this was always possible:

Ningasebenzisana kodwa ke ungoyami kakhulu. Kuba kaloku umntu ngumntu uyinjika mpethu. ...Ungasebenzisana naye umntu xa ufuna ukuseka iqela elithile noba lelebhola, ucinge ukuba kufuneka nibe banye, nabantwana kufuneka babe ne uniform ethile. Kodwa ke kuzothi phambili kwa aba bantu osebenzisana nabo babe nomona, kuthiwe uzenza bhetele ngenxa yoba yeza nawe lento. **You can work together but not get too close. Because you know how people are, they are fickle. ...You can work with certain people when you are forming a group, be it soccer, thinking that you must be one, the team should have their specific uniform. But then later on when everything is going fine the very same people you are working with become jealous and say of you that you think you know better because you introduced the idea.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 300 -322)

iv.) The Ancestors are the guardians of social harmony.

PT and NV were among those who believed that the "Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings". In the following extract PT focuses on the effect of the ancestor's blessings as an incentive to "do good":

PT: *Ndingqinelana kakhulu, ngoba izinyanya zijongile noba uhamba phina noba ukweyiphi na imeko. Uye uzibone ukwiqondo eliphezulu wena owenzela abanye abantu izinto ezintle.* **I strongly agree because the Ancestors are looking at you wherever you go and in whatever condition you find yourself. You'll see yourself in a better position when you do good things for other people.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 323-338)

NV, however, viewed the fear of punishment by the Ancestors as an incentive not to do "bad things". She said:

Nam ndiyangqinelana nalento kuba akukho sinyanya sinokufuna wenze into embi kwabanye abantu. Kuba naso siyakusuke sikunike, ufumane i-bad luck. **I fully agree with this because no ancestor would allow you to do bad things to other people. Because the ancestor will abandon you once you do that and you'll be exposed to bad luck.**

(File: 10C123 Text Units: 579-593)

The way PT and NV articulated the role of the Ancestors in maintaining social harmony corresponds with their remarks later on about social motivation (see responses to the Social Motivation Mega Variable).

The Monism Mega Variable

The Monism Mega Variable aggregates variables F3 Ancestors ensure health/well being, F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have, F14 Ancestral spirits live in rivers, and F15 Ancestors are important in my life.

Fig.4 shows that a large majority (79%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Monism Mega Variable, although a substantial number (15%) of the Matrics located

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in this profile were "Uncertain" about monism. This is to be expected because the monism variables, in general, but F14 in particular, are more overtly traditional and religious statements. We suspect that some respondents thought that support for extremely traditional religious statements such as "Ancestral spirits live in rivers" was "backward"[32] .

There were three broad responses to variable F14.

There were those who were aware that others spoke of the ancestral spirits inhabiting the natural environment but they had no first-hand experience to confirm this religious belief. NV represented this view. She said: "*...Ewe, zikhona izinto ezinjalo apha kodwa andibhilivi kuzo*" **[Yes, there are things like that here but I can't say I personally believe in these things]** (File 10C123 Text Unit 1023) meaning that she did not believe in their power over her.

There were others, like CT who said: "*Andiyazi*" **[I don't really know much about this belief]** (File 10C123 Text Unit 1023).

Then there were those like NZ who were not convinced that Ancestors lived in rivers, mountains or forests. She said: "*Hayikho*" **[There is no such thing]** (File 10C123 Text Unit 1023).

Three themes about the Ancestors and therefore about monism, emerged from the remarks made during the interviews by the Matrics located in the Affirm Profile. These themes revolve around how immediate the Ancestors are.[33]

i.) The Ancestors are part and parcel of cultural life

PE and MB were among those who supported the beliefs about Ancestors because it is part and parcel of their cultural heritage and their upbringing. PE explains, in the following extract, that she has grown up believing in the Ancestors who are an integral part of her family's ritual life and her cultural identity:

> *Because i-culture yethu ixhomekeke like abantu bakudala bakuthi babekholelwa kwizinyanya. Nam ndiyakholelwa because nasekhaya abantu bayakholelwa kuzo because uthi akwenza into yakwenzeka lanto abulele izinyanya, nawe uqonde ikhona lento ezinyanya...* **Because our culture is dependent upon this. The generations of the old among us believed in the Ancestors. I also believe because my family also performs rituals of thanksgiving - you too in time will understand that there are Ancestors...**
>
> (File 10A1 Text Units 43 -53)

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[32] The *isi*Xhosa word *uliqaba* means backward. This derogatory term is used by some people, who regard themselves as urban and socially upwardly mobile, to describe a country bumpkin. This sounds like Wilson's Red People - School People dichotomy. See De Wet (1994) pp. 139f.

[33] See the debate below about sacred space and mobility of the Ancestors as people move from their ancestral home in the villages to townships and suburbs in the cities.

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MB's response to F3 Ancestors ensure health/well being reveals his general view of the Ancestors. He argues in the following extract that his belief in the Ancestors is the continuation of his family tradition:

...Uthetha ukuba ndibuqiniseka kakhulu ngalento itshiwoyo apha. Kuba ndikhule obawo mkhlulu bekholelwa kwizinyanya. So andiyiboni kakuhle ukuba mna ndingangakholelwa kuzo, babe bona bewenza amasiko wabo. Beqinisekisa ukuba bayakholelwa kwizinyanya. ... **I'm very certain about what is being spoken of here. Because when I was growing up my elders believed in the Ancestors. So I don't see why I should not believe in my Ancestors when they saw to it that their rituals and customs were being practised. They made sure that we believe in our Ancestors and such practices.**

(File 10C123 Text Unit 150)

ii.) The Ancestors are somewhere in the background.

The second category consists of those like CT and NZ who supported an abstract notion of "the Ancestors" but were not certain about the specific role of the Ancestors in their lives as they could not speak from personal experience about the Ancestors' influence.

CT is an example of a student in the Affirm Profile who weakly supported the Monism variables. In the following extract she explains that although she has not personally experienced the Ancestors, others whom she trusts have:

...ndiyakholwa... [kodwa] ayikabikho into endinokuthi, eyenzekileyo, ndithi hayi uyabona le into ndiyenzelwe zizinyanya zakuthi. Ndiyakholelwa kuba zikhona zikhona. Bakhona abantu abathi bayaphupha abanje gamagqirha, like abantu baphuphayo. Ukhona omnye esasifunda naye kwa Std. 8, wayethwasa. Wayesithi uyaphupha, axelelwe ngumakhulu wakhe owasweleka kudala angazange ambone yena. Amxelele ukuba makathini. So ndaqonda ukuba nyani izinyanya zikhona. **I believe... [but] there's not one single thing that has happened in my life, for me to say this one my Ancestors did it for me. I do [however] believe that they exist. There are other people who say they dream [about them] they are like *amagqirha* [traditional healers] like people who are forever dreaming about things. There is one student with whom we were studying in Std. 8 who was being prepared for the work of *igqirha* [traditional healer]. She used to tell us that she would dream and in these dreams her grandmother, who had passed away many years ago and whom she had not met, communicated with her. She would tell her what to do. So it is then that I truly believed that Ancestors do exist.**

(File: 10C123 Text Units: 383 - 404)

In the following extract NZ reveals her vacillating view of the Ancestors:

Izinyanya - andikholelwa kuzo ndiphinde ndikholwe. Ndikhule kuthethwa ngazo kodwa andizange ndazibona. Ukuze ndikholwa kuzo kufuneka ndizibone. **Ancestors - I do not believe in them, and then again I do believe in them. When I was growing up people spoke about them but I have never seen them. For me to really believe I have to see them.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 164)

In the following extract, however, she indicates that she is aware that to ignore the Ancestors could have dire consequences:

Kufuneka uwenzile amasiko yonke into ekufuneka yenziwe, ukwenzela zingakwenzeli amashwa, zikushwabulele ugule okanye mhlawumbi ugilwe ziimoto. **You are supposed to perform all your traditional rituals [to honour the Ancestors], so that you do not have bad luck. They can cause you to have bad luck, [for example] you may fall ill or be involved in a car accident.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 383 - 404)

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iii.) The Ancestors are divine mediators in an hierarchical belief system with *Thixo* (the God of the Bible) at the head.

PT and NV were among those who have moved from an exclusively traditional world-view and tried to integrate their belief in the Ancestors and Christianity. PT for example, viewed the Ancestors as mediators through which one relates to God. She has almost moved from the traditional immediacy of spirit world and the presence of the Ancestors in this world as the living dead to a transcendent God and spiritual world found in Christian theology. These signs of a move to dualism with the Ancestors functioning as intermediaries sounds like what has been called "growing transcendence" which is evident among people whose world-view is in transition from monism to a dualism.

PT enthusiastically supported all the variables that referred to the Ancestors. In the following extract she describes how she combines Christian biblical texts, the Ancestors and her perception of God into a theology that views the Ancestors as a medium through which one can relate to God:

> *Ndikholelwa kakhulu mna ezinyanyeni, kuba kaloku ibingabantu ebesinabo apha phakathi kwethu baza ke basweleka. Ithi ke nencwadi xa ithetha, incwadi yebhayibhile, qala uthande lo mntu usecaleni kwakho wandule ke ngoku uthande uThixo, nokumthobela. Nokumenzela imbeko umntu lo ombona ngamehlo, uyakukwazi ukumenzela noThixo.* **I strongly believe in the Ancestors because they were the people who were living among us prior to their passing away. So says the Book, that is the Bible, first of all you must love these people who are close to you and in doing so you are able to love God, to worship/obey Him. In giving respect to those people that you have seen with your own eyes you are respecting God whom you are not able to see.**
>
> (File 10B1&2 Text Units 51 - 72)

NV seemed to believe that God and the Ancestors were linked in a hierarchical system that influences human life and where final authority was attributed to God. With reference to the protective role of the Ancestors in F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have she said:

> *Ndiyakholwa ukuba izinyanya zisijongile. But nakwenicala, uThixo uyasijongene. Ndibhiliva kakhulu kwizinyanya...* **I believe that the Ancestors are looking after us. But on the other hand God is also looking after us. Nevertheless, I greatly believe in the Ancestors.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 225 - 250)

There are two forms of encroachment on the traditional belief system. One is the secular challenge and the other, as the above has shown, is mainly Christianity. We will return to this later where we deal with the Spiritual Explanations and Secularity Mega Variables.

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The Traditional Social Features Mega Variable

The Traditional Social Features Mega Variable aggregates the responses to variables F5 Children are our wealth, F6 Fertility, obedience and hard work, F7 Women agree they should be fertile etc., F21 Older people to be respected by the youth and F22 The old pass on traditions.

The overwhelming majority (82%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the traditional social features, although a small but substantial number (11%) responded in the "Uncertain" range.

The pattern of the responses in variable F7 Women agree they should be fertile etc. deviates substantially from that of the mega variable shown in Fig.4 above. F7 was supported by 63% with 12% responding in the "Disagree" range and 20% in the "Uncertain" range (5%[34] did not answer the question). Fewer respondents obviously thought that women would agree with their traditional domestic role. If we consider all those who did not support F7 we conclude that almost a third of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile thought that there must be tension between the demands of the tradition and a more liberated role of women in society today.

In view of the deviation from the mega variable of the pattern of responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to constituent variable F7 we suspected that the female respondents may have differered significantly from the male respondents in the way they responded to the variable. A Mann-Whitney U Test for unpaired data was used to test for a significant difference in the mean values for female and male responses to variable F7. The results of the hypothesis test showed a p-value of 0.1 indicating that there was no significant difference in the means of F7 grouped according to GENDER. Table 4 below shows how similar the responses of the female and male respondents to variable F7 were.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics of the Responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to Variable F7 According to Gender

	Means	Std.Dev.	n
FEMALE	7.5	2.6	152
MALE	7.0	2.4	91
All Grps	7.3	2.5	243

[34] The missing data is only mentioned if sizeable i.e. >2% of the respondents.

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The attitude of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to traditional social roles fell into two categories: those who wholly supported the traditional roles and those who qualified their support for these roles.

i.) The prescribed traditional social roles provide people with a sense of who they are.

PT, PE and NV represented those who supported traditional gender roles for whom "*...umfazi ozalayo ulungile, othobelayo nokhutheleyo enzele azophatheka kakuhle emzini* **[a woman is to be fertile, obedient and hardworking as this will result in her being especially well cared for by the husband's family]**" (File 10B1&2 Text Units 72 - 90). PE presented the traditional view when she said: *Kuthiwa umfazi ngumfazi ngokuzala emzini.* **[It is said that a woman is only really a woman by bearing children for the home/lineage of the husband.]** (File 10A1 Text Units 64 - 76).

The overwhelming majority of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the traditional role of the elderly. NV explains in the following extract that the status of "elderly" is derived from their being closer to the Ancestors:

> *Ewe abantu abadala kufuneka bahlonitshwe kuba bayafana nezinyanya.* **We must respect the elderly because they are similar to the Ancestors.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 1152 - 1154)

In the following extract MB supports the traditional view that the elderly are the guardians of the tradition:

> *Inkonde sifanele ukuba sizilungisele, sikwazi ukudlulisa amasiko kulutsha. Ukwenzela ukuba amasiko nezithethe zakwaXhosa zingaz' kuphela. So xa nothi inkonde ezo zingawadlulisi amasiko nezithethe ezo, lwathi luvela ulutsha lolutsha abe sele etshabalele amasiko nezithethe. ...***When it comes to the elderly we must facilitate their passing on the tradition and the culture to the youth of today. We must do it to ensure that the traditions and the customs of the Xhosa people remain and do not become extinct. If this process were not to take place our children would not know about our traditions and customs.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 500 – 520)

ii.) Modernise those aspects of traditional social roles that are out-moded.

Some like CT have modernised aspects of the traditional role of women. For CT the traditional view of having many children was unacceptable in modern society. In the following dialogue CT experiences pressure from NM to conform to her traditional role as a woman and to uphold the view that "children are our wealth":

> CT: *Kuyafuneka ukuba akhuthale umfazi. But ke nam ndiyangqina kuMonwabisi angazali kakhulu, kufuneka azale but not kuba baza kujika babe baninzi aba bantwana. Then ke ngoku ningakwazi ukuba nika ikamva.* **It is necessary that a wife be a diligent worker. But I also agree with Monwabisi that she must not give birth too often. She should bear children but not have many of then. As she will not be able to give them a future. ...No way do I want to have ten children! No one person is better than the other because she gives birth more often, you will simply get old.**
> NV: *Ndiza kumnika kuba lilungelo lakhe elo kaloku.* **I'll give my husband [as many as he wants] because it is his right of course.**
> CT: *Never, ANDISOZE MNA.* **Never, me I will NEVER [do that]!**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 251 – 291)

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TB reveals the latent tension that exists if one tries to embrace both paradigms. TB wants to give the elderly the respect the tradition requires of him but modern industrial views of the elderly contradict this. In the following extract he expresses his frustration with the older generation's reluctance to move with the times:

> *Abantu abadala, kuyafuneka kukholelwe kubo, kodwa abafuni ukuhambelana nexesha. Mhlawumbe umntu usafuna ukugcina izinto zakudala ngexesha aphile kulo nexesha esiphila kulo kuphinde kubekhona ungquzulwano.* **Elderly people, we need to acknowledge them but they do not want to move with the times. Perhaps the elderly want to live in the past but we are living in the present and this is the cause of conflict.**
>
> (File: 10A2 Text Units: 17 - 37)

The "God of the Ancestors" Mega Variable

The God of the Ancestors[35] Mega Variable aggregates variables F8 *Qamata* made earth & everything; F9 *Qamata* is far away; F10 Pray to and praise *Qamata*; and F12 Only communicate with *Qamata* during crisis.

Fig.4 shows that while a majority (68%) of Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable, small but substantial numbers responded in the "Uncertain" range (16%) and in the "Disagree" range (15%).

The pattern of the responses to variables F9 and F10 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable as a whole. Only 44% of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported F9, with 32% in the "Disagree" range, 23% in the "Uncertain" range. However, the overwhelming majority (89%) supported F10.

A number of themes emerged from the comments of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile.

i.) *Qamata* (the God of the Ancestors) is another name for *Thixo* (the God of the Bible). It would appear from the discussions that many Matrics did not distinguish conceptually between *Qamata* (the pre-missionary notion of God) and *Thixo*. UN summed up the lack of distinction when she said: *"uNkulukulu*[36] *ikwa nguThixo mosi* **[Surely the God of our Ancestors is the God of the Bible]**" (File ZII-2 Text Unit 309).

It would seem that Christianity has influenced these Matrics' views of God but not to the point where they believe in a personal transcendent God. The real test is the extent to

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[35] *Isi*Xhosa speaking South Africans do not talk of "the God of the Ancestors" when speaking English but use the venacular *Qamata* when they want to differentiate between the pre-missionary notions of God and the God of the Bible who is called *Thixo*.

[36] *uNkulunkulu* is another Nguni word for *Qamata*.

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which they support a vital force as opposed to a personal God. We will refer to this in the next section when we deal with the Personal God Mega Variable in Sipho's Story.

ii.) *Qamata* (the God of the Ancestors) is somewhere in the background.
NV, NZ, KY and MB represented different views of *Qamata* but they all agreed he was distant and removed from their immediate lives.

Some, like NV, seemed to make a distinction between *Qamata* and *Thixo* as if they were two different gods. They seem to think that *Qamata* had withdrawn into the background, and was hardly known, while Thixo had taken his place at a more interactive personal level. NV explains:

> *...Yha uQamata uchasene nathi kuba ngoku siye sisebenzisane noThixo. Phofu kum ke ukuba ndinengxaki ndiye ndicele kuye ndithandaze yabona, ezinye izinto ziye zenzeke. Andikholwa kakhulu kuQamata, kuba izinto zoQamata andiza mna...* **Yes *Qamata* is no longer supporting us. Because we are now praying to *Thixo*. But if I have a problem and I go and pray to *Thixo* some of the things I pray for do happen. I do not believe much in *Qamata* because I do not know *Qamata*.**
>
> (File10123 Text Unit 320)

Some like NZ admitted that they avoided getting to know more about *Qamata*. NZ said in this regard:

> *uQamata - andimazi kodwa ndibaleka...* ***Qamata* - I do not know him/her but the truth is I am running away.**
>
> (File 10123 Text Units 293-357)

KY was among those who likened *Qamata* to a chief ancestor. She said:

> uQamata akango mntu umbonayo ukwazi uthethe naye sisinyanya kutshiwo. ***Qamata* is not someone whom you see or you are able to talk to. He is like an ancestor, or so it is said.**
>
> (File10C123 Text Unit 376)

MB attempts to explain in the following extract that communication with or worship of *Qamata* is not personal and interactive, as practised by Christians when they worship God:

> *Nto leyo ethatha ukuthi uQamata naye wawukhonza nje entweni. Nje ngokuba noThixo ekhonzwa eCaweni kungathethwa naye ngqo. Naye ke kwakuthethwa naye nje, kukhwaze kuthiwe uQamata akuphendule.* **This means that one does not worship *Qamata* as if he were a person. It is not like *Thixo* worshipped in Church to whom you can speak directly. You can try talking to the *Qamata*, you can shout, however he will not answer you.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 381)

iii.) *Qamata* is the only true God and needs to be reclaimed as such.
MB represented those who wished to assert the traditional African notion of God as *Qamata* over the christianised notion of God, which they feel has replaced the traditional notion. In the following extract he argues for *Qamata* and against *Thixo*:

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Ndithetha ukuba ndikholelwa ngapha ngakuQamata. ...Ewe ndivile, xa besithi aba mazi uQamata, nam ndiza kubaxele ukuba andimazi uThixo. Ngoba ndiyava ngoThixo ndivile nangoQamata into awayenzayo. UThixo yena noko, ndiyava abantu bemkhonza kodwa andiboni misebenzi eyenziwe nguThixo. **What I am saying is that I believe in the whole idea of *Qamata* ...Yes I have heard others say they don't know *Qamata*, me I would tell them I don't know Thixo. I have been told about this *Thixo*, I have also heard about what *Qamata* previously did. I've heard that people worship Thixo but I am yet to see the deeds of Thixo.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 293 - 357)

The No Chance Mega Variable

The Closed System Mega Variable aggregates variables F17 Balance upset something caused this, F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual, and F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune.

Fig.4 shows that while a majority (63%) of Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Closed System Mega Variable, as a whole, substantial numbers responded in the "Uncertain" range (22%) and in the "Disagree" range (15%).

The pattern of the responses by the Matrics in the Affirm profile to F17 Balance upset someone/thing caused this deviated substantially from that of the mega variable as a whole. The overwhelming majority (87%) supported F17, with 11% in the "Uncertain" range and only 2% in the "Disagree" range. The pattern of responses to F18 someone else performing more powerful ritual also deviated substantially from that of the mega variable, with only 48% supporting and 27% in the "Uncertain" range and 25% in the "Disagree" range.

The majority of the Matrics located in the Affirm Profile were inclined to opt for a closed system of cause and effect with no room for chance. This is substantiated by the overwhelming support for F17 (87%) among the Matrics in the Affirm Profile.

Some like PT seemed to discriminate between trivial misfortune and misfortune that requires an explanation because it does not happen by chance. In the following extract she talks about misfortune that calls for an explanation, indicating that trivial experiences of bad luck are excluded from this system of cause and effect.

...Qha kuye kwenzeke iintshukumo ubone ukuba azihambi kakuhle izinto zakho. De omnye umntu athethe yedwa umve ethi inoba yintoni na bethu le engahambi kakuhle. Kuba nemizamo yam ayiphumeleli inoba ikhona into.....Ayenzeki lonke ixesha. Ithand'ukuba mhlawumbe aph'enyangeni okanye evekini yenzeka kabini. Iphinde kwenye iveki wothuswe ngenye into. ...Imibuzo yam ithi: Iinoba yintoni lento ingalunganga indilandelayo okanye izakundehlela. **You nevertheless see that things are not going well. There are other people who go to the extent of talking to themselves and asking themselves why things do not go well for them. Even their best efforts do not succeed, therefore, there must be something behind this. It doesn't happen all the time. It can happen perhaps during the month or even during the week on two occasions. And then again after a week. I ask myself: What is it that makes this that is not good to follow me or to not go away?**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 196 - 218)

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We will comment later on this when we present the responses to S10 don't waste much time finding out why which is the contra-question in Sipho's Story.

Some like PT seemed to think that it is very important to find the cause of misfortune although there seems to be some difference of opinion as to what exactly constitutes "misfortune". The difference lay in how they deal with misfortune.

A number of themes emerged from the in-depth group interviews.

i.) Misfortune is due to the neglect of one's Ancestors and one needs to perform a ritual to appease them.

In the following extract NV links misfortune to the neglect of the Ancestors and the need to restore the balance in the system with the performance of a traditional ritual sacrifice:

> *Kufuneka uqonde. Uxhele wenze elo siko lifunekayo mhlawumbi.* **You need to know what is happening. You therefore need to slaughter a sheep or goat and perform a traditional ritual that is maybe needed.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 405 - 422)

ii.) Misfortune is caused by *something* rather than *someone* bewitching a person.

We notice from the pattern of responses to F18 someone else performing more powerful ritual and F20 witches or bad spirits caused misfortune that about half of the cases in the profile are reluctant to blame other people for their misfortune. They would much rather blame something like the incorrect performance of a ritual. In the following extracts MB and CT prefer not to explain misfortune in terms of bewitching, but in terms of a ritual being performed incorrectly:

> MB: *Xa kukho umntu okuthakathayo mhlawumbi, isiko lakho olenzayo aliye liphumelele kakuhle mhlawumbi. Ndiza kwenza umzekelo ngesiko lokwaluka. Inkwenkwe xa iphaya endle iyo kwaluka, kuze kubekho mhlawumbi amagqirha nemimoya emdaka emana iyifikela. Iye lanto ikhokelele ekubeni kubekho inkwenkwe eswelekileyo phaya ehlathini so libe isiko aliphumelelanga kuba akabuyanga phaya ehlathini.* **If someone is supposedly bewitching you it may be you have not performed your traditional ritual properly for it not to be fully successful. I will make an example about the initiation tradition. When the boy is in the bush for initiation and the witchdoctors are called in to drive away the evil spirit this may lead to misfortune and one of the boys may die in the initiation school. This means the traditional ritual does not succeed because the boy did not return from the forest.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 425)

> CT: *...Akhona amaxesha okuba uyathakathwa akhona amaxesha okuba akuthakathwa. Nesiko lakho ulenze rongo, so andithi mna ungenza isiko, nethi nje lingancedi.* **There are times when a person is bewitched there are times when you are not being bewitched. It's just a case of you performing your traditional ritual incorrectly so I am not saying don't do your ritual if for some reason it has not helped.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 458)

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CT suggested another possible reason for the traditional cure not working and persistent misfortune. In the following extract she says that traditional healers' methods sometimes did not work to ward off witches or bad spirits, not because the bad spirits were more powerful but because the so-called traditional healer was a charlatan:

Ngamanye amaxesha uyaya emagqirheni kuba amanye amagqirha kuthiwa ayaxoka. Uye egqirheni lithi yenze uyenze ngolu hlobo. ...Ngokuthi uqonde ukuba ayisebenzanga. Uqonde mawuye kwelinye igqirha, likuxelele into ediferent isebenze ke ngoku, uqonde nawe okay belixoka. **Sometimes you go to a traditional healer and some of them are not geniune, they lie. They instruct you to do things and you do as instructed...You find out that it (the cure) has not worked. You know you need to go to another healer and the second one gives you different advice which works and you think this is the real thing and the first one was lying.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 474)

iii.) Misfortune is caused by someone with bewitching powers and traditional medicine is needed for protection.

NV, TB, UN and DM made similar comments about the need for traditional medicine to combat being bewitched. In the following extract DM sums up what the others said:

Ndiyakholelwa kakhulu emaxhweleni.. Ngoba ngawona akwaziyo ukunqanda imimoya emibi ebangelwa ngabantu bokuhlala kwalapha ekuhlaleni. **I strongly believe in traditional healers ... Because they have the ability to stop the bad spirits caused by others that stay in one's neighbourhood.**

(File 10A2 Text Units 2 - 20)

iv.) Personal wrongdoing is the cause of misfortune and prayer is the remedy.

Some like NZ were not convinced by the traditional explanations for misfortune but neither did they think it was chance. In the following extract NZ explains that misfortune is brought about by personal wrong doing not making things right with God:

Xa izinto zakho zinga hambi kakuhle kufuneka uthandaze, ucele kuye ubuze ukuba yintoni le ungakhange uyenze. **When things do not go well for you, you must pray and ask God what it is that you have omitted to do.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 405 - 422)

v.) Witches and bad spirits are not taken seriously.

PE is an example of a student who was beginning to doubt the whole notion of witches and bad spirits causing misfortune. When others spoke about witches and bad spirits being the cause of misfortune, she said "....Nam andikholelwa ncam. [...**I don't really believe all this.**]" (File 10A2 Text Units: 2 - 20). She could be moving to a secular notion of chance.

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The "Becoming An Ancestor" Mega Variable

The Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable consists of variable F23 **When I die ...not far from the living.**

Fig.4 shows that the overwhelming majority (88%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Ancestors Mega Variable.

There were two versions of a traditional after-death model. One was the purely traditional view and the other already combined both traditional and Christian models.

NZ believed in a traditional after-death model. She said of her role as an ancestor:

> ..*Kufuneka ndibajonge abazukulwana bam nabantwana bam ndibe yinxalenye yelizwe.* **...I must look after my grandchildren and my children and be part of their lives.**
>
> (File: 10C123 Text Units: 548 - 557)

PT combined traditional and Christian ideas in her own after death model. In the following extract she describes the Ancestors as intercessors between people and God:

> *Mandithi ibhayibhile ikutolika ngeendlela ezininzi ukufa yiyo ke lento sithi siya ezulwini...Abantu bakuthi abadala basixelela ukuba abantu abaphantsi ngabona abakufutshane kuthixo, kangangokuba abanye abantu bathi xa benqula ndithethele wena tata ukufutshane nothixo. Ubhekisa kulomntu wawuke wambona, lo usuka apha emhlabeni. Ngoba uthixo zange simbone. Umntu endimaziyo ngutata wam mna, ndithi xa ndixakekile ndihambe ndiye engcwabeni lakhe ndithi tata ndinqwenela ukuba ndibe yititshalakazi ndincede undigade ezingozini, undithethele nakuthixo andiphe amandla ukuba ndibe yiyo lento endifuna ukuba yiyo.* **...I would say the Bible interprets death in many ways, that is why we say we are going to heaven... The elders tell us that our Ancestors are the ones nearer to God. We even ask our Ancestors to talk to God on our behalf. You refer your prayers to the person you have seen with your naked eye who was with you here on earth. Because we have never seen God it is not easy. The person you have come into contact with is your parent or your relative etc. You even go to visit the graveyard and you pray and ask him/her to assist you. You also ask them to assist you in fulfilling your wishes, to guard against danger.**
>
> (File 10B1&2 Text Units 704 - 757)

Some like MB and PE supported the idea of becoming an ancestor but at a personal level they were a little unsure about whether they would become Ancestors themselves. PE expressed it similarly to MB who said:

> *Isenokwenzeka ndingabisiso sisinynyay kuba isinyana andisazi ukuba iba ngumntu otheni kwabafileyo.* **I may not become an ancestor myself because I do not know how one qualifies to become an ancestor.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text units 548 - 557).

The "Grand Pattern" Mega Variable

The Grand Pattern Mega Variable aggregates variables F24 Person & thing has its place, F25 Treat something/one with disrespect weakens all, and F32 Person & thing has a purpose to work out.

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Fig.4 shows that the overwhelming majority (90%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the notion in Faku's story of a grand pattern that gives each person a sense of place and purpose in the whole.

The "Cyclical Time" Mega Variable

The Cyclical Time Mega Variable aggregates variables F30 Person is born ... goes on to be an ancestor, and F33 Life, time all that *Qamata* made goes on forever.

Fig.4 shows that the overwhelming majority (90%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported a cyclical conception of time.

The "Fit Into Mode of Engagement" Mega Variable

The Fit Into Mode of Engagement Mega Variable consists of variable F31 Fit into the rhythms of nature.

Fig.4 shows that the overwhelming majority (91%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported fitting into the natural order of the world.

Some of the Matrics we interviewed had difficultly grasping the meaning of this question. Those, like those mentioned below, who did seem to understand the question, all emphasised the importance of fitting into what is considered the natural order of things. There was no hint of a desire to "take-hold-and-shape" the natural order of things to fit one's own image of how things ought to be.

A number of themes emerged from comments made by the Matrics in the Affirm Profile.

i.) People should not be out of step with nature.

CT is an example of those who supported fitting into the rhythms of nature. In the following extract she uses the metaphor of the natural order in the farming cycle to illustrate the way one should live:

...Awunothi kuvunwa wena kubengona utyalayo. **When it's time for planting you shouldn't be harvesting.**
(File 10C123 Text Units 615 - 625)

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ii.) A modern interpretation that recovers a traditional position with a sense of pride.

NK assumed the position of an environmentalist. He argues in the following extract that by destroying our natural environment we will ultimately destroy humankind:

> (INTERVIEWER: So you said that you feel it is important to fit into the rhythms of nature. Why is it so important?) **If you removed nature ...[pause] it causes deforestation, oxygen levels will drop and carbon dioxide increases and we will all be dead.**
>
> (File ZII-2 Text Units 199 - 220)

iii.) The natural order is also the social order.

DM, PE and TB all expressed similar views about fitting into the natural order of things. In the following extract DM proposes that we ought to fit into what is considered by society to be natural; "people" do not tolerate deviant behaviour:

> *Mna nditsho ndithi kufuneka kubenjalo kuba abantu bazokujonga kakubi xa usenza izinto eziphuma ecaleni.* **I also say that it must be so because people will think badly of you if you deviate from what is considered normal.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Unit 93)

The "Spiritual Explanations" Mega Variable

The Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable aggregates variables F11 *Qamata* & Ancestors control the crops and F29 I go to the *igqira*.

Fig.4 shows that less than half (46%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable as a whole while substantial numbers responded in the "Uncertain" range (22%) and the "Disagree" range (32%).

Variables F11 *Qamata* & Ancestors control the crops and F29 I go to the *igqira* are extremely traditional statements that contradict secular scientific thinking. The mega variable is an attempt to see to what extent the participants have moved away from the extreme components in the African Traditional world-view. This may be due to the eroding forces of secularisation as well as Christianity.

A number of views emerged from the comments of the Matrics in this profile.

i.) Traditional spiritual explanations

There are those like MB and PN who strongly agreed that the crops are controlled by *Qamata* and the Ancestors. In the following extract MB explains that he believes that the crops depend on spiritual forces:

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...Ndingatsho ukuthi yayinguye uQamata nezinyanya abalawula ukukhula kwezityala. Ngendlela yokuba kudala ngokuya kwakusekho uQamata. Babeye omama belali baphume besisiqhu xa kubalele hambebaye kwindawo ekuthiwa yibhakani, baye ebhakanini, bayo kucela ukuba makunethe, nyhani inethe imvula. Zikhule ezo zityalo. **... I say it is *Qamata* and the Ancestors that control the growth of the crops. This was the way of doing things in the olden days when *Qamata* was part of our lives. The mothers of the village, they would go in groups to the highest point on the hill where the beacon is placed. They would ask *Qamata* for rain and it would rain and the crops would grow well.**

(File: 10C123 Text Unit 954 - 614)

He and others also believe that one needs to be strengthened against evil forces that sap the vital force within one. In the following extract MB explains that one is vulnerable without protection provided by the *igqira* against evil spirits:

*...Xa ungaqiniswanga kulula ukuba imimoya emdaka ingakufumana. Kanti xa uqinisiwe noko akululanga amagqwirha angenza unothanda kuwe nje, so kufuneka uqiniswe. ...***When you have not been strengthened it is easy for you to catch bad spirits. When you have been strengthened the witches do not easily affect you. So you must get yourself protected.**

(File 10C123 Text Unit 596)

ii.) When the scientific world offers an explanation no other is sought but where there is room for spiritual explanations a traditional one is preferred.

Some like PT and UN believed it was very important to be protected by the *igqira* against evil spirits. PT thought that even...

*...Umntwana esemncinci esasandukuzalwa kufuneka phambi kokuba unina lisiko lamaxhosa elo aye naye phakathi kwabantu, kufuneka aqale aqiniswe ligqirha ...***A child when it is still an infant, just before the mother starts mingling with other people and introducing the baby for the first time to the world, must be strengthened ritually so that evil spirits do not affect him or her.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 348)

They, like PT, did not think Qamata and the Ancestors controlled the crops. In the following extract PT says:

Andiyithandi kakuhle ke ngoku, kwesisithuba soba ulawula ukukhula kwezityalo. Kuba andimazi ngqo kwa *Qamata* lo, kuba kaloku abantu abadala zange basixelele. Ngoku ke ndinentandabuzo. **I don't really like the idea of *Qamata* and the Ancestors controlling the crops. Because I am not familiar with this aspect of *Qamata* because you see the old folk never told us about this. As a result I am doubtful that this is so.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 114 - 117)

For some like UN, secular scientific explanations have eroded African Traditional explanations. UN was emphatic. She simply said: "**Crops, Ancestors and Qamata don't mix.**" (File ZII-2 Text Units 262-294).

iii.) The traditional explanations and science are inadequate.

There are those like PE who were uncertain about traditional spiritual explanations for natural phenomena but wondered why, if one follows standard agricultural methods, crops still failed. PE said:

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Sendisitsho ngokuva abanye abantu ukuthetha, like igadi yakho iyakwazi ukuchuma. Ngamany'amaxesha kuthiwe zizinyanya ezipha kwathini ngegadi yakho. So ikhona into ibengathi iyakhula into emhlabeni. Without umoya, without anything, uyayinkcenkceshela igadi yakho kakuhle yonke le mihla kodwa ingachumi. **I have heard those who say like it is your garden that gives you a full crop. On other occasions it is said that the Ancestors - they are doing whatever they do in your garden for it to grow. So surely there is something that is the cause of the growth of things on earth. Without any spirits, without anything, you irrigate your garden thoroughly every day, how is it then that you do not get a good crop?**

(File 10A1 Text Units 101 - 117)

PE was also uncertain about the power of the traditional healer to ward off misfortune. PE said: "*Andikholelwa kakhulu.* **[I do not really believe that much.]**" (File10A2 Text Units 83)

TB too was uncertain about traditional methods of healing. He said:

Andiyazi mna ukuba kwenzeka ntoni na kuba uya emagqirheni ukhuph'imali yakho ufumanise ukuba usengulamntu. **I did not know what is happening because you go to the traditional healer and you pay them and still you don't get what you want, you still remain the same.**

(File 10A2 Text Unit 77)

iii.) Traditional and Christian rituals for protection complement each other.

Some like KY believed one needed to combine going to the traditional healer, praying to God and going to church, to be fully protected against misfortune. In the following extract she presents what perceives to be a formula for full protection:

Ewe usenokuya egqirheni likuqinise kodwa isenokungena imimoya emdaka. Kufuneka uye kuThixo uyokuthandaza, uhamb' iCawe. **Yes, you could go to the traditional healer for him or her to strengthen you, but you are still vulnerable to bad spirits. You must also pray to God and go to church.**

(File 10C123 Text Unit 601)

iv.) Traditional and Christian rituals cannot be combined.

Others like NV were against attempts to combine traditional and Christian approaches to health and well being. In the following extract she categorically states her position:

Andingqinelani nokuba xa kufuneka uye egqirheni neCawa ingakunceda uphile. **I totally disagree that when you want [help] you go to the traditional healer as well as the church to help you recover your health.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 594 - 614)

We noticed earlier that she was more inclined to embrace a Christian understanding of God and, therefore, it follows that she would probably use Christian rituals to ward of evil.

MB also pointed out that mainline churches discourage syncretism. He said:

Ingqirha neCawa azidibani ezo zinto zinokubethana okuthile. Kungokuba phaya eCaweni mhlawumbi izinto zamagqirha nento zamaxhwele ndandikhe ndeva iCawe ngathi iyayinyash. Iyalinyasha nesiko. **Traditional healers and the church do not go together, they are two conflicting things. It is because in church I have heard that traditional diviners and traditional herbalists are frowned upon. This even applies to our traditional practices.**

(File10C123 Text Unit 604)

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The "Vital Force" Mega Variable

The Vital Force Mega Variable aggregates variables F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength and F28 Everything has power, which are references to the traditional notion of a vital force that permeates everything.

Fig.4 shows that the overwhelming majority (89%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Vital Force Mega Variable.

4.5.1.2 The Sipho Story Variables

We will now present the way in which the Matrics in the Affirm Profile responded to the Sipho Story variables and, where appropriate, compare their responses with the corresponding mega variables in the Faku Story.

The Individualism Mega Variable

The Individualism Mega Variable aggregates variables S12 Make it on my own, S13 Independence ... I treasure, S14 Family often holds one back and stifles ambition, S15 People should be encouraged to provide for their own future, S16 I co-operate only if it helps me achieve my goals and S25 Best person for the job.

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (80%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Individualism Mega Variable as a whole, although a substantial number of Matrics (12%) responded in the "Uncertain" range.

With one exception the responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to this mega variable did not deviate substantially from that of the mega variable itself. The exception was S14 Family hold one back with only 45% of the Matrics supporting the constituent variable: 28% responded in the "Disagree" range, and 27% in the "Uncertain" range.

Two related aspects of individualism were discussed in the in-depth group interviews. One was about the virtues of self-determination and the spirit of independence. The other revolved around the criteria one should use to employ people and whether "it is sensible to appoint the person who can do the job best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help".

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A number of themes emerged from these Matrics' comments during the group interviews.

i.) Success is based on the ideology of individualism.

MB, TB, PE, UN, MC and DM are examples of those who argued that in order to succeed in the real world one must learn to be independent and economically rational. For, as DM pointed out, "*akekho umntu ozakufumana into acinge ukuba ipeto yam nam kufuneka ndiyokuyifunela nayo.* [**no one who gets something goes on to think that also my friend has to get this.**]" (File 10A2 Text Unit 239), implying that in everyday life the spirit of community was lost.

In the following extract TB summarises the sentiments shared by the others about independence and self-determination:

> *I feel very strongly ukuba in life you have to try on your own to achieve your best kufuneka uzame ukuzizamela ngokunokwakho. Akukho mntu ozokwenzela. No one is going to hand things to you on a tray and say:"eena uyapasa ngoku". Ukuba ulambile zama ukufuna umsebenzi uphangele. Uza kuba nayo imali ungayikuba izinto zabantu.* **I feel strongly that in life you have to try on your own to achieve your best. You must make every effort to do so alone. There is no one who is going to do it for you. No one is going to hand things to you on a tray and say, " There you have passed now". When you are hungry, try and get a job and work... You will then have money without stealing other people's goods.**
>
> (File: 10A2 Text Units 231)

MB added:

> *...nalapha kwaxhosa ikhona lentetha ithi akukho nkwali iphandela enye, ephandela enye ngenethole. So, ungumntu kufuneka ufunde ukuzimela ungafuni ukumelwa ngomnye umntu. ...* **in *isi*Xhosa there's a saying: 'There is no bird that looks for food for another except for those who get food for the ones looking after the chicks.' So as a human being you should learn to stand on your own, not to expect someone else to do what is your responsibility.**
>
> (File: 10C123 Text Units: 784 - 786)

In his view people should not rely on others to do for them what they can do for themselves.

These Matrics supported the individualistic economically rational argument when employing people, and did not believe they had an obligation to their family and friends who might need a job. Of their remarks what TB had to say in the following extract was the most explicit:

> Ngenxa yoba uza kuqasha umntu ngenxa yokumsizela, angawenza umsebenzi uwenza idisaster imosharha at the end of the **If you employ somebody because you feel pity for that person, he/she doesn't work properly. He/she will bring about a disaster at work at the end of the day.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Units 297 - 300)

The following extract shows that in response to the question of whom he would appoint as a manager of his business, MC was particularly concerned about getting the best

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qualified person for the job and would only consider appointing someone from his family if they had the appropriate qualifications:

> **I would choose the person who is more experienced and qualified for the position. I will only employ someone from my family if they have the qualifications.**
>
> (File EXTRA[37] Text Unit 14)

ii.) The application of individualism in business need not exclude communal obligation.

PT and CT were among those who tried to accommodate individualism and communalism without ignoring the economic imperatives.

Much like those in the preceding group CT and PT favoured independence, although PT indicates, in the following extract, that the independent entrepreneurial spirit she admires is uncommon where poverty forces people to be dependent on one another:

> *Ewe, iyakhuthaza into yomntu ozimiyo ukuzimela angasoloko ebheke komnye umntu. Njengababantu abathengisa amagwinya, baqhele ukuzimela enzela abantwana babo balale betyile. Phaya bafundisa abantwana babo, abo bantwana ngoku bazi graduates.* **Yes, it's encouraging to see a person who is independent not always relying on other people. For example, people who sell vetkoek are independent. They know how to ensure that their families have a plate of food on the table for every meal. With the profits that they get from selling vetkoek they feed and educate their children. And some of these children are even graduates.**
>
> (File 10B1&2 Text Unit 478)

In the following extract PT tries to find a way to mediate between family obligation and economic rationality:

> *Ishishini, yeyona ndawo ke engumngcipheko ekufanele uqale ucinge phambi kokuba wenze. Ukusokola oku kona soze kwaphela. ... Umntu ekufanele umfune ngumntu one skill sobu manager, ungathathi nje noba ngubani. Ngoba, ukuba ukhe wenza uvakalelo, uza kutshona then usuke uthathe lomntu usokolayo uske uthi makakwenzele iwashing endaweni yokuba alale engatyanga.* **A business is a very delicate thing where you first have to think before you do anything. Poverty will always be around, it will never disappear. ...You want a person with managerial skills you must not appoint just any person. If you do that you will go under. Rather you should take the needy person to do your washing, instead of letting her/him go without food.**
>
> (File 10B1&2 Text Units 579 - 584)

The following extract reveals that PT struggled to assert economic rationality over family obligation:

> *Masithi ke lo okufutshane umntu uyamthanda. Inje ke lento, kufuneka ukuba lo mntu uhlala apha ecaleni kwakho ungathi ndiyakuqesha permanent (isigxina), yithi ndinaye umntu ongomnye ozawusebenza lomsebenzi wena ndikubamba kuba ndifuna umntu ngokungxamisekileyo. Wena uzawubamba inyanga okanye iiveki ezintandathu, ngelo xesha wena umjongile ukuba uyawenza na lo msebenzi ngolu hlobo ufuna ngalo. Athi ke ukuba lifikile ela xesha benixelelene ngalo ayeke, ungenise lo ke ngoku.* **Let's talk about someone near and dear to you. It's like this, concerning the person staying next to you, you should not say, 'I'm appointing you permanently'. Tell him/her that you have a permanent employee but since you are relieving that person, you speedily need someone. He/she will temporarily be employed for 6 weeks to 6 months, at that moment you are watching whether he/she is doing the job the way you want it done. When the time comes that was stipulated to end the agreed contract he/she stops working and it's then that you can [consider] employ[ing] someone better.**
>
> (File 10B1&2 Text Units 570 - 575)

[37] This file contains an electronic record of the author's fieldnotes.

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CT recognises the risk involved in employing a family member who is not suitably qualified, but she nevertheless felt obliged to entertain the idea:

> *Usenokumthatha umntu wakokwenu ongawaziyo umsebenzi, kodwa iza kuthatha ixesha xa kufuneka umfundise, ngoku wena uzobe uthatha ixesha ufundisa umntu wakokwenu ukuba makade ayazi lanto. Kanti lamntu uyaziyo ngasekeqhubekeka nomsebenzi.* **You can employ a family member who is not suitably qualified the job, but it will take longer when you have to train this person, till he/she masters the job. Whereas the person who knows the job would have long progressed with the work.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 880)

NZ and NV was among those who personally valued independence and self-determination but could not bring themselves to impose this on others whom they felt obliged to help. NZ thought that " ...Akufunekanga ajonge omnye umntu" [**One should not have to look after another person**] (File: 10C123 Text Unit 782), and yet when it came to employment she could not follow the dictates of economic rationality and overlook someone she felt obliged to help. NV and NZ both felt they would rather train someone they felt obliged to help. NV put it thus:

> *Andivumelani naye kuba lo ongawazi umsebenzi uzowazi njani, kufuneka ufundise lo ongawazi umsebenzi.* **I do not agree with the narrator because the one who does not know the job, how is he/ she going to know the job? You must train the one who does not know the job.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 884)

The tension between NV's own desire to be independent and her felt sense of obligation to her family is particularly evident in her feeling strongly that "family often holds one back and stifles ambition".

The "Dualism" Mega Variable

The Dualism Mega Variable aggregates variables S26 The world is just mechanical, S27 Physical separate from spiritual and S28 God is in heaven..

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (79%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Dualism Mega Variable as a whole, although a substantial number of Matrics (16%) were uncertain about dualism.

The discussions around dualism focused on the Matrics' understanding of the physical world divorced from the spiritual dimension. Two positions emerged from the comments made by the Matrics located in the Affirm Profile during the interviews.

i.) Some reservations about a strictly dualistic view of the world-out-there.

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DM, NZ, PT, and PE were among those who on the whole supported dualism, but had some reservations. They seemed to think that Sipho's strictly dualistic model of the world was not entirely accurate.

DM and NZ were among those who were reluctant to endorse a view of the world-out-there that separated the sacred and the profane. Commenting on the metaphor of the world as something mechanical DM said: "*Ikakhulu lifana nomachine omkhulu.* **[Mostly it looks like a big machine]**" (File 10A2 Text Units 367 - 369). Similarly NZ said: "*Andingqinelani nalento ethethwa apha because zikhona izinto ezingasebenziyo ngokufana ne engine.* **[I can't really support what is being said here because there are things that do not work like an engine]**" (File: 10C123 Text Unit 904).

CT was also among those who supported the notion of dualism. But in the following extract she seems to interpret the metaphor of the world as a mechanical thing in a way that sounds more like F24 Person & thing has its place and suggests that she was more concerned about what we have called Grand Pattern than dualism:

> *Ndiyangqinelana nalento ethethwa apha ukuba nyani yonke into apha elizweni ine part eyidlalayo.* **I do agree with what is being said because it's true that each thing here on earth has a part to play.**
>
> (File: 10C123 Text Unit 892)

ii.) Difficulty relating to a dualistic model of the world-out-there.

PE and PT did not relate to a dualistic view of the world. PE said: "*Mna lento inguthixo andiyiqondi ncam?* **[I do not exactly understand this view of *Thixo*]**" (File: 10A2 Text Units: 390 - 393) meaning that she could not relate to a spiritual world inhabited by God which was separate from this world. PT said: "*uS26 Andimchani kakuhle.* **[I don't really understand the whole idea of S26]** (File 10B1&2 Text Unit 667).

MB and NV were both reluctant to support a dualistic model of the world-out-there. In the following extract MB describes the problem:

> *Apha emhlabeni kuthethwa ngezinto endizibona ncam ngeliso lenyama. Phaya kwelemimoya ndizobetheka because andiyazi into eqhubekayo. So, andinongqina kakhulu ndithi kuthe kwathi kwathi kwelemimoya.* **Here on earth you talk about things that you can see with your own naked eye. In the world of spirits I might have a problem because I do not know what is happening. I won't be able to confirm that it's like this or like that in the spirit world.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 910 - 914)

TB was among those who disagreed with the mechanical model of the earth. He said:

> *Andivumelani nale nkcaza. Akanofanisa ilizwe ne engine yemoto.* **I do not agree with the explanation. Sipho cannot compare the earth to a car engine.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Unit 375)

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TB opposed the whole Christian notion of a heaven. In the following extract he argues that the promise of a heaven separated from this world is a lie told by the white missionaries to subdue black people:

> *...Siqhathiwe thina singabantu abamnyama ngabantu abamhlophe because basifundise nyamezela usokolo, ube ucela kuthixo ukuba uza kunceda, ube ukholelwa but bona babe benemali bengakholelwa. So, masithi thina ngexesha sisokola sibe siqonda sawuthi sakufa siphile kakuhle. Ibe lonto leyo ingekho. Because bathi bona kholelwa likhona elinye ihlabathi apho uzothi uphile kamnandi kukho izitalato zegolide. ...***We have been robbed as black people by the white people. They have taught us to be tolerant of hardship and poverty. You must ask for God's assistance. You are so busy believing whereas they have lots of money and yet they do not believe. So, let's say while we are struggling we have this understanding that when we die we will have a better life. Knowing that for a fact it does not exist. Because they say to us: Believe, there is definitely another life where you will be living a happy life; where the streets are made of gold.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Units 384 - 384)

The "Social Motivation" Mega Variable

The Social Motivation Mega Variable aggregates variables S9 Better to reward than to punish and S11 Best society individuals compete for greatest rewards.

Fig. 4 shows that a large majority (77%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Social Motivation Mega Variable as a whole, although a substantial number of Matrics (15%) were uncertain. The aggregate does not reflect the pattern of responses to the two the constituent variables. Variable S9 deviated from the mega variable with 63% of the Matrics supporting it, 23 responding in the "Uncertain" range and 13% in the "Disagree" range. However, almost all the Matrics supported variable S11.

A number of themes emerged from the comments made by Matrics in the Affirm Profile during the group interviews. The themes and comments included below reflect how Matrics in the Affirm Profile struggled to resolve the conflict between traditional communalistic and industrial individualistic approaches to social motivation.

i.) A system of social motivation works best when based on individual rewards and competition.

DM and TB were among those who favoured a system of motivation based exclusively on individual reward: DM said:

> *Abo basebenza kakhulu eluntwini balungile bavuzwe kakhulu kunabo basebenza kancinci since befuna ukufumana lonto bayifumanayo bengakhange benzento.* **Those who work hard in our communities for the benefit of others should be better rewarded than those who do no work at all or those who work less.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Units 180 - 185)

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TB added:

Isizathu sesoba, abantu baye bathi xa bebona ukuba angathi kukhona into efumanekayo, nabo baye babe nomdla. Kunabantu abasoloko ukuqalelwa. Ebuncinaneni kufuneka kubekhona abantu abaphambili enzela nabanye bazobona ukuba hayi lanto ilungile. **The reason is that, when people see that there's something to be gained, then they start being interested. There should be a few people in the forefront who are public role models so that the other people can see what they are doing is right.**

(File 10A2 Text Unit 175)

DM, PT and MB were among those who argued that competition for these scarce rewards would further motivate people. In the following extract PT focuses on the positive side of competition as a source of motivation:

Kufanelekile nyani ukhuphiswano lube khona kuba kaloku uyakuthi ukuze uyibone into entle uyibone komnye umntu, nawe uyinqwenelele ukuba unganayo. So, ukhuphiswano kukwakha indlu entle. **It is important that we do have competition, in order to see good things that are done by people then you will start imitating or working towards doing the same things in order to achieve. For example when someone or a friend has a big beautiful house, you start admiring this house and you start working and saving towards buying or building your own beautiful house.**

(File: 10B1&2 Text Unit 452)

ii.) The best system of social motivation combines reward and mild punishment.

PE, NV and CT were among those who favoured a system of motivation that combined rewards and punishment.

PE did not think it was necessary to actively punish people. In the following extract she explains that a more subtle form of social sanctioning could be used while rewarding effort:

Mna ndithi abo basebenza kancinci mabayekwe ngolu hlobo balulo. Kuvuzwe abo basebenza kakhulu kulungile... So, abantu xa ubayekile ngolo hlobo balilo bazobona ukuba abahoyangwa baphinda baphagama nengoku. **I say those who do less work should be left as they are. Reward those who do more, it's fair. ... So when you leave them as they are, they will soon see that they are being ignored. It's then that they will start getting up and doing something about it.**

(File: 10A2 Text Units: 197 - 199)

NV and CT both emphasised the need for training so that everyone had the opportunity to be rewarded. Punishment, in their opinion should only be used as a last resort. NV put it concisely when she said:

Ndivumelana kancinci nento yokuba abo basebenza kancinci mabohlwaywe. Kuba kufuneka abo basebenza kancinci bafundiswe nabo umsebenzi bakwazi ukuba bavuzwe ngokulinganayo. **I agree very slightly that those who work less should be punished. Because those who do less really should be given the opportunity to be taught so that they get to know the work in order for them to get equal rewards.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 719 - 720)

CT, however, favoured competition rather than rewarding people equally. In the following extract she explains how a competitive spirit motivates Matrics to do better at school:

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Ndiyangqinelana nalento ithethwa apha ukuba kufuneka kubekhona ukhuphiswano. Umzekelo: Masithi njengoba sifunda nje uqonde ukuba hayi andizuyifunda i-subject ethile. Uthi wakubona ukuba ubani uyipasile uthi hayi suka andinokwegqithwa ngubani, khoyeke nam ndifunde. Ufunde nawe ufundele into yoba wogqithe ubani kanti elaxesha niyakhuphisana. **I agree with what is said that competition must be present. Example: when you are studying, you sometimes say: I don't want to study. When however you see other students succeeding and you say to yourself: I'm not going to let so and so do better than me, I'd better get stuck in and study. You study hard so that you can get better marks than the other student. At this time you are competing.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 766 - 766)

iii.) Individualistic competition can be destructive and needs to be balanced by a concern for the wellbeing of the community.

NK, TB and NV were among those who recognised that there was a negative side to competition.

NK was the only person to observe both the positive and negative side of competition. In the following extract NK starts out by talking about the positive side of competition and then it occurs to him that there is also a negative side:

For instance technologically since every time you try to improve it. So in other words you are competing, by improving those things. So you get the best things. And then another person will do that in another way, so you are bettering the society in goods ... in health maybe. ...I think I can change my argument ...because competition, when you fail you feel bad because sometimes it makes you go down.

(File ZII-2 Text Units 129 - 158)

While TB favoured a system that rewarded effort he did not think it should be based on competition among individuals. He seems to be aware of the conflict: a system of individual rewards contradicts communalism. He attempts to reconcile the two. In the following extract TB argues that competition makes people selfish and immoral:

Mna I totally disagree with ...competition. Xa kufikelela kwinto yoba abe ngu no.1 whatever that person is doing yena becomes selfish. Like in a business such as ukutengisa imoto obviously you are out to make a profit. So if there is a party in my way I have to remove him no matter kanjani. Apha esikolweni you have to pass noba ephi indlela if you have to cheat you have to cheat. So icompetition iwrongo. **I totally disagree with competition. When it comes to being no 1, whatever the person is doing he/she becomes selfish. Like in a business such as selling cars: obviously you are out to make a profit. So if there is a party in my way I have to remove him, no matter how I do it. In school you have to pass by whatever means; even if you have to cheat, you have to cheat. So competition is not good, it's wrong.**

(File 10A2 Text Units 218 - 222)

NV[38] reiterated her concern about equality and the sharing of resources when she commented on competition. She said:

[38] NV changed her response to S11 Best society is competitive. She initially responded with a Likert Sale score of "10" but during the group discussions she said her response was a "1" or "2". This was the only time she did this, so I assume that she realised that she had made a mistake when she filled in the questionnaire or she genuinely vacillated between the two and struggled to resolve the tension between embracing both models of the world-out-there.

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Andingqinelani kuba xa nisenza ukhuphiswano, omnye umntu mhlawumbe akazubanamali ekwenzeni ukhuphiswano. Kufuneka nincedisane. **I do not agree [with competition] because when you start to compete one person might not have enough resources. He/she will not have the resources to be competitive. People should rather assist one another.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 762 - 762)

The "Personal God" Mega Variable

The Personal God Mega Variable aggregates variables S29 God as power ...God as person and S31 God is like a person. In the Sipho story the nature of divinity is personal. In the Faku story the nature of divinity is impersonal and more like a power than a person.

Fig. 4 shows that about half (54%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Personal God Mega Variable, while substantial numbers of Matrics responded in the "Uncertain" range (22%) and the "Disagree" range (23%).

TB was among those who imagined a personal God. In the following extract TB describes God in typical biblical terms:

...Into endiqiniseka kuyo kukuba uThixo akanofana nomntu. Ndingatsho ndithi uneempawu zobuntu kuba kuthiwa uThixo wamdala umntu njengomfuziselo wakhe. **...There is something I'm sure of: *Thixo* cannot be exactly like a human being. I would say that *Thixo* has certain features of a human being, because it is said that Thixo created man in his own image.**

(File 10A2 Text Units 407 - 407)

We mentioned earlier, when commenting on the nature of divinity in Faku's story, that many Matrics had merged the traditional and Western Christian conceptualisations of God. Although a substantial number did not support the notion of a personal God it would seem that for many the Christian, personal quality of God has been superimposed on the traditional view of God.

PE and PT were among those who did not see any need to differentiate between God as a person or as a spirit force. PE said:

Andiyazi kula ndawo akuyo ungumntu okanye ungumoya. **I don't understand the aspect that is concerned with whether God is a person or a spirit force.**

(File 10A2 Text Units 395 - 401)

PT said:

Yilento ndithi andivumi ukuba uyefana nomntu ngokwasebhayibhileni. **The thing that I can't agree with is that, according to the Bible, he is like a human being.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 631 - 631)

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The "Chance" Mega Variable

Variable S10 When things go wrong in life I don't waste too much time finding out why, I just get on with starting again (full text) is the only variable in the Sipho story that deals with the question of chance.

Fig. 4 shows that three-quarters (75%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile agreed that one should not spend unnecessary time looking for the cause of misfortune and "get on with starting again". Substantial numbers of Matrics, nevertheless, responded in the "Uncertain" range (14%) and the "Disagree" range (11%).

Three themes emerge from the comments of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile.

i.) Unnecessary time would not be wasted trying to find the cause of the misfortune.
Many Matrics located in the Affirm Profile, including MB, NV and PT, would not waste unnecessary time trying to explain why they experienced misfortune. This, however, did not mean that they were open to chance. They said that this did not exclude an initial attempt to find a reason but it also suggests that they discriminate between what they would consider trivial things and significant happenings. PT, NV and MB said that while they would not waste too much time they would make an attempt to find the cause of the problem. They did not think this contradicted their earlier pronouncements that misfortune is always caused by something or someone. NV said, referring to her earlier response to the contra-variable in Faku's story: "Ndiyangqinelana nale yokuqala, kuba kufuneka sube kukho lamntu uyibangelayo, kanti ku S10 kufuneka uyiqonde lanto. [**I agree with that first one, there is surely somebody who is causing the misfortune. Whereas in S10 you have to at least consider the cause.**]" (File 10C123 Text Units 1117 - 1145).

MB summarised the views expressed by these Matrics when he said:

> *Andiqondi ukuba ingakhona imbangi yokuba umoshe ixesha elininzi lokuzama. Ndicinga ukuba mna kunyanzelekile ukuba uqale uqonde kuqala ukuba yintoni unobangela, phambi kokuba uqhubekeke. Kuba kusenokwenzeka ukuba ezi zinto uzenzayo nazo uza kuzenza wrongo ngenxa yento yoba nezi uzenze wrongo awamfuna unobangela woko. So kufuneka uqale uqonde phambi kokuba uqhubekeke.* **I do not think it is necessary to waste a lot of time trying. I also agree that you should find out why things are the way they are before you proceed. It could happen that you are repeating the same mistakes. So that is why you should at least first try to find out why things are not going as planned before proceeding.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 743 - 746)

ii.) Open to chance.
UN was among those who made it quite clear that they did not readily blame someone or something for the misfortune they experienced. In the following extract she says that she

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responded in the "Uncertain" range to the contra-variable and she did not go along with those who sought to blame witches and bad spirits for their misfortune:

(INTERVIEWER: What about that question we discussed earlier, the one about cause - looking for the cause.) **I said "6"** ["Uncertain"]. (INTERVIEWER: Are you not concerned that someone *ukuthakatha* [is bewitching you]) **No!**

(File ZII-2 Text Units 411 - 421)

iii.) Against chance.

CT and NZ among those who were committed to uncovering the reason for their misfortune. NZ's comment was similar to that of CT who said:

Xa kukhona into ehambe kakubi, endimoshayo, andinodlula nje ndingayazi ukuba yintoni, kufuneka ndiqale ndiqonde ukuba yintoni le indimoshayo. Ndizokwazi ukuyilungisa, ndingaphinde ndenze the same mistake. **If something is not going as planned and something is troubling me, I will not proceed without finding out what the problem is. I will then be in a position to fix or rectify it so that I do not repeat the same mistake.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 726 - 731)

The "Going To Heaven" Mega Variable

The Going To Heaven Mega Variable consists of variable S33 Go to heaven when I die.

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (82%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable as a whole, although a substantial number of Matrics responded in the "Uncertain" range (15%).

PT was among those who did not differentiate between a Christian and traditional African interpretation of heaven. As she explains in the following extract, heaven is a synonym for life after death, which combines both traditional and Christian meanings:

Mandithi ibhayibhile ikutolika ngeendlela ezininzi ukufa yiyo ke lento sithi siya ezulwini. ...Izulu kulapho ndithanda ukuya khona xa ndiswelekile.... Mna ndikholelwa ku Faku. Izulu alikho kude lilapha kufutshane. **Let me say the Bible interprets death in a number of ways. That is why we say we are going to heaven. ... Heaven is where I would like to go when I pass away. ... I believe in Faku's story. Heaven is not far removed from us, it is here very close to us.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 726 - 743)

The After-death models in Faku and Sipho's stories are different. However it would appear many who have grown up with both the traditional and Christian versions have found ways to live with both. Some, like PT, have integrated Christian and African Traditional ideas in their own After-death model.

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"Grand Purpose" Mega Variable

The Grand Purpose Mega Variable aggregates variables S18 exciting to be the first to do something and S19 time and money on inventions.

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (94%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Grand Purpose Mega Variable. The overwhelming majority of these Matrics also supported the Grand Pattern Mega Variable from Faku's story.

From the group interviews it would seem that the Matrics', in the Affirm Profile, concern with a Grand Purpose coexists with a concern for Present Texture, which in theory conflicts with Goal Orientation and Grand Purpose. They seemed to support the pushing of sci-tech frontiers (Grand Purpose), as long as it benefits people in the short term and is not at the expense of more immediate needs. If Grand Pattern is the sole Grand Design, the only test for the quality of life is present texture. Grand Purpose, however, opens the possibility of goals as a means of testing the quality of life. This may complement or replace Present Texture as the test for the quality of life.

NV and UN were among those who indicated that they fully supported the investment of time and money in the exploration of the new frontiers of science and technology. In the following extract NV expresses her concern that the investment in "new things" is not at the expense of education:

> *Inyanisile lento ithethwa apha, kuba urhulumente azalise imali ekuncedeni ukuze kulungiswe izinto ezintsha, kuthengwe neencwadi.* **It is true what is being said here, because the government ought to invest money where it is needed to discover new things, also the buying of books.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 816 - 816)

UN qualified her support by indicating in the following extract that it ought not to be done at the expense of "present texture" needs like welfare and housing:

> (INTERVIEWER: If you were in a position to influence the government's decision to invest either in welfare development and housing, or science and technology which would you say it should invest in?) **Welfare. Welfare and housing because you will be helping some people ... many people.**
>
> (File ZII-2 Text Units 587 - 603)

PE, DM, PT and TB cautiously supported the investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement. Each was particularly concerned that the investment in sci-tech projects benefits people in the short term. The following remark by TB best expresses the views shared by the others.

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I agree because we are living in the world of science. Even TV and everything. Mhlawumbe urhulumente xa enokuzisa ezinye izinto abantu bangasizisela izinto ezibhetele nobomi bethu bubelula. **I agree because we are living in the world of science. Even TV and everything. If the government could present us with new opportunities some people would come up with new inventions that would make our lives easier.**
(File 10A2 Text Unit 260)

The "Linear Time" Mega Variable

The Linear Time Mega Variable aggregates variables S22 Meetings start on time and S23 History is moving forward.

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (94%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Linear Time Mega Variable as a whole. The overwhelming majority of these Matrics also supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable.

These two understandings of time are, theoretically speaking, mutually exclusive. People whose entire lives revolve around the land and nature with its natural cycles will tend to have a cyclical view of time. The influence of Christianity and linear time, however, results in the co-existence of these conceptions of time. This was not discussed with the Matrics.

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The "Take-Hold-and-Shape Mode of Engagement" Mega Variable

The Take-Hold-and-Shape Mode of Engagement Mega Variable aggregates variables S17 Reshape the world, S20 Part of reshaping the future, S21 School teaching science, S34 Life starts ... leaves school ... over when retire, and S35 Young go-getters most admired.

Fig. 4 shows that a large majority (72%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Take-Hold-and-Shape Mega Variable as a whole. Substantial numbers of Matrics, nevertheless, responded in the "Uncertain" range (17%) and the "Disagree" range (10%).

The pattern of the responses to the individual variables included in the Mode of Engagement Mega Variable do not deviate substantially from that of the mega variable with one exception. The exception was the overtly confrontational variable S34 to which 29% responded in the "Disagree" range, 24% in the "Uncertain" range and 47% in the "Agree" range. In the Sipho story the contribution to society of the economically active is valued whereas in Faku's story all are valued, the elderly perhaps even more.

With the exception of a minority, including PT, the respondents in the Affirm Profile seemed to support a take-hold-and-shape mode of engagement with the world-out-there. We observed, earlier, that they also wanted to fit into the natural order. Some Matrics differentiated between the ideal world where people fit into the natural order of things and the modern, ever-changing world. This suggests that the Matrics experienced tension between their dual commitment to both a Fit-Into and a Take-Hold-And-Shape mode of engagement. TB hinted at this when he said, "...the times are moving", meaning that in reality he felt the pressure to keep ahead of the times and to change society.

A number of themes emerged from the remarks by Matrics in the Affirm Profile.

i.) Science is good where it improves present texture.

There were those who supported science, its attitude to the world and promised improvements. MB was among those who strongly supported the idea of reshaping the world. In the following extract he sounds like the typical industrialist wanting to replace the natural environment with urban structures:

> *Ngokuqinisekileyo, abantu kufuneka bezame kangangoko ukutshintsha intlalo yabo kuba. Masenze umzekelo. Xa kufika ingingqi ethile kwindawo ethile, mhlawumbe nifike kulondawo kukhona amahlathi nemigxobhozwana ethile. Aninofike nihlale nje. Phaya kungekho nizame nizenzayo ukususa lamahlathi ukwenzela kuzoba yindawo ebukelekayo. So, kufuneka nizame ukulungisa indawo enihlala kuyo nina ngokwenu.* **People must try by all means to change their environment. Let us make an example. When you arrive in a specific area perhaps you find the place covered in forests and swamps. You would not just arrive there and sit and do nothing. You will obviously have to think on how to get rid of the forests and swamps in order to make the place presentable.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 790 - 793)

PE, DM, CT and TB thought science and a scientific approach to the world would improve the quality of life. PE said she "love[d] science" (File 10A2 Text Unit 283), DM and CT thought it made people "broadminded" (File 10A2 Text Units 283 - 286) and TB said:

> *Ndiyakholelwa kwizinto ze science kuba ngabo abantu abazosenza ubomi bethu bube ngcono. Apho ndinokuthi ndiphele khona, angase aqhubekeke yena, I mean the time is moving.* **I believe in things that are of science because people who study science will improve the quality of our lives. I want my child to achieve far more than I have, to progress. I mean the times are moving.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Unit 277)

NV and NZ thought the education of children in science and technology would improve their prospects of getting a good job. NV said:

> *Nam ndingamthumela owam kwesi sikolo enzele azofumana umsebenzi o-right.* **I would send my child to such a school so that he can get a better job.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 840)

ii.) The natural order will prevail despite human efforts to reshape it.

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There were those, like PT, who thought that the natural order was more powerful than the human efforts to change it. In the following extract PT says she does not have much faith in humankind's ability to change the natural order of things.

> *Ndiyivuma ndinavumi lentetha ukuba abantu abahlala kuwo bangawujika ayikwazi kwenzeka lonto yokujika.* **I agree but at the same time I also disagree with what is being said here because, as much as people might try to change the world in which we live, it will not change.**
>
> (File 10B1&2 Text Unit 497)

iii.) The economically active generation is most valued by society.

NV was among those who seemed to support Sipho's view that the economically active make the greatest contribution to society. In the following extract NV seems to say that work and independence is what life is all about.

> *Ndiyavumelana nento yoba ubomi bomntu buyaphela xa efumana inkamnkam kuba akhonto anokwazi ukuzenzela yona.* **I agree with those who say once you get to a pensionable stage your life stops. There's nothing that you can do for yourself.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 940 - 942)

Earlier we noted that she valued the traditional role of the elderly in society.

The "Secularity" Mega Variable

The Secularity Mega Variable consists of the confrontational variable S24 leave behind the traditions.

Fig. 4 shows that a little less than a third (30%) of the Matrics in the Affirm profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable and substantial numbers of Matrics responded in the "Uncertain" range (20%) and the "Disagree" range (49%). As we have said there seem to be two ways of leaving behind the traditions. One is to adopt a Christian spirituality and the other to adopt a secular position. For the Matrics in the Affirm Profile neither of the options worked.

Two views emerged from the group interviews.

i.) Some like NK, wanted to personally "leave behind the traditions", but felt obliged to continue the traditions out of a sense of "duty" to their extended family.

NK agreed that one should "leave behind the traditional ways of doing things and concentrate on what is to be achieved". In the following extract, however, NK reflects the tension he experiences between his obligation as the first born son to continue the traditions, and the pressure of urban life to neglect the traditions:

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As the first born I am *supposed to* do my [traditional] duties. I think I would accomplish [them] ... even in the city.

(File ZII-1 Text Units 540 - 545)

NK was among those who thought that certain traditions were inappropriate in modern times and they should be left in the past. We mentioned earlier when we discussed the responses to the Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable that some Matrics, including NK, from the Affirm Profile did not adhere to extreme traditional practices such as personally consulting an *igqira*. NK said, "**sometimes the customs need to be questioned**" (File EXTRA Text Units 29-30). He cited the example of the rite of passage into manhood known as *ukwaluka*. He said it was "**not always a good thing**" (File EXTRA Text Units 29-30) as the traditional practice was potentially a health risk to the *amakweta* (initiates). He later said that his education and modern science would provide him with the necessary knowledge to discriminate between the elements of the tradition that he would retain and the elements he would abandon (File EXTRA Text Units 32-36).

ii.) PT, MB, CT, NV, and NZ along with at least 30% of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile opposed relegating the traditions to antiquity. CT (File: 10C123 Text Units 846 - 850), NV (File: 10C123 Text Units 854 - 854), and NZ (File 10C123 Text Units 860 - 861) all said: "Akufunekanga amasiko ashiywe. [**The traditions must not be abandoned.**]". Further remarks by PT were most revealing. In the following extract she explains that for *isi*Xhosa-speaking people their traditions are an integral part of their identity:

PT: *Kunzima ukuba kuyekwe amasiko, kuba umXhosa ngumXhosa ngesithethe nesiko. Xa ngaba uhlukene nesiko ibakhona nje into ebonakalisa ukuba lo mntu lona wehlukana kudala nezinto zakokwabo. Umzekelo, u-Sandi lo angatshata nomntu webala, abo bantu abawenzi amasiko, lo wakuthi ongumxhosa ukhangeleka ebuphunguleka efike enomothuko xa ebona abantu abamnyama kuba waziyeka izinto zamaxhosa. Ngoba kaloku wajongana nenkcubeko. Abantu bebala ngabantu benkcubeko abangenasiko.* **It is very difficult to stop performing our traditions and rituals because a Xhosa person is a Xhosa through the very act of performing his/her traditions and customs. If for some reason you part with your traditions and rituals it is in one or other way evident to others that this person has parted with his/her ancestral home's traditions and customs. For example Sandi here might marry a coloured person. Now these people don't perform traditional rituals. If one of us - a Xhosa person that is, had to visit this person he would be shocked to find a black person who no longer performs the traditional rituals and customs of the Xhosa people.**

(File 10B1&2 Text Units 526 - 526)

MB also talked about the consequences of abandoning one's traditional beliefs and ritual practices. He said:

Thina amaXhosa sikholelwa ekwenzeni izithethe namasiko. So xa kukhona amasiko esiza kuwashiya ngasemva sizobetheka. **We, the Xhosa people, we believe the traditional rituals must be performed. So if the traditions were to be abandoned we would not reach our potential.**

(File 10C123 Text Unit 864)

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The "Goals" Mega Variable

The Goals Mega Variable aggregates variables S1 Happy when achieving or becoming, S2 Pressure to achieve, S3 Think about what I am to become, S4 Goal orientated to achieve, S5 Goals give purpose & direction, S6 Admire people work towards better future for all, S7 Sacrifice now for a better future, S8 Frustrated when prevented pursuing goal.

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (93%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Goals Mega Variable.

A number of themes emerged from the comments made by Matrics during the interviews.

i.) Goal orientation is the key to success.

CT, NZ and MB were among those who firmly believed that having personal goals was a prerequisite for success in life. CT expressed it similarly to MB who said:

> MB: *Nyani kufuneka ube neenjongo ukuze uphumelele ebomini.* **It's true you must have goals in order to succeed in life.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 650 - 658)

NZ was a little more philosophical when she said:

> *Kufuneka umntu abenazo iinjongo zizomnika intsingiselo nendlela e-right.* **A person needs to have goals to give him/her meaning and direction in life.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 646)

ii.) Sacrificing present texture is worthwhile if it benefits the community or society.

In Faku's story the issue is maintaining the "present texture", whereas in Sipho's story present texture is sacrificed for some future gain. Almost all the cases in the Affirm Profile supported F27 Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings (harmonious community) and F31 Fit into the rhythms of nature (not disrupting the natural order of things) which refer to the maintenance of a present texture. What this is saying is that the quality of life is judged according to its present texture rather than by some future goal. But to really be goal orientated one must be prepared to sacrifice present texture for a future goal. Some Matrics like NZ, TB, PE, CT, DM and MB were open to sacrificing present texture because it became meaningful if there were communal gains. This appears to be an attempt to reconcile the two world-views.

PE and NZ shared similar sentiments. PE articulates more clearly their common concern that work is more meaningful when there are communal gains:

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Mna ndithi umntu asebenzele for a better future for all ikamva elingcono kubantu bonke kuba umntu ozenzela into yakhe yedwa akekho ntweni ikakhulu apha ezweni. **I say that a person needs to work for a better future for all. If you are only bettering yourself you will never get anywhere in the future.**

(File 10A2 Text Unit)

In the following extract DM explains that he is totally against those who get involved in social causes and say they are working for a better future for all when really it is for personal gain:

Bakhona abanye abantu benzele abanye abantu into kanti kukhona into abayijongileyo kula mntu. Ukwenzela ukuba noba yintoni na ezakuthi ikuncede ndibe ndiyazi kwaxesha nye ukuba ekufikeni kwam phaya kula ndawo ikhona into endizakuyifumana. Lonto ayilunganga. **There are some people who are concerned about the betterment of others with the intention of personal gain. That is unacceptable.**

(File 10A2 Text Units 142 - 145)

CT and NZ thought that they and others ought to make sacrifices that would have longer-term benefits for the generations to come. NZ expressed it in a similar way to CT who said:

Abantu kufuneka bangathi abantu abalungisa izinto for ixesha elizayo ne generation ezayo ingasokoli. **People must start making things right for the future so that the next generation does not need to struggle.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 673 - 675)

Similarly, NV (File 10C123 Text Unit 688) was only willing to sacrifice for the future because her children might benefit.

MB was not interested in sacrificing for the future unless communal gains were guaranteed. In the following extract MB explains that he is in two minds about sacrificing for the future because although he thinks he should save for his children he is worried that they may be swindled out of their inheritance:

Ndingqinelana, ndingangqinelani. Awuyazi ezo zinto ozokunikezela ngazo baza kuzizuza kusini na. Kusenokwenzeka ukuba uthi ulungiselela bona, wena uzawube uswelekile. So, awumazi lomntu uzakube unikezele kuye noba uza kubanika na. So andingeyithembi into yokuba unikezele ngezinto onazo. Endaweni yoko ungase uzigcine qha, uzigcinele abantwana bakho. **I agree, I don't agree. You don't know whether the very things that you sacrifice for your children will reach them. It may happen that when you are preparing to provide for them you pass away. You do not know whether the person appointed to manage your affairs will give them what is rightfully theirs. So I don't believe in sacrificing for the future. On the other hand perhaps you should save for your children.**

(File 10C123 Text Units 652 - 699)

iii.) Being future orientated ought not to be to the detriment of present texture.

TB was among those who were not fully convinced about sacrificing present texture for future gains.

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TB did not think one should be so future orientated that one neglected the present. In so doing he avoids having to choose between maintaining the present texture and sacrificing for the future. In the following extract he attempts to include both in his thinking:

> *Kulungile ukuba uzicwangcisele ngekamva lakho ukuba kwixesha elizayo uza kwenza ntoni na. Kodwa ukuba uthe awalihoya eli xesha uphila kulo iza kuphinde ikubethe lonto leyo. Kungcono uzibeke iliso zombini.* **It is good that one plans one's future, that which you want to do in time to come. But if you ignore your present experience you may regret it later on. It's better to keep an eye on both.**
>
> (File 10A2 Text Units 133 - 134)

The "Seek Belonging" Mega Variable

The Belonging Mega Variable consists of variable S32 God has sought us but I must also seek Him. (Full text).

Fig. 4 shows that the overwhelming majority (87%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Seek Belonging Mega Variable, as a whole, although a substantial number (10%) responded in the "Uncertain" range.

The majority of the cases in the Affirm Profile supported the Christian idea of actively and individually seeking to belong. This is different from the traditional African view where one is born belonging.

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4.5.1.3 Summary of, and Strategies in the Responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to the Story Variables

At this point we wish to summarise what we have found and highlight the strategies adopted by Matrics located in the Affirm Profile in their attempt to hold together the two paradigms.

Notwithstanding some variation in their responses, we found that on the whole the Matrics we had included in the Affirm Profile responded similarly to the story variables. The results show that a large majority (72% or more) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the mega variables from both the Faku and Sipho's stories.

The exceptions included the following mega variables from Faku story:

- God of the Ancestors which was supported by a slightly smaller majority of 68%, influenced in particular by a mere 44% who supported the constituent variable F9 *Qamata* is far away;

- No Chance which was also supported by a slightly smaller majority of 68%, influenced in particular by a mere 48% who supported the constituent variable F18 Someone else is performing more powerful ritual;
- Spiritual Explanations which was supported by 46%;

and the following mega variables from Sipho's story:

- Personal God which was supported by 54%;
- Secularity which was supported by 30%.

In addition to these mega variables significantly fewer Matrics supported the following constituent variables of other mega variables:

- F7 Women agree they should be fertile etc. (one of the story variables constituting the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable) was supported by 63%;
- S9 Better to reward than to punish (one of the story variables constituting the Social Motivation Mega Variable) was supported by 63%;
- S14 Family holds one back (one of the story variables constituting the Individualism Mega Variable) was supported by 45%;
- S34 Life starts ...leave school, over when retire (one of the story variables constituting the Mode of Engagement Mega Variable) was supported by 47%.

The results show that the Matrics located in the Affirm Profile were trying to hold together as much as they could from both paradigms. They were therefore more likely than the Matrics located in the other profiles to experience what we previously called "a situation of competing paradigms".

For many, however, the extreme confrontational elements needed to be put aside if they were to be able to hold together, in their world-views, the majority of the conflicting elements in the two paradigms. This clearly represents a strategy, for example:

- Extreme traditional elements such as pre-missionary notions of divinity and spiritual explanations for natural phenomena have been set aside by many to accommodate Christianity or secularity with which they conflict. Similarly,

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personal conceptions of divinity and extreme secularity are put aside to allow for the maintenance of the traditional world-view.

- Of the traditional social roles, prescribed gender roles have been set aside to accommodate industrial society's view that individuals negotiate their own roles in society. This is, however, only acceptable to many Matrics in the Affirm Profile if it does not undermine traditional institutions like the family and the role of the aged in society.
- A system of social motivation based on individual rewards that encourages greed and thus inequality was supported less, because some Matrics indicated that it confronts the very core of communalism. In their view it does not consider those who start at a disadvantage (see the Matrics' concern about training and equal opportunity for reward, under the heading "The Social Motivation Mega Variable"). Some Matrics favoured a more egalitarian system which relied on some form of incentive that included "punishment".

There were signs of many other strategies adopted to hold together the two competing paradigms. The fact that there are many is evidence that the contradictions were not merely theoretical but real, in the experience of the respondents.

We now summarise the evidence of such strategies reported in greater detail in the preceding section.

The strategies are grouped as follows:

i.) Adopt one paradigm in the short term, be committed to the other in the long term

Evidence of this strategy from the above report:

- "Communalism is an ideal but it was not practical in modern society, dominated by individualism." The Matrics seem to be saying that they strive for communalism in the long-term, but live according to individualism in the short term.
- "Poor communities rely on the culture of interdependence for survival." These Matrics seemed to imply that as they and others become upwardly mobile they would have no need for this aspect of communalism.

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- "It would appear that some Matrics differentiated between the ideal world where people fit into the natural order of things, and a modern ever-changing world in which they have to survive."

ii.) "Soften" one symbol, to accommodate the contra-symbol.

Examples include:

- "The application of individualism in business need not exclude communal obligation."
- "Being future orientated ought not to be to the detriment of present texture."
- "The best system of social motivation combines individual reward and a mild form of punishment."
- "Individualistic competition can be destructive and need to be balanced by a concern for the well-being of the community."
- "A modern interpretation recovers a traditional position with a sense of pride." For example the language of modern environmentalism is used to the recover a "Fitting Into" Mode of Engagement.
- "*Qamata* (the God of the Ancestors) is *Thixo* (the God of the Bible) by another name." Some Matrics thought that *Thixo* represented all the features of *Qamata.* This suggests that *Qamata,* as the traditional symbol of divinity has been assimilated by the Christian notion of *Thixo*.
- "Misfortune is caused by **something** and not **someone**". The association of misfortune with the extremely traditional notion of being bewitched is abandoned but the closed system of cause and effect is not. The move away from blaming people to blaming events or things is a step closer to science's view of cause and effect.
- "When the scientific world offers an explanation no other is sought but where there is room for spiritual explanations a traditional one is preferred." The gaps in secular explanation are filled with traditional spiritual explanations.
- "Sacrificing present texture is worthwhile if it benefits the community."
- "Science is good where it improves present texture."
- "Heaven is here with us." This interpretation of heaven denies dualism.

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- "Incorrect personal behaviour is the cause of misfortune and one can correct one's own performance with help from God."

iii.) Create a bridging symbol

The following are examples of bridging symbols:

- "Ancestors are mediators between people and a Christian God who is like a chief ancestor". Both the traditional notion of the Ancestors and the Christian symbol of God have been significantly altered to form a new bridging symbol.
- "The Ancestors are somewhere in the background." Aspects of the traditional notion of Ancestors and the Western Christian dualism are integrated to form a new bridging symbol of Ancestors removed from daily life which begin to take on a form of transcendence. There is also evidence of what we have referred to as "growing transcendence". There was a move away from a strictly traditional monistic world-view without embracing a purely dualistic one.

iv.) Different belief systems complement each other.

- Traditional and Christian rituals for protection complement each other. (This is probably a frequent backing of both horses.)

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4.5.1.4 Further Strategies Adopted by the Matrics in the Affirm Profile

During the in-depth interviews Matrics talked about their own perceptions of the world-out-there and responses to real life problems. We were particularly interested in any evidence of strategies for negotiating world-view and identity. We now turn to these findings.

CT, KY, NV, MC and UN were among those who felt that both paradigms were equally important to them. NV was keen to combine Western industrial and traditional African ways of seeing, being and doing. NV said:

Mna bendicinga ukuba mazidibane. **I was thinking that we should combine.**

(File 10C123 Text Unit 1187)

There were various opportunities during the course of the in-depth interviews where this was tested. CT and KY (File 10C123 Text Unit 1184) [39], for example, said that even when pressed to side more with one paradigm they could not.

MC, however, was among those who vacillated between the two paradigms. He illustrates best the difficulty many in this profile had in choosing between the two paradigms. His location in the Affirm Profile was not a coincidence.

At one point MC indicated that while he supported both African Traditional and Western values he thought he was more critical of Western values. He said:

> **I strongly believe in and recommend African [Traditional] values as an individual who has grown up under African customs and traditions. I support all the [traditional] values. I can also recommend Western values. I am more selective when it comes to Western values. There are [Western] values that are contrasting with African values.**
>
> (File EXTRA Text Unit 22)

On another occasion when the Matrics were asked to position themselves anywhere along a continuum where one end represented Sipho's view of the world and the other represented Faku's view of the world, and the middle represented both, MC positioned himself slightly closer to the end which represented Sipho's world-view (File ZII-2 Text Units 43 - 49). In the following extract MC confirms that if he were pushed he would probably side slightly more with Sipho world-view:

> (INTERVIEWER: You feel that you favour both but Sipho's Western values slightly more.) **Yes!**
>
> (File ZII-1 Text Units 462-472)

In all probability he was consciously trying, for the first time, to figure out his own position. Vacillating between being slightly more Western and being slightly more African is therefore understandable. The coexistence of both traditions in his family life explains to some extent why he does not really see one being more dominant than the other. In the following extract he explains that his parents also embrace both value systems.

> (INTERVIEWER: In your family MC, would you say that your parents are more traditional or more Western?) **They are in the middle where they favour African values together with Western values.**
>
> (File: ZII-1 Text Units: 462-472)

[39] Other students in the Affirm Profile shared this position but they participated infrequently in the interviews. SP, ZS and ZK fell into this category. However, the interviewer noted in his fieldnotes during his first interview with a group of students which included SP, ZS and ZK that "...they found it difficult to side with one story more than the other " (File EXTRA Text Unit 169).

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UN also grew up in a nuclear family where both traditions were equally prominent. When she was asked whether her family was "more Western or more African" she replied: "**They take both sides**" (File ZII-1 Text units 462-472). In the following extract she explains that although her extended family is traditional she, like her mother, is successfully managing to embrace both traditions:

UN: **Okay well, if I consider my family. I'd say my mother, she tries to take these two cultures and bring them together. My wider family, they are strongly, strongly African.**
INTERVIEWER: Some young people find having a very traditional family stifling. How do you find it?
UN: **No, I try to cope.**
INTERVIEWER: And you feel you're coping quite well with both cultures.
UN: **JA!**

(File: ZII-1 Text Units: 180-186)

Both MC and UN are examples of those who embrace both paradigms. Below we see that they seem to manage both paradigms by adopting what Cumpsty calls "allocation": they associate each of the competing paradigms with a corresponding context.

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Allocation

MC was against the Africanising of Christian concepts, which is a common strategy used to hold together the competing paradigms. This is evident in his reaction to SY's attempt to liken the Ancestors to Jesus or God because they are mobile and omnipresent. MC said in response to SY's remark: **DON'T take Christianity and the tradition, because they are different!** (File ZII-2 Text Unit32)

MC seemed to also adopt an allocation strategy when, in reply to a question about how he would respond to a situation where his traditional values and Western values were in conflict, he said: "**I will choose the one I feel is the right one for me [at that time]**" (File EXTRA Text Unit 22).

There is further evidence of allocation in the way he described his immediate family's way of life. In the following extract he explains that his daily home life in the suburbs of Umtata resembles a Western way of living and times are set aside in which African traditional beliefs and practices dominate:

By integrating the two traditions we learn the benefits of both traditions. (INTERVIEWER: How do your parents integrate the two?) **They perform all the African traditions and customs, on the other hand the system they use from day to day is not like that. The way we live is more Western.**

(File ZII-1 Text Units 501-508)

Both MC and UN seem to adopt an allocation strategy in a lengthy discussion which spontaneously arose during one of the group interviews. NK was explaining what he understood by the term "traditions", and how people practise their traditions while in the city, when BW insisted that for any "*amasiko*" (traditions and customs) to be practised a kraal was needed. The various participants' responses to the issue of whether or not a kraal was needed for traditional rituals to be performed, and where the Ancestors were located, provides us with valuable insight into how the participants model the world-out-there and deal with the co-existence of both paradigms in their own world-views.

In the following extracts UN and MC insist that the Ancestors are located in the kraal and the kraal in the rural areas and therefore traditional rituals and customs ought to be practised in the sacred space in the villages and not in the cities:

INTERVIEWER: Why do you need a kraal?.
UN: **Because the Ancestors stay there. It is their place.**

(File ZII-1 Text Units 556-557)

MC: **Let us believe that the Ancestors their main dwelling place is the kraal, the cattle kraal is where they are. So you can't practice your customs in a garden in the city.**

(File ZII-1 Text Units 561-563)

INTERVIEWER: If they don't have access to a rural area and kraal what do they do?
UN: **Then they don't have Ancestors!**

(File ZII-1 Text Units 566-566)

UN: **But let's take this thing of going overseas, can you do your *amasiko*** [traditional rituals and practises] **overseas. What are those people going to think?**
INTERVIEWER: Xa ukwakhe umzi edolopini. Xa uzaz' umzi what are you doing? **When you establish a new home in the city. When you make the home known to the Ancestors what are you doing?**
UN: **You have to take the Western way of doing it. You don't have to do *amasiko* there, you do your *amasiko* back in your rural home.**

(File ZII-1 Text Units 580-582)

Signs of a Move to a Plug-in Module Type Strategy

Some like UN and NZ indicated that their world-view was in transition and that they would probably at some point in the future identify more with those located in the SF-AS Profile.

UN was one of those who showed signs of beginning to prioritise the Western Industrial Paradigm over the African Traditional Paradigm. When she began to think about the future she was more concerned about succeeding economically and adapting her cultural identity for it to survive in an ever-changing world. In the longer term she would probably identify more with those located in the SF-AS Profile. In the following extract

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she explains that she would draw on both Western and traditional views of the world, but she would emphasise for pragmatic reasons the Western ways to help her children cope in the global village:

> **Well you see the bigger world outside here is ... I can say it is entirely Western. So as to cope with the standard of living. I would teach them to be Western BUT not forgetting their African traditions.** (INTERVIEWER: So would you say you're moving towards the position adopted by BW where your outlook is largely Western with an African traditional component kind of plugging into it.) **I guess, I guess so.**
>
> (File Text units 196-200)

When asked to position herself along the continuum between Sipho and Faku's world-views NZ was among those who positioned themselves closer to Sipho's world-view. The interviewer verbalised this saying: "Alright ...NZ you choose Sipho just a little more than Faku" (File 10C123, Text Unit 1183). On another occasion NZ indicated that her world-view was increasingly more like the view of the world represented by Sipho's story. In the following extract she explains that, although she is inclined to become more like Sipho, she would try to retain many elements from the traditional paradigm:

> *Ndingakhetha eli likaSipho. ...Ukuba umntwana oyinkwenkwe, kweli cala likaFaku, kufuneka ligciniwe ela siko lokoluswa, namanye ke.* **I would probably choose that which is represented by Sipho. ... That, which refers to boys, from Faku's perspective, must be retained. We must retain the rite of passage of boys into manhood, and other traditions.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Units 1187-1197)

For NZ, industrial society offers more choice that traditional society. In the following extract she reveals her preference for the city life where, in her view, women have the freedom to choose between different modern and traditional ways of marrying:

> *Kanti ke emaxhoseni xa uyo kukha amanzi emlanjeni okanye edameni, uyatsalwa urhuqwe uyokungeniswa endlwini, uhlale pha about five days. Kuxelwe kulo ndlu simgcine endlwini ethile so siza kumfaka nering. Ngoku ngumfazi walapha kule ndlu. But apha uyazikhethela ukuba ufuna utshatele phina.* **You see it is like this in the traditional villages where you [the bride] have to collect water from the spring or the dam and you [the bride] have stay there for about five days. There will be slaughtering at that home where the bride is kept so that everyone knows she is married. She has become a woman of that homestead. But here [in the city] you will be able to choose which way you want to marry.**
>
> (File 10C123 Text Unit 1246)

Signs of a move to integration by selection

NK was among those who sought ways to affirm his traditional heritage while living in the city. In the following extract NK shows that he is committed to his family's traditional values and to performing his customary duties while in the city:

> INTERVIEWER: **When you go to Johannesburg, or the city, will you continue to perform your traditional rituals? [Pause] By the way aren't you the first born son in your family?**
> NK: **Yes! As I am supposed to do my duties I think I would accomplish them [in the city]. ... To maintain the pillars of our African Tradition in the city.**
>
> (File: ZII-1 Text Units: 540 - 545)

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NK's comments suggest that given his future relocation to the city he would have to renegotiate his world-view. Once he considered a future that he could influence he became critical of both, opting to selectively integrate from both paradigms. On the one hand the interviewer noted in his fieldnotes that "NK said that he thought African Traditional ways are in certain contexts superior to Western ways. He said he would retain the tradition in his own family and pass it on to his offspring..." (File EXTRA Text Unit 30). But on the other hand the interviewer's notes continue: "He said he would amend it [the tradition]. He went on to say that sometimes 'the customs need to be questioned'." He thought he would find ways to use modern science and education to adapt the tradition. The interviewer's notes say: "He cited the example of the rite of passage known among the *ama*Xhosa as *ukwaluka* which he said was 'not always a good thing', because it sometimes put the initiates' health at risk. He later said that his education would provide him with the knowledge to discriminate between the elements of the tradition" (File EXTRA Text Unit 36) that could continue in their present form and those that needed adapting.

His attempts to adapt the tradition to modern society are further illustrated in his unusual comments during the debate about the location of the kraal and the mobility of the Ancestors, and how he would deal with a situation where he was a manager required to discipline someone old enough to be his father.

In the following extract from the debate about the location and the mobility of the Ancestors NK argues that the kraal and the Ancestors could be relocated to the city:

> **You guys correct me if I'm wrong. You said that you can't perform your ritual in an urban area because you don't have a kraal, *ne*. But I've given you a case [which shows] that you can have a kraal in an urban area so you would then be able to perform the ritual there.**
>
> (File: ZII-2 Text Unit 50)

The interviewer noted, in his fieldnotes (File EXTRA Text Unit 39) on the discussion of the problem of a manager disciplining someone old enough to be his/her father, that "NK said he would not ignore the need to discipline someone old enough to be his father but he would 'seek alternatives', but if all attempts to seek an alternative were exhausted he would probably reluctantly discipline the person".

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A bridging strategy

MB was among those who were concerned about finding ways to be both traditional and modern. He seemed to find in the Zionist Church (an African Indigenous Church) a way to bridge his deep commitment to the traditional way of life and his desire to succeed in industrial society (see his response to the Individualism Mega Variable and Social Motivation Mega Variable). We also note that he was one of those who attempted to interpret Sipho's story variables through a communal lens.

In the exercise in which the Matrics in the various groups were asked to position themselves anywhere along an imaginary continuum, with the one end as Sipho's story and the other end as Faku's story, MB positioned himself slightly closer to the Faku's end. The interviewer made the following observation: "MB ...you choose Faku slightly more than Sipho" (File 10C123 Text Unit 1185).

MB was totally committed to the preservation of his traditional way of life while living in the city. In the following extract he says that he would raise his children to respect their traditional heritage:

> *Bendino kumkhulisela kweli cala laseMaxhoseni.* **I would raise my children in the way it is done in the traditional villages of the Transkei.** (INTERVIEWER: *Zonke izinto ezenziwayo emaxhoseni, uza kuzenza apha ekhayeni lakho?* **Would you replicate all the traditional things you do in the village here in your city home**?): *Ngokuqinisekileyo ndingazenza.* **For sure, I'd do the same.**
>
> (File: 10C123 Text Units: 1217-1222)

His repeated references to the Zionist Church[40] in which he participates is a clue to how he integrates being traditional and modern. His reflections on and understanding of the African traditional phenomenon known as "amafufunyana"[41] (which loosely means spirit

[40] Zionist churches form part of the broader category of churches called African Indigenous Churches that are based on African traditional spirituality while similtaneosuly being Christian. According to Oosthuizen (1994) African Indigenous Churches emerged in the midst of two worlds: the modern Western world and the world of African tradition.

[41] The discussion about the phenomenon of "amafufunyana" or spirit possession spontaneously came about as a result of an incident the interviewer witnessed one afternoon soon after he arrived at Langa Comprehensive for a group interview. He saw a schoolgirl sprinting across the schoolyard. The caretaker was alerted and he closed the school gate to prevent her running into the busy street. A group of teachers from the school rushed to the scene. The teenager had to be restrained by three adults as she fought them off for about five minutes. They proceeded to pray and lay hands on her while her body twisted and shook violently. She was also frothing from the mouth continuously. After a while she stopped struggling and lay quite still, her body limp. She regained consciousness as if waking from a deep sleep. She was disorientated, exhausted and thirsty. The interviewer asked the students about the incident and they said it was a case of "amafufunyana" (File 10C123Text Unit 185-224). See Edwards (1984) on "Amafufunyana Spirit Possession".

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possession) reveals how his church, a Zionist Indigenous Church, takes seriously the needs of its African constituents.

INTERVIEWER: X*a umntu ethandaza iyaphela lanto ne? Nithini ke nina?* **When a person is prayed for this [possession] ceases. What do you say?**
MB: *Hayi mna ndibona into yokuba makasiwe eziCaweni kuba ngapha ezilalini dandidla ngokubona abantu xa benamafufunyana eCaweni. Wayedla ngoku thandazelwa. Abe nesiqabu okwalomzuzwana.* **No, the way I see things this person should be taken to the Church because there in the village I had the opportunity to see people with this *amafufunyana* possession at Church. Things subsided when the person was prayed for. He/she experienced relief during that period.**
INTERVIEWER: *Nithini ke igqirha liyakwazi ukunyanga nokuyiphilisa lento? Amaziyoni ayakwazi ukuyenza lento?* **What do you say, does the traditional healer know how to treat and heal this condition. Are the Zionist Churches more able to deal with it?**
MB: *Ewe ayakwazi ukumthandazela ayeke okwalamzuzu.* **Yes, he/she can be prayed for him/her to stop that very moment.**
INTERVIEWER: *Wena wawukhonza ngela xesha?* **Where did you attend Church on that occasion?**
MB: *Ndandiyibone eZiyoni.* **I experienced it while I was attending the Zionist Church.**
(File: 10C123 Text Units: 206 - 222)

In the following extract MB divides African Christians into two categories: those who are able to combine the African tradition and Christian faith, and those who cannot:

Bakhona abakwaziyo ukuyidibanisa. Bathi bewenza amasiko babe bekhonza nase ziCaweni. Kanti bakhona abangakwaziyo ukuyidibanisa. Aba bakhonza kwiCawa ezingawenziyo amasiko. **There are those are able to bring the two together. They say they perform the traditions and worship in Church. Then there are those who are not able to bring the two together. They are the ones who attend Church without performing the traditions and customs.**
(10C123 Text Unit 1268)

The sophisticated level of his concern to integrate African Tradition and modern Western culture is demonstrated in the following extract in which he argues that certain aspects of the two cultures cannot be integrated because they are conflicting:

MB: *Kufuneka uqwalasele ukuba zeziphi eziculture uza kudibanisa, ujonge iziphumo zizakuthina. Pha kwaXhosa akhona amasiko ongenakuwasa nokuwasa esilungwini. Anje ngokwaluka, inkwenkwe ayinakuthi isesuthwini iqhweshe iye esibhedlele kuba ifuna ukudibanisa iculture.* **You must take cognisance of what aspects of these cultures you are attempting to combine. You need to look at the consequences of this for us. In the villages of the Transkei there are traditional practises that you are not familar with, having lived in the white areas. Like the rite of passage into manhood, a young initiate can't participate in the circumcision school and then go to hospital [for the removal of the foreskin] out of some desire to merge the cultures.**
CT: *Iyenzeka kodwa lonto.* **But that is being practised.**
MB: *Iyenzeka, kodwa ayifuneki. Zibe zingadibani ziyangquzulana!* **It may be practised but it should not be. These things do not mix, they are in conflict!**
CT: *Azingquzulani.* **They are not in conflict.**
MB: *Ukuba bezingagquzulani ungatsho nje umntu oyindodana ngesolukela aye esibhedlele.* **If they were not contradictory you might as well say that men can go to the hospital for the circumcision ritual.**
(File 10C123 Text Units: 1278-1283)

MC also entertained the idea that individuals could integrate African and Christian spirituality. There were some signs that he was open to Christianising African traditional rituals. The interviewer noted in his fieldnotes that "MC said that he thought his uncle played a major role in bringing together the African Traditional and Western Christian in the way he does things ... MC said that he thought his uncle combined the different

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values well when he used Christian language and prayer while performing African traditional rituals" (File EXTRA Text Unit 61). MC's uncle had become for him a bridging symbol between the two traditions.

4.5.2 Comparison with the Other Profiles' Responses to the Story Variables

We now turn to the responses of the Matrics located in the other four profiles. The findings are presented comparatively. Furthermore, similarities and differences between the responses of the Matrics in these profiles and those of the Affirm Profile to the mega variables are highlighted.

We had some difficulty deciding how best to present the numerical responses to the mega variables together with the themes and remarks from the interviews. We decided to use a table format to present the range of themes that emerged from the group interviews that exemplify the Matrics' different positions. This was preceded by bar charts of the patterns of responses by the Matrics in each of the profiles and followed by comparative comments. The data (%) in the bar charts are taken from Tables A7 and A9 in Appendix 3.

4.5.2.1 The Faku Story Variables

(See below)

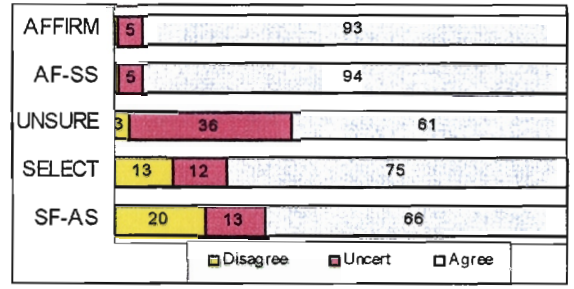
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The Communalism Mega Variable

List of the constituent variables:

- F1 Interdependence statement
- F2 *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*
- F16 I will correct my neglect of the Ancestors by performing a ritual
- F26 It is better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves
- F27 Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings

Fig.6 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Communalism Mega Variable



Note: Missing data of 1% or 2% is not accounted for in the above bar chart. Hence the total percentage distribution of the data for a profile may be short of 100%. This applies to successive ones as well.

Table 5: The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Communalism Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	Interdependence is better than independence • SH, TO, and JU attributed their humanity to a shared spirit of interdependence. TO said: *Umntu uba ngumntu ngabantu, ngokwemisebenzi yakho.* **A person is really only a person through other people, through your deeds.** (File 10A2 Text Units 69-70) Interdependence is a survival strategy adopted by the poor • JU was among those who not only believed in Ancestors but also agreed that they are the guardians of social harmony. He said: *Yha, nam nditsho kufuneka usebenzisane nabamelwana bakho. Mhlawumbi xa uzibona ukuba akunanto unayo esandleni. Ulala ungatyanga, nabantwna balala bengatyanga, akufumani umsebenzi, akufumani ntoni. Ukwazi ukukhala kumelwana.* **Yes, I also say that you should work together with your neighours. Perhaps you would only really appreciate this when you have nothing in your hand; you sleep without having eaten and your children sleep without having eaten, you cannot get work, you don't get anything. You can at least cry out to your neighbour**. (File 10C123 Text Units 574-576) Communal harmony is rewarded by the Ancestors • JU said: *Yha ndiyangqinelana nalentetho ithethwa apha; yokuba izinyanya zimjonga gochulumanco umntu xa abanye abantu mhlwawumbi ebenzele izinto ezintle, zitsho nawe zikwandisele. Uzibone sele uphumelela ngaphezulu koku unakho.* **Yes, I support what is being said here that the Ancestors joyfully look after a person who does good things for other people, they [the Ancestors] add more to what you already have. You see yourself being more successful than before.** (File 10C123 Text Units 574-576)
UNSURE	No comments were forthcoming
SELECT	Interdependence is at the heart of our humanity but self-interest is acceptable if it does not violate others. • NX said: *Kunjalo ukuba umntu ngumntu ngabantu. But ayithethi ntwenye nale yokuba, ayithethi ntwenye. Kaloku xa sisisthi akwenzeli bantu, sithetha ukuba akunakude ungayenzi into yakho ngenxa yokuba usithi mhlambi bazakuthini abantu. Since inguwe ozobenefita yinto yakho leyo so ke akunakujonga omnye umntu then ke yeny' i-case edifferent leyo, uyaqonda.* **It is true that a person is a person through other people. But this does not only have one meaning. So when we are saying you are not doing things for other people we mean that others will not prevent you from doing your own things but you might think: What will the other people say? Since you are the one who'll benefit its your own affair. So you shouldn't worry about what others will say. [The minute you do that] its a different issue altogether.** (File ZII-2 Text Units 76-91) NX went on to say, however, that it would concern her if a person wanted to succeed at the expense of others. She said: **If it is such, then I would get worried, if they just do things for themselves-but in a fair way that's okay.** (File ZII-2 Text Units 98-128) Independence precedes interdependence • LV said: Ungasebenzisana nabantu kodwa awunakusebenzisana nabantu ungaqalanga uzifunde wena isiqu sakho. **You may work together with other people but you can't work effectively together with other people until you know yourself**. (File 10B1&2 Text Units 300-322)

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	Reservations about the Ancestors role as guardians of communal harmony • LV was among those who supported the social consequences of the belief without supporting the belief itself. He said: *...Ziyasebenzisana nomntu obanqwenelela kakuhle abanye abantu. But I don't agree very strongly.* **They [the Ancestors] work well with a person who wishes the best for other people. But I don't agree with this very strongly.** (File: 10B1&2 Text Units: 323-338)
SF-AS	It is only the benefits of cooperation that presses people to work together. • VK seemed to recognise that the closest to communalism one gets in the corporate world is the form of ad hoc pseudo-communalism found in team work. He said: *Nyani unjalo umsebenzi kuyancedancedwana.* **It is true the nature of working in the workplace is such that people have to help each other.** (File : 10A2 Text Units: 48-64)

Notes:

1. The pattern of responses by the Matrics in the Select Profile to variable F16 deviates substantially from that of the mega variable. Table A7, in Appendix 3, shows that 56% supported variable F16, with 14% in the "Uncertain" range, and 30% in the "Disagree" range.
2. The pattern of responses by the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile to variable F16 also deviates substantially from that of the mega variable. Table A7 shows that only 36% supported variable F16 with 17% in the "Uncertain" range, and 46% in the "Disagree" range (missing data is 1%).

Observations and Comments

- Almost all the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Communalism Mega Variable. The Matrics in the Affirm Profile responded similarly. This we expected because the Matrics in both these profiles are affirming Faku's view of the world.
- The support for the Communalism Mega Variable among the Matrics in the remaining profiles was as follows:
- a little less than two-thirds in the Unsure Profile;
- three-quarters in the Select Profile; and
- two-thirds in the SF-AS Profile.
- Although some Matrics in these profiles do not support the Communalism Mega Variable substantial majorities do. This is to be expected as communalism is one of a number of aspects of an African Traditional Paradigm that remain attractive even to many who have embraced a Western Industrial Paradigm. For some communalism also passes as collectivism which is not necessarily traditional.
- Constituent variable F16 was the least supported variable among those in the Select and SF-AS profiles. F16 refers to communal harmony in a system that includes the living and the dead. Many of the Matrics in the Select and SF-AS profiles are probably aware of at least some of traditional rituals but few personally identify with the practice of rituals that involve the Ancestors.
- The remarks by NX and LV (of the Select Profile) and VK (of the SF-AS Profile) indicate that they did not go along with communalism that eclipses individualism. They probably relate better to collectivism.

The Monism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F3 Ancestors ensure health/well being
- F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have
- F14 Ancestral spirits live in rivers etc.
- F15 Ancestors are important in my life

Fig.7 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Monism Mega Variable

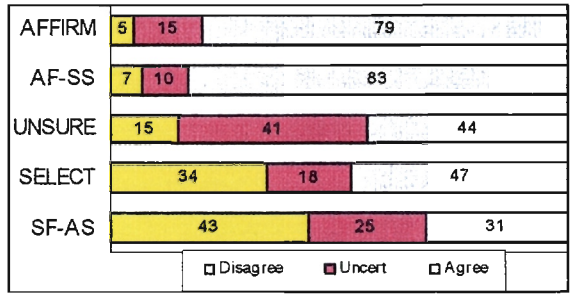


Table 6: The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Monism Mega Variable.

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	The Ancestors together with *Thixo* look after us • JU was among those in this profile who believed that *Thixo* together with the Ancestors look after one. He said: *Yha, kwesi sithutyana ndiyakolwa ... sigcinwe zizinyanya. Kodwa noThixo. Ndizama ukumngqinela kuba setshilo andimshiya phaya kulanto . Zisenokuba ziyancedisana xa kunjalo izinyanya noThixo kulena into.* **Yes, at the moment I believe ... we are looked after by the Ancestors. And *Thixo* also. I am trying to support what was said earlier, I don't want to leave Him out of the equation. It could be that these two are actually supporting each other. It is like *Thixo* and the Ancestors are together in this matter.** (File 10C123 Text Units 231-232) The healing rituals of the African indigenous churches are more powerful than the traditional healing rituals • Some like JU believed that the African indigenous churches fulfilled their traditional needs better than the tradition itself. In the following extract JU recalls an occasion that he believes demonstrates this: *Ndakha ndagula kakhulu, ekuguleni kwam andizange ukuba ndinyangeke ngaphandle ukuba ndisiwe eCaweni, ndathandazelwa ndatsho ndaphila.-Ndikhonza eZion. And amasiko enziwa agqitywa akuzange kubekho siqabu. Kum yiyo lonto ndinga kholelwayo kuwo.* **Because I was once sick; I would not have been cured had I not been taken to my church where the people prayed for me until I was healed-I worship at the Zionist [Independent] Church. And [let me add that] the traditional rituals were fully performed for me but I never got relief. That is why I do not believe all the traditional rituals.** (File 10C123 Text Units 176-180) There are spirits here on earth and some live in rivers • JU along with the overwhelming majority of Matrics in this profile did not differentiate between the physical world and spiritual world. JU said: *...Bakhona abantu abahlala phaya emlanjeni like izinyanya.* **There are people [beings] who live in the depths of the river like Ancestors.** (File 10C123 Text Units) On another occasion he said: *...Ndingatsho ukuthi ikhona imimoya apha.* **I would say that there are spirits here on earth.** (File 10C123 Text Units 392-396)
UNSURE	No comments were forthcoming.
SELECT	It is *Thixo* more than the Ancestors who looks after one • Some like LV did not actually reject the Ancestors but preferred to shift the emphasis away from the Ancestors to *Thixo*. LV said: *Ewe izinyanya zindijongile, but eyona nto ndikholelwa kukuba zijongene nezinto esinazo nosapho lwethu, ndingathi mna nguthixo ojongene nezozinto.* **Yes, the Ancestors do look after me but what I really believe concerning who looks after our families and our possessions is that Thixo is watching over these things.** (File 10B1&2 Text Unit 62) The Ancestors are not personally very important • Some like BW acknowledge that others may believe in the Ancestors but they did not personally identify with that traditional belief. BW said: **I don't think that my Ancestors are very important. It says here [in the story] '...in my life'.** (File ZII-2 Text Unit 381)
SF-AS	The Ancestors look after us • VK was among those in the SF-AS Profile who believed in the protection of the Ancestors. VK said: *Ndiyakholwa okokuba izinyanya zam ziyazijonga zonke izinto endinazo nosapho lwam.* **I believe that my Ancestors look after everything I and my family possess.** (File 10A1 Text Units 55-63)

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Observations and Comments

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile over three-quarters of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable. Some like JU indicated that they found in African Zionism a way to feel traditional without excluding aspects of Christianity. This is also evident in his use of the name *Thixo* rather than *Qamata* when referring to the traditional notion that God, in conjunction with the Ancestors, is looking after his well-being.
- A little less than half the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable while a little less than half responded in the "Uncertain" range.
- A little less than half of the Matrics in the Select and a little less than a third of the Matrics in the SF-AS profiles supported the Monism Mega Variable. With a little less than a third and a little less than half respectively responding in the "Disagree" range. VK's comments demonstrate that, of the different aspects of monism we tested, a belief in Ancestors continued to feature in the belief system of Matrics in the SF-AS Profile. LV's comments suggest that some of the Matrics in the Select Profile, and perhaps some of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile, believed that *Thixo* and the Ancestors work together in some sort of spiritual hierarchy with God being emphasised more and the Ancestors less. The role of the Ancestors in these Matrics' lives seems to be fading as they move closer to BW's position where the Ancestors no longer feature.
- From the above we observe that the Matrics in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles tended to support monism whereas the other profiles tended not to.

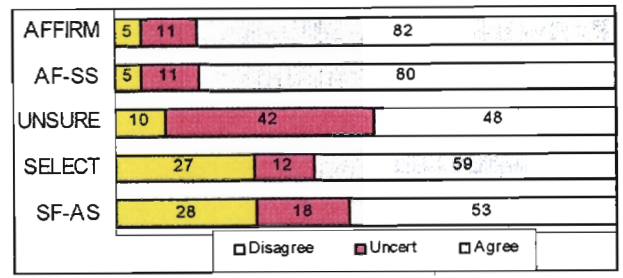
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The Traditional Social Features Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F5 Children are our wealth
- F6 Fertility, obedience and hard work
- F7 Women agree they should be fertile etc.
- F21 Older people to be respected by the youth ... they are close to the Ancestors
- F22 Old pass on traditions

Fig.8 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to theTraditional Social Features Mega Variable



Note: 4% of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile did not respond to this mega variable.

Table 7. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	A traditional view of gender roles • JU along with the overwhelming majority in this profile supported a traditional view of gender roles. He said: *Ndifuna umfazi ozalayo abe nabantwana khona ukuze abo bantwana bam bakwazi ukuxhamla ilifa lam xa ndithe ndaguga. Ndingahlali nje nomfazi kanti akazali akathini, oko sihleli nje qha kuba ilifa lam liya kudliwa ngabanye abantu.. Kanti abantwana bam bebeza kundicingela, bayitye becinga besithi noko utata usebenze nzima kufuneka siyitye ngobuncono.* **I want a wife who will bear children, so that my children can benefit from my inheritance when I'm old. I can live with a wife who doesn't bear children, we can forever stay just like that, if it were not for my concern that other people would squander my fortune. Whereas with my own children they would honour the memory that I worked very hard for them to inherit my money, they would think to themselves: we should use the money properly.** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 273-278) A traditional view of the role of the elderly in society • SH like almost all in this profile valued the role of the elders as guardians of the tradition. He said: *I feel very strongly about this because they are more experienced so bayazazi izinto zezekileyo even our history bayayazi so kuyafuneka beyigqithisile kwisizukulwana esilandelayo.* **I feel very strongly about this because they are more experienced, so they are knowledgeable about the things of the past, even our history, they know it well so they must pass it on to the next generation of grandchildren.** (Source: File10A2 Text units 32-33)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	Non-traditional interpretation of the value of the elderly • LV was among the many in this profile who did not identify with the traditional conception of the role of the elders in society. In the following extract he indicates that he believes the elderly should be respected but is uncomfortable with the traditional view that the elderly have a specially close relationship with the Ancestors: *Ndiyakholelwa, andikholelwa kuba apha ithi abantu abadala banoqhakamshelwano nezinyanya. Nantso into ebangela ndikholelwa kakhulu.* **I believe that, but at the same time I don't believe because it is said here that the elders are close to the Ancestors. It is this that prevents me from strongly believing this statement.** (File: 10B1&2 Text Unit: 277)
SF-AS	Modern realistic view of women and the number of children one should have. • VK, like many in this profile, did not think modern women would go along with their prescribed traditional role. He said: *Iyafana moss umfazi ukuba akazali, abazali bakho abazumfuna. ... Kuba kaloku umfazi kusenokwenzeka angazali nje kuba awunamali yokondla abantwana. Uzakuyithatha phi imali? Uzakuthi ufuna umfazi ozalayo abe nabantwana banganxibi. Uzakuyithathaphi imali? ... Abafazi abavumelani nalento. Bakhona abafazi abangakhathaliyo abasoloko besemisebenzini bengenaxesha lokujonga abantwana.* **It's the same as saying that if your wife cannot give birth, your parents will not accept her ... It's like this, it may be that a woman is not giving birth because you do not have the means to support the children. Where are you going to get the money? You say you must have a wife that gives birth, yet she's going to have children that can't even be clothed. Where are you going to get the money. Women would not go along with this. ...There are some women who are not interested for they are always at work, they don't have time to look after children.** (File 10A1Text Unit 67)

Notes:

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1. Table A7 shows that the pattern of responses of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile to variable F7 deviated substantially from the pattern of responses to the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable as a whole. F7 was supported by 67% of the Matrics in this profile, with 18% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 15% responding in the "Disagree" range.
2. Table A7 shows that the pattern of responses of Matrics in the Unsure Profile to variables F7 and F21 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable as a whole. Variable F7 was supported by a mere 16% of the Matrics in this profile, with 56% in the "Uncertain" range and 28% in the "Disagree" range. Variable F21 was supported by 68% of the Matrics in this profile with 28% in the "Uncertain" range and 4% in the "Disagree" range.
3. Table A7 shows that the pattern of responses of Matrics in the Select Profile to variable F7 deviated somewhat from that of the mega variable as a whole. Variable F7 was supported by 33% of the Matrics in this profile, with 18% in the "Uncertain" range and 43% in the "Disagree" range.
4. Table A7 shows that the pattern of responses of Matrics in the SF-AS Profile to variable F7 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable as a whole. Variable F7 was supported by a mere 34% of the Matrics in this profile with 21% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 42% in the "Disagree" range.
5. For each of the four profiles we performed Student T-Test for significant difference in the mean responses of male and female Matrics to variable F7. In each case their was *no statistically significant difference* in the mean responses. (The p-value for the AF-SS Profile was 0.08; for the Unsure Profile it was 0.15; for the Select Profile it was 0.76; and for the SF-AS it was 0.4.)

Observations and Comments

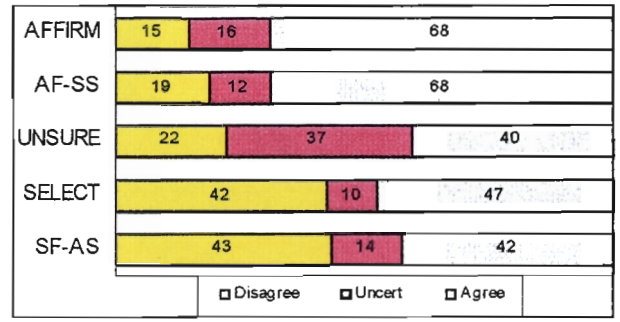
- Like those in the Affirm Profile over three-quarters of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable. Although a third of the Matrics in this profile acknowledged that women would have a problem accepting their traditional role in society. JU's traditional view of the different gender roles in society is very typical of those who affirm Faku's world-view. His concern, that were he not to have offspring his fortune would be squandered, is the concern of a businessman. (While JU was doing his final year at school he ran a taxi and a small butchery which supported his family.) SH draws attention to the revered role of the elderly who pass on the rich cultural heritage to successive generations.
- A little less than half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable with a little less than half "Uncertain". In response to variable F7 a little over half were "Uncertain" and a little over a quarter thought that today's women would accept their traditional role in society (see Table A7 in Appendix 3).
- A little over half of the Matrics in both the Select and SF-AS profiles supported the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable while a little over a quarter in each of the profiles responded in the 'Disagree" range. A little less than half did not think that woman would accept a traditional role in society. Some, like VK, who had reservations about supporting the traditional role women in society, admitted that today's women would not support their traditional role. Many in these profiles like LV valued the elderly but selectively rejected what they perceived to be "backward" and archaic beliefs such as Ancestors.
- There were no significant gender differences in the responses to the one variable, namely F7, which looked like it might solicit different responses from the male and female respondents.
- While the Matrics in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles tended to support the traditional social features, and there tended to be substantially less support for the traditional social features among the Matrics from the Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles, substantial numbers in all the profiles acknowledged that women were not likely to accept their traditional role in society.

The God of the Ancestors Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F8 *Qamata* made earth & everything
- F9 *Qamata* is far away
- F10 Pray to and praise *Qamata*
- F12 Only communicate with *Qamata* during crisis

Fig.9 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable



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Table 8. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	Re-establish *Qamata* and prosperity will return • JU was among those in this profile who believed that "*Qamata* is far away". In the following extract he draws on well known Xhosa folklore to explain why in his view *Qamata* is far away: *Yha ndifuna ukuthi uQamata ukude kakhulu kunathi, uchasele. Kuba imthetho yakhe awayeyibekile kuqala xa sisiva phaya kwimbali. Saye sayophula thina bantu kuba kuthiwa kwakukho into ekuthiwa kuyakuvela abantu abanenwele azinje ngobulembu bombona, bevela elwandle. Bephethe iqhosha elingenamthunja, ze ningalithathi. Ngoku abantu bakuthi balithatha bona. Baxelelwa nokuba kufuneka batshise nenkomo zabo, njalo, njalo. Sele sisokola kangaka nje ngoku kungenxa yalonto.* **Yes, I want to say that *Qamata* is very far removed from us. Because of certain laws that he had laid down at the beginning as the story goes. It is said that we broke these laws. It is said that there were people from the North, who had straight hair like that of the jacket of a mealie, they were from the sea. They came with a button with no hole. People were told not to take this button. However our people did accept the button with no hole. They were then convinced to burn their livestock etc, etc. Since that time we have suffered because of what we did.** (File 10C123 Text Units 291-314) • JU was also among those who wanted to re-establish *Qamata* as God. In the following extracts he bemoans the neglect of *Qamata* as people have accepted the Bible and *Thixo: uThixo ngulo simkhonzayo, phantsi kwala ncwadi inomlomo obomvu. ... uQamata ngulo wayekhona kuqala. ... Zibethana ngendlela yokuba kuwezi ntsuku siphila kuzo uyakhonzwa uThixo. Nangona izingxengxezo ezenziwayo ngabantu zingaphumeleli ngendlela ezazisenzeka nayo kuQamata. Andimdanga ngokukholelwa ngapha ngaku Thixo.* ***Thixo* is the one we worship according to the book with the red tipped pages ... Qamata is the one who was there in the beginning. ...We are contradicting ourselves in the way we live these days in that we worship *Thixo*. Even though people apologise to their Ancestors they are not as successful as they where when we acknowledged *Qamata*. I'm not a great believer in *Thixo*.** (File10C123 Text Units 291-316) *Qamata* is a synonym for *Thixo* • KS was among those who insisted that *Qamata* and *Thixo* were simply two names for God. She said: *Qamata is also Thixo ... yinto enye.* ***Qamata* is also *Thixo* ...one and the same.** (File ZII-2: Text Units 339-369)
UNSURE	No comments were forthcoming
SELECT	*Thixo* is the creator God, *Qamata* is not the creator God • BW, like many in this profile, could not identify with *Qamata* and substituted the word *Qamata* with the word *Thixo*. In response to the statement that *Qamata* created the heavens and the earth he said: *uThixo ngumdali wezulu nomhlaba.* ***Thixo* is the creator of the heavens and the earth.** (File ZII-2 Text Unit 237) *Qamata* is really *Thixo* by another name • NX said that she could not differentiate between *Qamata* and *Thixo*. INTERVIEWER: **Do you see any difference between *Thixo* and the traditional conception of God or *Qamata*** NX: **No. ...Who's this traditional *Qamata*? I don't understand**. (ZII-2 : 220-246 & 285-334) • On another occasion when she was asked: "Do you talk to *Qamata* ONLY in times of crisis, or do you talk to *Qamata* whenever you feel like it." She proceeded to speak of *Qamata* in non traditional terms which are associated with *Thixo* who is seen to be personal and intimate. She said: **It shouldn't be like that [people should not talk to Him only in times of crisis],**

	people tend to forget Him during the good times. (File: ZII-2 Text Unit : 285-334)
SF-AS	No remarks were forthcoming

Notes:

1. The pattern of responses of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile to variable F9 deviated substantially from the pattern of responses to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable as a whole. Variable F9 was supported by 43% of the Matrics in this profile, while 17% responded in the "Uncertain" range and 39% responded in the "Disagree" range.

Observations and Comments

- Much like the responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile a little over two-thirds of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable. Some, like JU, had a romanticised view of a by-gone golden age before the introduction of *Thixo* by the missionaries, when people acknowledged *Qamata*, and the human and spiritual dimensions were in harmony. Others in the profile, like KS, understood *Qamata* to be another name for the Christian notion of *Thixo*. This suggests that they do not have the conceptual apparatus to relate to the traditional notion of *Qamata*. It would seem, as was the case with the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, that a significant number of Matrics could not relate to a traditional view of God and they read into *Qamata* the characteristics of *Thixo*.
- The responses of Matrics in the Unsure Profile to the God of the Ancestors mega variable were spread across all three categories.
- On the whole the responses of the Matrics in the Select and SF-AS profiles were divided between those who supported to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable and those who responded in the "Disagree" range. Some like, BW, found the name *Qamata* completely foreign and they either rejected it or, like NX, substituted *Thixo* for *Qamata* assuming it was a synonym.
- From the above we observe that far fewer Matrics in the Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles supported the traditional notion of *Qamata* than the Matrics in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles.

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The No Chance Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F17 Balance upset, something caused this
- F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual
- F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune

Fig. 10 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the No Chance Mega Variable

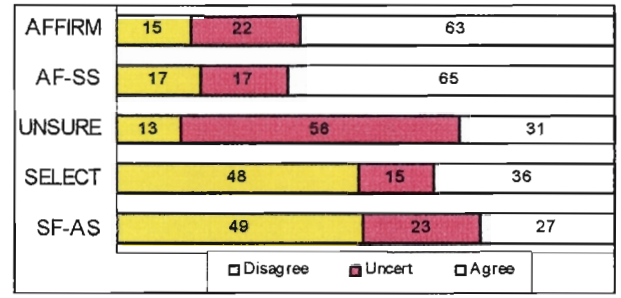


Table 9. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the No Chance Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	The cause of misfortune is not malevolence but incorrect ritual practice • JU was among those who supported a closed system of cause and effect without blaming others for misfortune. In the following extracts he resists blaming other people for misfortune:... *Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle, mhlawumbi uyabona ukuba ufumana amashwa. Kufuneka uthande ukuqonda ukuba yenziwa yintoni lonto, izinto ezinjalo.* **When things don't go well, perhaps you're experiencing misfortune. You must try to find the cause and related things**. (File: 10C123 Text: 409-410). He later said: *Andikholelwa mna lonto leyo xa isiko lakho lingalungi kukho umntu okuthakathayo. Kuba kwakhe kwenzeka imbalana encinci pha kuthi emaxhoseni. Kukho indawo idlelo elinezinto ezindala, ozwe lidala. Yha amaxhego apha onke nomama bapha beyo kwenza isiko pha. Ngoku sele kuyiwe nayo ibhokwe phaya entabeni, iza kuxhelelwa phaya kula ndlu indala iphaya. Kwakutshwa ke inkonde yaphaya, ixhego laphaya eli za kuyihlaba le bhokwe. Hayi ke labek' umkhonto labeku mkhonto, lawufaka umkhonto ebhokweni. Yahlatywa ibhokwe ihlatywa leli xhego, zange ikhale tu. Kwayekwa sele kume nembiza kuza kuphekwa, yayekwa la bhokwe yaphakama isophisa injalo ingakhange ikhale. Bahamba baya kuvumisa egqirheni. Kwathiwa lanto bebengafanelanga ukuba bayenzile, bebefanele ukuba bavul' umzi kuqala phaya kowabo. Nyhani ke baqala bavula umzi lowa, yaphindwa lanto.yakhala ibhokwe.* **I don't believe that when your traditional rituals do not work for you then there must someone bewitching you. Because of a incident that happened back home in the village. ...The elders of the area all of them including the mothers got together in this place to perform a traditional ritual. They took a goat to the mountain for it to be slaughtered. One elder was appointed to slaughter the goat but it did not cry out as it ought to. They then left the goat, stopped the whole procedure because the goat did not cry out. They then went to the traditional diviner/healer to discover what the cause was. The traditional diviner/healer told them that they should not have done what they did, rather they should have first performed a ritual opening of their house . They did just as the diviner/healer instructed and "opened" their home and then performed the ritual slaughter of the goat again and it cried out as it should.** (File 10C123 Text Unit 448) Traditional diviners/healers protect one against misfortune • SH was among those who believed that persistent misfortune that did not respond to initial diagnosis and treatment from the traditional healer was caused by witches or bad spirits and that "**the *igqira* [traditional healer/diviner] is in a position to prevent evil things from affecting one**" (File 10A2 Text Units 13-15) Youth of the 1990's are not necessarily familar with witchcraft • The interviewer wrote in his fieldnotes (File: EXTRA Text Units 141-146) that KS said she did not know much about people performing more powerful rituals to counter one's healing rituals as she could not recall this practice being spoken about in her family.
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	A closed system of cause and effect is identified with an impersonal scientific world-view • BW accepted that misfortune is "caused by something" however he refused to entertain theories of malevolence. In the following extract he advocates what appears to be a system of cause and effect which excludes witchcraft and sounds like the impersonal world-view of science: BW: **Eee, witchcraft!** [laughs] INTERVIEWER: Do you think that's possible? Are you saying you believe in witchcraft? BW: **I don't really believe that but ...but you said someTHING** [student's own emphasis] **not someone** (File: ZII-2 Text Units: 392-417).

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	Western psychology is preferred to traditional explanations • BW was also against blaming witches or bad spirits for misfortune. The interviewer asked him how he would respond to a situation where he believed someone was wishing him "bad luck" and trying to destroy his well-being. He responded in the following extract by rejecting the traditional interpretation preferring Western psychological explanations: **What if** *igqira liyayithetha izinto zingekoyo*. **[the diviner says things that don't exist.] ...I would [rather] take him [the offender] for counselling. [Laughter from other Matrics] ... I would take that person only for counselling for him to first stop what he is doing.** .... (File ZII-2 Text Unit 468) Practice of going to traditional healers/diviners is acknowledged but not personally practised • According to the interviewer's field notes "when others in NX's group said that they believed that there was always a strong possibility that an evil force was the cause of the illness and, therefore, they would go to a traditional healer/diviner because the GP's medicine did not work, NX said she was aware of this but did not practise going to the traditional healer herself." (File EXTRA Text Units141-146). In the following extract she acknowledges nevertheless being scared of being bewitched: NX: **I've always been scared of this *ukuthakatha* [being bewitched]** INTERVIEWER: You feel that even in the urban areas you may need to consult someone who can deal with this bad luck and misfortune. UN : Ja, its worse there ... NX: **That's what I've heard**. [nervous laughter]. (File ZII-2 Text Units: 395-481)
SF-AS	If you don't believe in something it won't work for you • In the following extract VK qualifies his support for the traditional explanation of misfortune: *Ndikholelwa ndingakholelwa emagqirheni, kuba ikhona into yokuba kuthiwe xa ukholelwa entweni iyakunceda kodwa xa ungakholelwa ayikuncedi.* **I believe but I don't fully believe in traditional diviners, because it is said when you put your faith in something it responds favourably but when you lack faith it won't help you**. (File 10A2 Text Unit 17)

Notes: (See Table A7)

1. The pattern of responses of Matrics in the AF-SS Profile to constituent variables F17 and F18 deviated substantially from the pattern of responses to the mega variable as a whole. Variable F17 was supported by as many as 82% of the Matrics in this profile, while 11% responded in the "Uncertain" range and 3% in the "Disagree" range (4% was missing data). Variable F18 was supported by only 48% of the Matrics in this profile with 20% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 31% in the "Disagree" range. The percentage number of disagrees, in particular, was almost double that of the disagrees to the mega variable.

2. The pattern of responses of Matrics in the Select Profile to Variables F17 and F18 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable as a whole. Variable F17 was supported by as many as 60% of the Matrics in this profile with 14% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 26% in the "Disagree" range. Variable F18 was supported by only 20% of the Matrics in this profile with 15% responding in the "Uncertain" range and as many as 65% in the "Disagree" range. The percentage number of "Disagrees", in particular, was substantially higher than that of the "Disagrees" to the mega variable.

3. The pattern of responses of cases in the SF-AS Profile to Variables F17 deviates substantially from the pattern of responses to the mega variable as a whole. Variable F17 was supported by 48% of the Matrics in this profile with 23% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 29% in the "Disagree" range. The percentage number supporting the constituent varibale was substantially higher than the percentage number supporting the mega variable.

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Observations and Comments

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile almost two-thirds of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the No Chance Mega Variable. While SH along with the majority of those in the AF-SS Profile supported the traditional system, some, like KS, were aware of traditional beliefs and interpretations of misfortune, but they had no personal experience thereof. Some, like JU, were against explaining misfortune or the lack of ritual power in terms of malevolence. While they operated within a closed system they were more likely to accept that ignorance (e.g. not performing a traditional ritual correctly) rather than malevolence was the cause of misfortune.
- The Matrics in the Unsure Profile did not support the No Chance Mega Variable but they were uncertain rather than against the idea.
- A little more than a third of the Matrics in the Select Profile and a little more than a quarter of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile, supported the No Chance Mega Variable. In each of these profiles a little less than half of the Matrics responded in the "Disagree" range. The majority of the Matrics in both profiles rejected the traditional explanation of malevolence (see responses to F18 and F20 in Table A7 in Appendix 3). Almost half the Matrics who selectively rejected Faku's Story accepted that something could be the cause misfortune (see responses to F17 in Table A7 in Appendix 3). Some, like NX and VK, were familiar with what others did when confronted by witchcraft type explanations, but they did not personally subscribe to this model, and some like BW, saw the practice of witchcraft as psychological sickness rather than malevolence.
- We expected most of the Matrics who selectively rejected Faku's Story to reject the No Chance Mega Variable because it represents some of the most extreme elements of the traditional world-view. We were also not too surprised to find substantial numbers of Matrics, among those in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles, uncertain or rejecting the No Chance Mega Variable as this mega variable is associated with extremely traditional beliefs and practices which many who generally identify with Faku's story consider "backward". We also note that among those who supported a traditional closed system of cause and effect there was a reluctance to personalise blame for misfortune and they tended to use malevolence as an explanation of last resort or a "backstop".

The Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable

Constituent Variable:

- F23 When I die ...not far from the living.

Fig. 11 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Ancestors Mega Variable

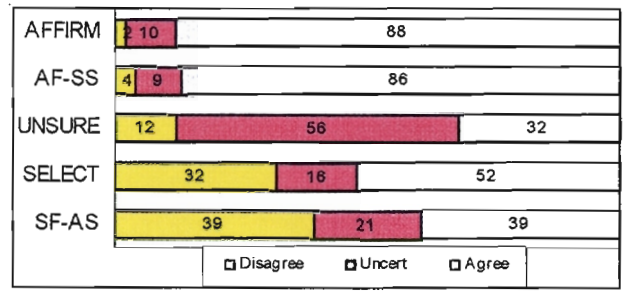


Table 10. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	The traditional after death model • TO and SH were among those in this profile who strongly believed that when they die they would "not be far from the living". In the following extract TO focuses on the role of Ancestors as guardians of their offspring: *Ndiyakholelwa lento ithethwa apha ...Nndawuba sisinyanya mna kuqala soze ndibe kude kwinzala yenzala yabazukulwana nabantwana bam. Ndakuhlala ndihleli ndibajongile bona bengandiboni kodwa kona ndikhona kulo mhlaba.* **I believe what is being spoken of here. I'm the first to hope to be an ancestor then I can be near the my children, my grand children and so on. I can stay around watching over them without them seeing me but I'll be here on this earth.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 38-43) • In the following extract SH focuses on the duty of the living to perform rituals for their Ancestors: *Nam ndiyabeliva kwizinyanya ...so xa ndifile dayo kwaz' soloko ndiclose to abantu baphilayo-so they perform some rituals for mna zimela.* **I believe in the Ancestors so when I pass away I'll always be close to those people who are alive - so they will perform some ritual for me.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 47-47)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	Secular After Death model • While some Matrics in the Select Profile believed they would become Ancestors others rejected the traditional notion of Ancestors altogether in favour of a Christian After Death model. BW represented those who had abandoned traditional spirituality for a secular world-view. In the following extract BW adopts a secular view of life after death: BW: **I will be dead, dead.** INTERVIEWER: Do you believe in heaven? BW: **I believe that dead is dead.** (File: ZII-2 Text Units: 482-492)
SF-AS	Ancestor status is some form of purgatory • VK, like many in the SF-AS Profile, could not identify with the traditional After Death model. In the following extract instead of rejecting the notion of Ancestors he reinterprets being an ancestor as a state of purgatory i.e. a second chance: *Mna andikholelwa ncam. Masithi mhlawumbe awuwenzi kakuhle amasiko xa wenza amasiko xa siyaphila then kufa kwakho ubezinyanya* [laughter from everyone]. **I don't believe really. Let's say perhaps you don't perform your rituals correctly when you perform them while you're alive then when you die you become an ancestor.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 48-54)

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Observations and Comments

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile almost all those in the AF-SS Profile supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable. This response is almost identical to that of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile. Both TO and SH emphasise the Ancestors involvement in the lives of their offspring.
- Less than a third of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable while over half responded in the "Uncertain" range.
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Select Profile supported the Becoming an Ancestor Mega Variable while a little less than a third responded in the "Disagree" range.
- A little more than a third of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Becoming an Ancestor Mega Variable. An equal number of Matrics responded in the "Disagree" range. Those like BW adopted a scientific atheist view of life after death, which is summed up by his expression: "dead is dead". VK's response suggests that for some (perhaps many) the Ancestors are not highly conceptualised and that people develop their own explanations. VK, for example, mixed an ancestor and purgatory model of the after death without a real sense of transcendence.
- Although when compared to the Affirm and AF-SS profiles far fewer Matrics in the Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles supported the traditional After Death model we did not expect as many (between a third and a half) Matrics in the these profiles to believe in "becoming an Ancestors. We expected that far more would either secularise or christianise the African traditional After Death model.

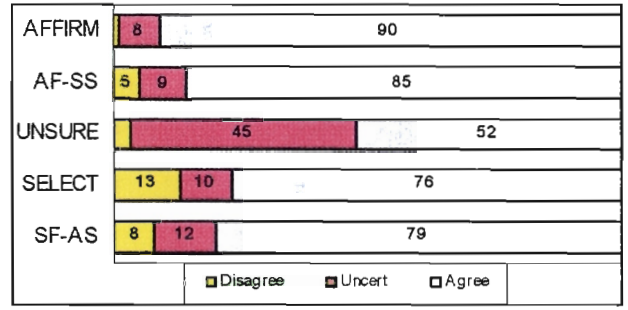
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The Grand Pattern Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F24 Person & thing has its place
- F25 Treat something/one with disrespect weakens all
- F32 Person & thing have a purpose to work out

Fig. 12 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Grand Pattern Mega Variable



Neither this mega variable nor its constituent variables were discussed during the interviews.

Observations and Comments

- More than three-quarters of the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile supported the non-confrontational idea of one's sense of worthwhileness being derived from a grand pattern that somehow links everyone and everything together in cosmic harmony.

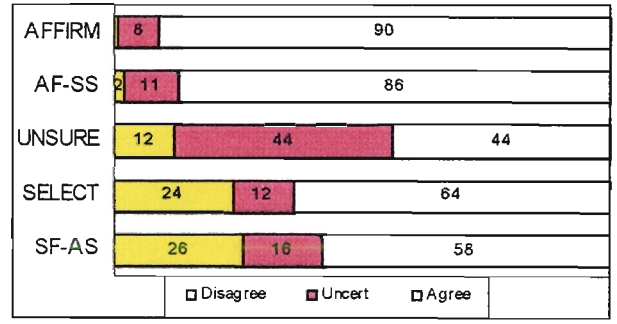
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The Cyclical Time Mega Variable

A list of constituent variables:

- F30 Person is born ...goes on to be an ancestor
- F33 Life, time, all that *Qamata* made goes on forever

Fig. 13 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Time Mega Variable



Note: Neither this mega variable, nor its constituent variables was discussed during the interviews.

Observations and Comments

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile almost all the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable.
- Less than half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported this mega variable and a little less than half responded in the "Uncertain " range.
- A little less than two-thirds of the Matrics in the Select Profile and a little over half of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported this mega variable. About a quarter of the Matrics in these profiles responded in the "Disagree" range.
- From the above we observe that, as expected the overwhelming majority of the Matrics in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported a cyclical conception of time, whereas support for this understanding of time was substantially less in the other profiles.

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The Fit Into Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- F31 Fit into the rhythms of nature.

Fig.14 Bar Chart of the Students' Responses to the Fit Into Mega Variable by Profile

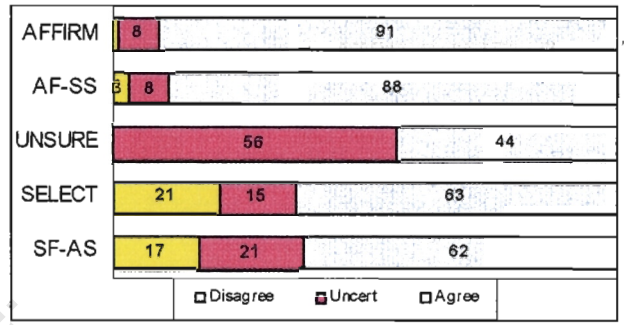


Table 11. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Fit Into Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	People ought to fit into the natural life rhythms • JU was among those in this profile who supported the view that human beings follow nature's rhythms. JU said: *Ubomi bam kufuneka bungqinelane nezingqi zendalo. Kungathi kusenziwa enye into ngabanye abantu mna ndibe ndisenza eyam into ephuma ecaleni kunale eyenziwa ngabanye abantu.* **My life must conform and fit nature. It is like when the community does something I should not deviate and do things that are contrary to what they are doing.** (File: 10C123 Text Unit: 619) • Similarly, SH believed that people should follow the natural stages of human development. He said: *For instance certain girls ezileqa ubudala and from there they are going from being abantwana and [on to] being parents in a shortest period of time.* **For instance certain girls are obsessed with becoming adults before their time and from there they are going from being children and on to being parents in the shortest period of time.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 87-126) Uncertainity about the influence of nature on one's life • SZ was among a small number in this profile who doubted whether the natural order influenced human life as much as Faku suggested. She said: **I'm not sure whether nature is really playing such an important role in our lives.** (File ZII-2 Text Units 217)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	No remarks were forthcoming.
SF-AS	No remarks were forthcoming.

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Observations and Comments

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile almost all the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Fit Into Mega Variable. JU and SH along with most of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile felt that people should fit into their natural and social environments and not deviate from the natural order of things. SZ was less inclined to adopt a traditional conformist position as she was beginning to question the traditional notion that quality of life depended on fitting into the rhythms of nature.
- A little less than half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Fit Into Mega Variable with the remainder responding in the "Uncertain" range.
- A little less than two-thirds of the Matrics in the Select and SF-AS Profiles supported the Fit Into Mega Variable with the remainder divided between the "Disagree" and "Uncertain" ranges.
- From the above we observe that those who affirmed the Faku story, i.e. those in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles, tended to believe they should fit into the rhythms of nature and this marked their mode of engagement with the world-out-there. Although there was substantially less support for this idea from those who selectively rejected Faku's story, i.e. those in the Select and SF-AS profiles, and those in the Unsure Profile, there was more support than we expected.

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The Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F11 *Qamata* & Ancestors control the crops
- F29 I go to the *igqira*

Fig. 15 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Mega Variable

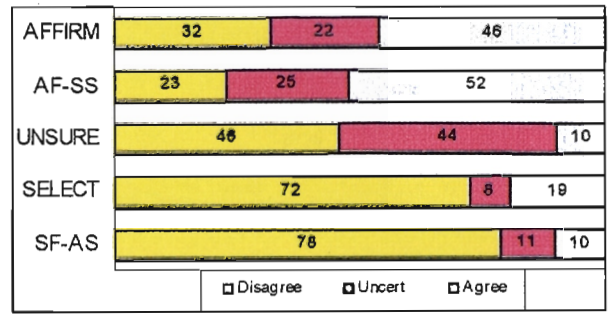


Table 12. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
AF-SS	God and the Ancestors control crops • SY like many in this profile supported the view that God along with the Ancestors controls the crops. In the following extract, however, he focuses on God and seems less confident of the role of the Ancestors in agriculture: **I thought that it was God that controls people, nature, everything**. (INTERVIEWER: **As well as *izinyanya* [the Ancestors].) Jaaa, somehow.** (File ZII-2 Text Units 280-282) One needs the protection of *igqira* (traditional healer/diviner) against evil • TO, JU and SH were among those in this profile who believed that they needed traditional forms of protection against evil. TO and SH both emphasised as a Xhosa person one needs the protection provided by *igqira* to ward off misfortune. SH expressed this view well when he said: *I'm traditionally minded because ndithe 10 kuba kufuneka ukhuseleke xa ungumxhosa. Kukhona izinto ezinjengamagqwirha ezisoloko ziphithizelisa ubomi babantu. Eza zinto azifuni amaprofessional doctors zifuna amagqirha esixhosa so you have to go to isangoma.* **I'm traditionally minded because I said... you should protect yourself if you are a Xhosa person. There are things such as witches who are constantly roaming around near you. These things do not require professional medical doctors, they need traditional Xhosa healers so you have to go to *isangoma* [healers/diviners].** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 79-79) • JU in addition mentioned: ...*Kwangoku usemncinci, kwangoku usengumntwana, kufuneka uyokuqiniswa kwangoko kuba umntwana imbetha msinya imimoyo emdaka.* **I agree that you have to go to a traditional healer to be made strong so that evil spirits cannot enter you. While you are still young, while you are a child you should be made strong by a traditional healer because a child is particularly vulnerable to evil spirits.** (File 10C123 Text Units 607-610)
UNSURE	comments were not forthcoming
SELECT	Knowledge of *Qamata* and the Ancestors influencing crop growth but no personal commitment. • NX was among a small number who acknowledged being aware of the belief but indicated no personal commitment to the notion. She said: ... **it is believed that, it is He [*Qamata*] who can make the rain to be available for the crops.** (INTERVIEWER: **It is believed that *Qamata* and the Ancestors control the crops**. *Uthiwa: Xa izinyanya bequmbile asifumani imvula..* **It is said: When the Ancestors are upset with us we do not get rain [for our crops].) I know that belief.** (File: ZII-2 Text Units: 262-285) No need for traditional healers/diviners • LV like most in this profile distanced himself from the traditional view that one needed the help of *igqira* to be healthy and free from misfortune. In the following extract he bluntly rejects traditional healers: *Ukuze womelele akukho mfuneko yokuba ude uye egqirheni uyoqiniswa.* **To stand strong there is no need for one to go to a traditional healer for one to be made strong**. (File 10B1&2 Text Units 339-354)
SF-AS	Crops depend on secular agricultural methods • VK rejected all traditional spiritual explanations for natural phenomena like the growth of crops. He said: **I strongly disagree.** (INTERVIEWER: *Xa utyale into phaya emasimini ayixhomekekanga kwii Ancestors.* **When you plant something in the fields does it not depend on the Ancestors?)** *Ixhomekeke kwi fertilizer, izinyanya azingeni ndawo apho.* **It depends solely on fertiliser, the Ancestors have no place here whatsoever.** (File 10A1 Text Units 109-121)

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Observations and Comments

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, about half of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile resisted the secularisation of agriculture and personal health/well-being. The remaining Matrics in these profiles were either in the process of abandoning or they have already abandoned traditional spiritual explanations of health and agriculture in favour of secular science and technology.
- A little less than three-quarters of the Matrics in the Select Profile and over three-quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile would never go to a traditional healer/diviner. Some associated this behaviour with the "*amaqaba*" (a derogatory term meaning those who are backward). Most Matrics in these profiles, like VK, preferred secular explanations for crop growth. While some, like NX, acknowledged vaguely she "knew" of the belief that there was a spiritual dimension to farming.
- Almost none of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable. The Matrics' responses were divided between the "Uncertain" and "Disagree" ranges. Some were in the process of abandoning these beliefs while others had already done so.
- The above observations indicate a creeping secularity or a Christian response to a traditional problem that suggests that even among those who wish to affirm an African traditional world-view many have assimilated Christian and/or secular aspects of Western society.

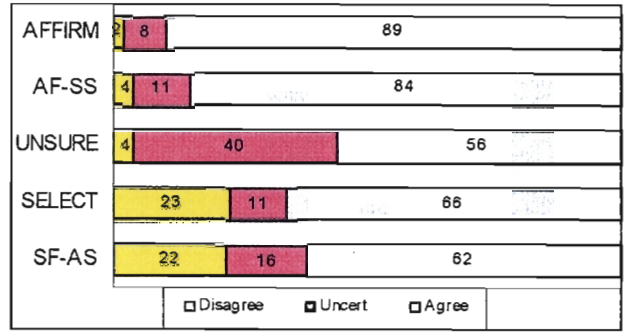
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The Vital Force Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength
- F28 Everything has power

Fig.16 Bar Charts of the Students' Responses to the Vital Force Mega Variable by Profile



Note: Neither the mega variable nor its constituent variables was discussed during the interviews.

Observations and Comments

- Almost all the Matrics in the AF-SS profile supported the Vital Force Mega Variable. The Matrics in the Affirm Profile responded similarly.
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Vital Force Mega Variable while a little over a third responded in the "Disagree" range.
- Two-thirds of the Matrics in the Select Profile and almost two-thirds of those in the SF-AS Profile supported the Vital Force Mega Variable while a little less than a quarter responded in the "Disagree" range.
- From the above we observe that the Matrics across all the profiles tended to identify with the traditional notion of a vital force.

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4.5.2.2 The Sipho Story Variables

The Individualism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S12 Make it on my own
- S13 Independence ... I treasure
- S14 Family often holds one back and stifles ambition
- S15 People should be encouraged to provide for their own future
- S16 I co-operate only if it help me achieve my goals
- S25 Best person for the job

Fig. 17 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Individualism Mega Variable

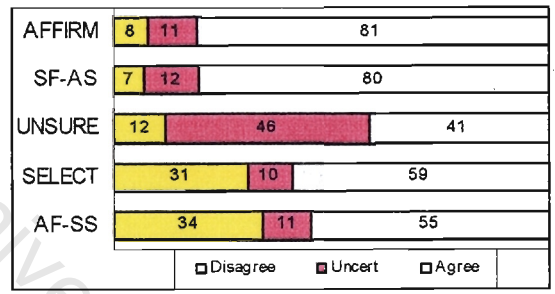


Fig. 6 Reproduced (Communalism)

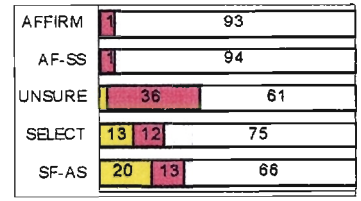


Table 13. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Individualism Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	Valuing both family obligation and economic rationality leads to indecision • VK said with reference to individualism: *Ndiyavumelana naye kwezinye iindawo.* **I agree with him [Sipho's Story] in most parts.** (File: 10A2 Text Unit: 235) During a heated debate between those who felt strongly that one ought to employ a person one feels obliged to help and those who adopted the economically rational position that one should employ the best qualified person for the job he concluded: *Igcono ndithe u-6. I'm in the middle.* **It is better that I said "6". I'm in the middle**. He, nevertheless, explains in the following extract that he would experience immense pressure to employ someone he felt obliged to help:... *kuyakwazi ukuthi xa kufika ipost ndiqonda ukuba ifamily yam iyasufferisha ndibone ukuba mandinike ifamily yam ipost. Mhlawumbi kufunwa iprincipal or kukho ipost ethile kwagovernment ndiqonde mandinike ifamily yam. Maybe akanazo nezompepha zininzi.* ...**You know what you would say when a post becomes available: I am aware that my family is suffering I see that I should give a family member the vacant post. Perhaps a principal or some or other government post needs to be filled I know that I would be expected to give the post to a member of my family. Maybe he/she does not have sufficient referees [to get the post].** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 161-202)
UNSURE	No comments where forthcoming
SELECT	People cannot succeed without others help • NX was among those in this profile who did not support the notion that one ought to make it on your own. She said: **It is true that a person must be determined to make it. You try your best on your own to do it. But then again I thought that I couldn't succeed without the help of other people**. (File: ZII-2 Text Units: 177-182) Independence should never totally displace communal obligation • NX was among those in this profile who believed "**people should provide for their own future**." In the following extract, however, she qualifies her position by saying: *Ukuba usengxakini ungamnceda and yirelative yakho.* **If someone is in trouble you can help them, particulartly if it's your relative**. (File: ZII-2 Text Units: 159-176)
AF-SS	Independence is encouraged only because one cannot help everyone • TO was among those in this profile who did not support the idea that people should be independent and provide for their own future. He explains in the following extract that one's first priority is to one's extended family and once this is dealt with one can consider helping others: ...*Akekho umntu onosebenzela omnye naye enezizalwane.* **No one is going to work to support someone else when he has relatives [to worry about].** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 223-227) Ideally people should be independent • SH was among those in this profile who thought people should be encouraged to provide for their own future. The following extract however reveals the tension he experiences between wanting to be free from those in his family who are totally dependent on him and his sense of duty to help them out: *Abantu bafuna ukukhuthazwa ukuzenzela ngekamva labo. Ukuba umntu*

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AF-SS	*awumkhuthazi aqale ukuxhomekeka iyanxunguphalisa lanto. Ukuba ndine sisters zam yaye zange zifundiswe ukuzimela ziza kufuna ukuxhomekeka apha kum nam ndibe ndinenkosikazi nabantwana. Nabo ndibe ndizalwa nabo ngoku kufuneke ndibahoyile. Noba bayaxhomekeka kuma bangaxhomekeki ngayo yonke into, nje phaya naphaya.* **People need to be encouraged to do something about their own future. If you do not encourage a person, he/she will start being dependent on you ...If for example I have sisters and I never encouraged them to be independent they will always be dependent on me whereas I'll have a wife and children. I'll have to give them my attention along with my sisters. So even if they have to depend on me they should not be totally dependent, just here and there.** (File 10A2 Text Unit 233) Family obligation is more important than economic rationality • TO was among those in this profile who valued family obligation above economic rationality. He explains in the following extract that he would rather employ someone he felt obliged to help: *Andiboni kakuhle kuba isingathi kungcono umncede omnye umntu xa engawazi umsebenzi, kuba kaloku xa umthumela esikolweni ukuba makayofunda lo msebenzi engenamali kwayile yoba makayofunda. Kuba ezofuna umsebenzi nje apha kuwe akanamali. Uthi makayithathe phi ke le mali engawazi umsebenzi. Kungcono umfundise, use umncede ngolo hlobo ade awazi* umsebenzi. **I don't appreciate this [Sipho's view] because it seems to me that it is better to assist another person even when they do not know how to do the job. Because, you see, it is pointless sending him/her to school for him/her to acquire the necessary skills to do the job because he does not have the money to study. Where do you think he/she is going to get the money to learn to do the job. It is therefore better for you to teach him/her to assist him/her in this way until he/she is competent.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 301-301) Application of individualism in business need not exclude communal obligation • JU was among those in this profile who supported the economically rational argument that best qualified person should get the job. In the following extract, however, he acknowledges the tension between economically rational behaviour and helping those he feels obliged to help and tries to find a way to deal with the dilemma without abandoning the economic imperative: *Ndingqinelana kakhulu nalendawo. Kufuneka kuqashwe umntu owaziyo umsebenzi, ungaqashi udade wenu okanye umkhuluwa wakho kuba engowakokwenu. Kuza kufuneka ukuba phinda umfundise umsebenzi. Mhlawumbe nguwe i-interviewer yalapha kulomsebenzi, so kwakuvela isithuba esithile, ubone wena ukuba mawuthathe umntakwenu. So, kufuneka uthathe lomntu uwaziyo umsebenzi. Yena kufuneka ayofundela lomsebenzi a-qualified for wona.* **I strongly agree with this. One must employ a person who knows how to do the job, do not employ your sister or your brother or any member of your household. You will have to once again teach him/her how to do the job. Let's say you are the interviewer for this job. When a more appropriate opportunity arises you'll be able to secure a post for your relative. So you must rather take someone who is qualified for the job. He/she [the relative] must go and qualify for a suitable job.** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 882-882) Individualistic views of team work are interpreted as collectivism • SY redefined the question S16 *I will ONLY co-operate with others if it helps me achieve my goals* to sound less individualistic and more collectivistic. He said: **Ja, I think they need to support you and to motivate you towards getting your goals.** (File: ZII-2 Text Units: 556-566)

Notes: (See Table A9)

1. The pattern of responses of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile to constituent variable S14 deviates somewhat from the pattern of responses to the Individualism Mega Variable as a whole. Variable S14 was supported by 50% of the Matrics in this profile with 26% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 23% in the "Disagree" range.
2. The pattern of responses of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile to constituent variables S12 and S14 deviated substantially from the pattern of their responses to the Individualism Mega Variable as a whole. Variable S12 was supported by 64% of the Matrics in this profile, with 32% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 4% in the "Disagree" range. Variable S14 was supported by 12% of the Matrics in this profile, with 60% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 24% in the "Disagree" range (the missing data was 4%).
3. The pattern of responses of the Matrics in the Select Profile to constituent variables S12 and S14 deviated substantially from the pattern of their responses to the Individualism Mega Variable as a whole. Variable S12 was supported by 78% of the Matrics in this profile, with 5% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 17% in the "Disagree" range. Variable S14 was supported by 17% of the Matrics in this profile, with 14% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 68% in the "Disagree" range.
4. The pattern of responses of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile to constituent variables S12 and S14 deviates substantially from the pattern of the responses to the mega variable as a whole. Variable S12 was supported by 72% of the Matrics in this profile, with 9% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 19% in the "Disagree" range. Variable S14 was supported by 10% of the Matrics in this profile, with 12% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 77% in the "Disagree" range.

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Observations and Comments

- The SF-AS Profile and the AF-SS Profile have changed places in relation to the Affirm Profile. In response to the Sipho Story the SF-AS and the Affirm profiles are most alike whereas in response to the Sipho Story the AF-SS and the Affirm profiles are least alike.
- Like those in the Affirm Profile over three-quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Individualism Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that two-thirds of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Communalism Mega Variable whereas almost all the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported it. The declining support for communalism among those in the SF-AS Profile explains why as many as half of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile felt that family held them back and stifled their ambitions (see responses to constituent variable S14 in Table A9 in Appendix 3). VK's reluctance to choose between family obligation and the individualistic demands of industrial society demonstrates one effect of the conflict many experience as they (re)negotiate the identity.
- A little more than a third of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Individualism Mega Variable while a little less than half were "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that a little less than two-thirds supported the Communalism Mega Variable while a little over a third were "Uncertain".
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Select and AF-SS profiles supported the Individualism Mega Variable while about a third "Disagreed". A large majority of Matrics in both profiles did not think family held them back i.e. they value their families support more than feeling frustrated by their individual needs competing with those of the family. This corresponds with three-quarters or more of the Matrics in these profiles supporting the Communalism Mega Variable. Among Matrics in the AF-SS Profile there were those, like TO, who were clear about their obligation to family as a priority in their lives. Then there were some, like SH and JU, who on the whole embraced Faku's traditional story but they struggled with the tension between their individual needs and their sense of obligation to their extended family.
- The above observations indicate the following:

♦ the Matrics in SF-AS Profile tended to support the Individualism more than Communalism;
♦ the Matrics in the Unsure, Select, and AF-SS profiles tended to support Communalism more than the Individualism;
♦ the Matrics in the Affirm Profile were the only ones who tended to try and embrace both Communalism and Individualism.

The Dualism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S26 World is mechanical
- S27 Physical separate from spiritual
- S28 God is in heaven

Fig.18 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Dualism Mega Variable

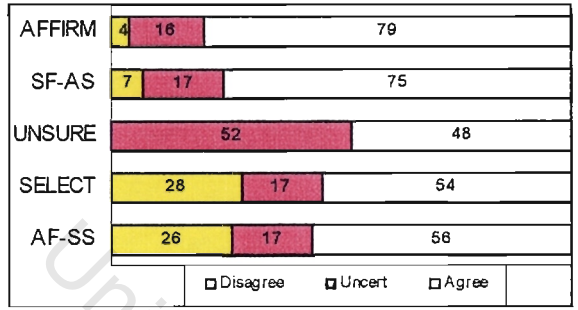


Fig. 7 Reproduced (Monism)

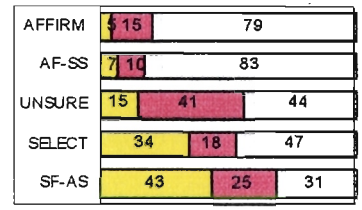


Table 14. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Dualism Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	The physical world is separate from the spirit world • VK is an example of a student from the SF-AS Profile who supported dualism. In the following extracts he explains why he believed that "the world is just mechanical" and the "physical is separate from spiritual": ... *because kule life siphila kuyo asikwazi okungaphaya.* ... **because in this life in which we are living we do not know what lies beyond life.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 361-378) ... *Kubekho la ndawo ithi kwelemimoya. Andibazi ubomi ngaphaya kwelemimoya ukuba unjani na.* **Reference is made to a spiritual realm. I do not know what life is like in the spiritual realm.** (File 10A2 Text Units 379-394)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	The physical world is not entirely independent of spiritual but the two are separate • LV was among those in the Select Profile who did not think that the "World is just mechanical like an engine" but he agreed that "the physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is". He explains in the following extract that *Thixo* is part of his model of the world but He is above the earth: *Ihlabathi line physical matter okanye izinto ezibonakalayo kuphela ...Apha ehlabathini siphindesiye sifakwe kuThixo.* **The earth is made up of physical matter or things that can be seen only with the eye. Then again we have put *Thixo* in our picture of the earth.** (INTERVIEWER: *Oh uThixo ungenaphi na?* **Oh, how does *Thixo* fit into all this.**) *uThixo thina asithi nguye orulisha elihlabathi liphysical? ...Akabonakali ispiritual eyakhe indaba yena sithi nguye ke ocontrola yonke into, leigini inomntu oyicontrolayo not uThixo. ..Hayi akekho ngaphakathi ungaphandle inomntu oyicontrola ngaphakathi. Ndingathi uThixo yena uabove lebhola yeigini lomntu uqhuba igini ...zonke izinto uyaoperator nguye odlalaindima ngaleigini.* ***Thixo*** **[pause] are we not saying he is the ruler of all the physical world? He is not visible, the spiritial realm is his domain. We say he is the one who controls the whole. Humankind is controlling the actual engine, not *Thixo*. ...He is not involved as such, he is outside, with human beings controlling the inner working of the engine. I would say *Thixo* is above this ball of an engine. Humans drive the engine ...playing their role as operators.** (File: 10B1&2 Text Units: 587-612)
AF-SS	The physical and spiritual are not separate • SH was among those in the AF-SS Profile who did not think "the world is just mechanical". He said: *Isizathu sesoba lendlela abayibeka ngayo ayicaci. Ihlabathi lifana njani ne engine?* **The way it has been presented is not clear. How can the earth be like an engine?** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 361-378) • TO was among those who were uncertain about the physical world being separate from the spiritual world where God is (see constituent variable S26). He said: *Mna ndithe 5. Imbangi yoko kukuba, andazi kwa uThixo lowo ukuba undawuphi apha ehlabathini. Ndiyeva nje kuthiwa ukhona, but andazi ukuba undawuphi.* **I said "5". The reason for this is that I don't know this God because I can't locate him here on earth. I hear it is said that he exists but I don't know where.** The world is like an engine and the God of our Ancestors is the intelligence in the engine. • JU interpreted the idea that "the world is just mechanical like an engine" so as to incorporate the notion of vital force. In the following extract he sees God as the intelligence in the engine: *Nam ndiyangqinelana uNkulunkulu ukwazile ukuyidlala lo ndima, kukwazi ukuba kuvela ubumnyama, ukukhanya bubekhona zonke ezi zinto.* **I also agree with this because the God of our Ancestors is able to play that role, he knows how to make it dark, to make it light, all things like that.** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 886-909)

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Observations and Comments

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, three-quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Dualism Mega Variable. We noted earlier that slightly less than one third of those in the SF-AS Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable whereas over three-quarters of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable.
- A little less than half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Dualism Mega Variable while a little over half were "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that a little less than half supported the Monism Mega Variable while a little less than half were "Uncertain".
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Select and the AF-SS profiles supported the Dualism Mega Variable and a little over a quarter in each profile "Disagreed". The Matrics in the Select Profile responded similarly to the Monism Mega Variable whereas almost all the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported it.
- The above observations indicate the following:

♦ the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile tended to support Dualism and not support Monism;
♦ the Matrics in the Unsure Profile tended to be divided between supporting and being uncertain about both Dualism and Monism.
♦ the Matrics in the Select Profile tended to support Dualism slightly more than Monism although substantial substantial numbers selectively rejected both,
♦ the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile tended to support Monism far more than Dualism.
♦ the Matrics in the Affirm Profile were the only ones who tended to support both Dualism and Monism.

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The Social Motivation Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S9 Better to reward than to punish
- S11 Best society competitive

Fig.19 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Social Motivation Mega Variable

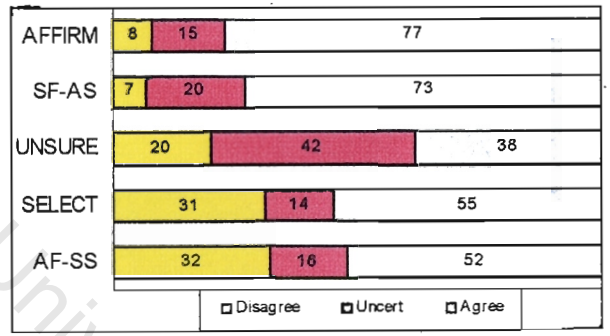


Table 15. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	The best society is based on competition • VK was among those in the SF-AS Profile who agreed that the best society is based on a system of competition for individual rewards. He said: *...uyakwazi uthi uleqa ii-prizes (amabhaso). Masithi mhlawumbe uleqe ukuba ufumane u-no. bani ube. ...Sendithetha ngalento yokuba kufuneka kukhutshiswane.* **...you can crave the rewards. Let's say you are are obscessed with being number so and so [in class]... What I'm trying to say here is that we need competition.** (File 10A2 Text Unit 203-222)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	People should be self motivated • BW was among those in this profile who did not think society should use competition for individual rewards as a means to motivate people. He explains in the following extract that one should rather compete against oneself than against other people: **I think you should work alone, you must look at [compare] your own performance.** (File ZII-2 Text Units 129-158)
AF-SS	Social motivation is based on equal rewards and disciplining those who do not perform • TO was among those in this profile who did not agree that it was better to reward than to punish. In the following extract TO explains why he does not favour a system of individual reward: TO*: Ireason yam like aba bantu basebenza kakhulu bazokuvuzwa kakhulu baze bathi aba basebenza kancinci bavuzwe kancinci. Umvuzo mawube mnye qha bona mabazame ukulungisa abo bangasebenzi basebenze bonke ngohlobo olufanayo. ... Andizuqale ndigqibe bengekagqibi bona abahlali.* **My reason is like those people who work well get a greater reward and they say those who work less should get rewarded less. ...The benefit must be the same only what they [community leaders] should do is try to correct those who are not working for them to work the same. ...I would not want be the first to finish the work ahead of the other residents.** INTERVIEWER: *Ucinga kufanele abantu baqeqeshwe xa bengafuni ukusebenza?* **Do you think it is proper that people should be disciplined when they do not want work well.** TO: *Bafanele ukuqeqeshwa ...hayi ukuba bahlawulwe.* **It is right to discipline [them]...not to remunerate them.** (File 10A2 Text Unit 173) Rewards motivate people more than punishment • SH was among those in the AF-ASS who thought it was better to reward than to punish. He said: *Xa kukhona ireward lanto iyaencourage kunokumosha ixesha sibe sipunisha abantu abangenzi nto.* **When there is a reward it encourages whereas time is wasted if one tries to punish people who don't do anything for the community.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 161-202) • SH also said: "**Competition is another source of encouragement**." (File: 10A2: 203-222) Rewards together with punishment motivate • JU was among those in this profile who favoured a system of motivation based on rewards and punishment. He said: *Yoba abo basebenza kakhulu apha kwi community mabavuzwe khonukuze nabohlwaywa aba bazofunda isifundo. Babone ukuba heyi siyashiyeka thina!* **Because those who work hard here in the community should be rewarded, at the same time punishment should be meeted out against the others in order for them to learn a lesson. For them to release that: Hey, we are being left behind!** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 700-725)

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	Competition sometimes leads to crime • JU was among those from this profile who were against a system competition for individual rewards because it leads to crime. He said: *Ukhuphiswano ngamanye amaxesha lungadala ingozi, kuba ngamanye amaxesha uzawube uqonda ukuba wena awunayo nyani into onokwenza kodwa uyafuna ukukhuphisana nalamntu. Mhlawumbe ngumntu one bus one taxi. So, nawe uzame ukuba mawulingane naye ... Udidize, ude uyokweba nokweba ngoku kuba ufuna ukukhuphisana nalamntu.* **Competition is sometimes dangerous because sometimes you know you don't really have anything to do but you want to compete with a person. Perhaps this person owns a bus or taxis. So you try to be his equal.... You try to steal other people's things because you want to be able to compete with this person.** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 748-767)

Observations and Comments

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, a little less than three quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Social Motivation Mega Variable. VK, for example, argued that competition motivates one to do better at school. The Matrics in the Affirm Profile responded in a very similar fashion.
- Only a little over a third of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Social Motivation Mega Variable and almost half were "Uncertain".
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Select and the AF-SS profiles supported the Social Motivation Mega Variable while a little less than a third "Disagreed". BW was among those in the Select Profile who was against a system of motivation that relied on competition for scarce resources. He argued that one should rather compete against oneself. While some like SH in the AF-SS Profiles supported a system of motivation based on competition for rewards others like JU and TO in the AF-SS Profile preferred to adopt a system that combined rewards and punishment.
- From the above we observe that the SF-AS and the Affirm profiles were the only profiles to confidently embrace the view that greed and individual reward motivates people. The other three profiles were, at best, less enthusiastic about the idea with some being particularly unhappy about a system where the winner takes all.

The Personal God Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S29 God as power ... God as a person
- S31 God like a person

Fig. 20 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Personal God Mega Variable

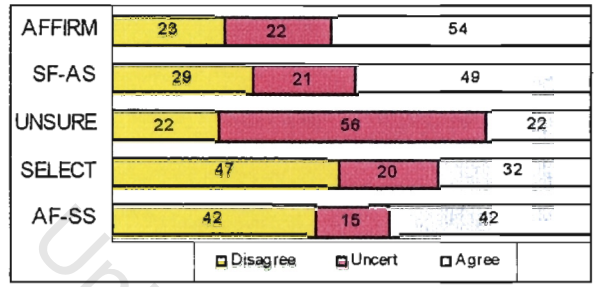


Fig.9 Reproduced (God of the Ancestors)

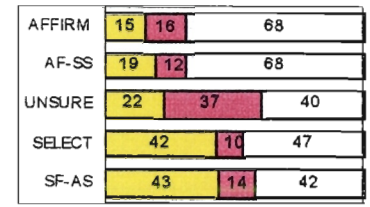


Table 16. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Personal God Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	Resistance to a personal view of God VK was among those in this profile who said they did not really know *Thixo*. He said: *Andimazi kwa Thixo lowo, ukuba ungumntu onjani?* **I don't know this *Thixo*; [I say this] because how can he be compared to a person?** (File 10A2 Text Unit 403)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	*Thixo* is more like a power than a person • LV was among those in this profile who perceived God more as a power than a person. In the following extract he focuses on God's power but he does not exclude a personal dimension to God: *UThixo udume ngamandla.* ***Thixo* is known for His power**. (File 10B1&2 Text Units 635-641)
AF-SS	God is more like a power • SH was among those in this profile who saw God as a power rather than a person. He said: *Ungowamandla.* **He [God] is more like a power.** (File 10A2: 395-401) *Thixo* is rejected in favour of the Ancestors • TO adopted the traditional view. He said: *Imbangi yoko kukuba andikholelwa kwakuThixo lowo, ndikholelwa kwizinyanya.* **It means that I don't believe really in this *Thixo*. I believe in the Ancestors.** (File 10A2 Text Units 395-410)

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Observations and Comments

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile about half of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Personal God Mega Variable with a little less than a third responding in the "Disagree" range. Earlier we observed that a little less than half of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable (with a little less than a half responding in the "Disagree" range) whereas a little over two-thirds of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable. VK's remarks together with the lack of support for a transcendent personal God among Matrics in the SF-AS Profile suggests that the Matrics did not relate to what is considered a foreign conceptualisation of the divine. VK and others in this profile who reject both traditional and Christian notions of divinity seem to have adopted a secular view (see VK's response to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable in Table A8 in Appendix 3)
- Less than a quarter of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Personal God Mega Variable while a little over half responded in the "Uncertain" range. Earlier we observed that a little over a third supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable and a little over a third were "Uncertain".
- A little less than a third of the Matrics in the Select Profile supported the Personal God Mega Variable while a little less than half "Disagreed". Earlier we observed that a little less than half of the Matrics in this profile supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable while a little less than a half "Disagreed". LV's comment that God is more like a force than a person captures the sentiment of many in this profile.
- A little less than half of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Personal God Mega Variable while a little less than a half "Disagreed". Earlier we observed that a little over two-thirds of the Matrics in this profile supported the God the Ancestors Mega Variable. SH and TO's remarks confirm a preference for a traditional conception of the nature of divinity.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- the Matrics in the SF-AS , Unsure and Select profiles tended not to support either a personal God nor the God of the Ancestors;
- the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile tended to support the God of the Ancestors more than a personal God;
- the Matrics in the Affirm Profile on the whole supported both views of God more than any of the other profiles although they tended to support the God of the Ancestors more than a personal God.

The Chance Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- S10 don't waste time finding out why

Fig. 21 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Chance Mega Variable

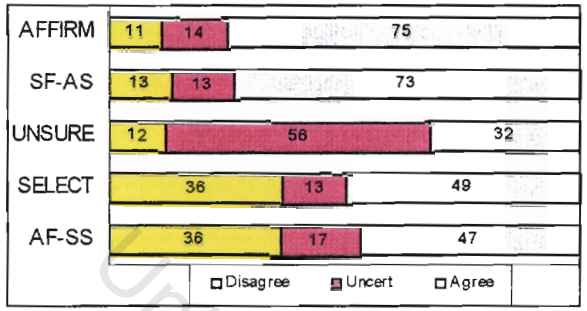


Fig.10 Reproduced (No Chance)

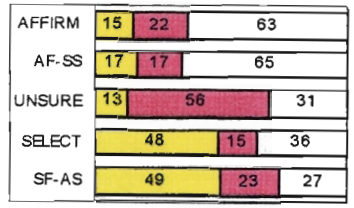


Table 17. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Chance Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	No remarks were forthcoming
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	New beginnings • LV was among many in this profile who strongly agreed that when things go wrong they do not waste time finding out why but get on with starting again. LV said: *Izinto xa zingahambi kakuhle ayikho imbangi yoba ndiphinde ndiqale ekuqaleni*. **When things do not go well there is nothing preventing me from starting again**. (File 10B1&2: 435-445)
AF-SS	Not open to chance • JU was among those in this profile who were not open to chance happenings. He nevertheless says in the following extract that he would not waste unnecessary time finding out the cause of misfortune: *Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle ndiye ndithande ukuyifunda lonto, ndifuna ukuqonda yintoni le imbangela lonto. Kodwa ke andimoshi xesha kulo nto, ndiqonda nje lento ndifumanise ukuba yintoni ndiyilungise, ndithi ndakugqiba ndiqhubekeke*. **When things do not proceed well for me I like to investigate to try to find out what the cause is. But I don't waste unnecessary time on this. I want to understand the cause to correct it and when I'm through I can proceed.** (File 10C123 Text Units 1117-1146)

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Observations and Comments:

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile a little less than three-quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS supported the Chance Mega Variable. However, the pattern of responses of the Matrics in these two profiles to the contra-mega variable in Faku's story is very different. Whereas a little over a quarter of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the No Chance Mega Variable a little less than two thirds of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported this mega variable.
- A little less than a third of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Chance Mega Variable while a little more than half were "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that the responses of the Matrics in this profile to the No Chance Mega Variable was similar.
- A little less than half of the Matrics in the Select and AF-SS profiles supported the Chance Mega Variable while a little over a third "Disagreed". Earlier we observed that a little over a third of the Matrics in the Select Profile supported the No Chance Mega Variable whereas almost two-thirds of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the No Chance Mega Variable.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile tended to support the Chance Mega Variable and not support the No Chance Mega Variable;
- the Matrics in the Unsure Profile tended to be uncertain about both mega variables;
- the Matrics in the Select Profile tended to support the Chance Mega Variable more than the No Chance Mega Variable;
- the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile tended to support the No Chance Mega Variable and not to support the Chance Mega Variable;
- the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported both mega variables although they tended to support the Chance Mega Variable more than the No Chance Mega Variable.

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The Going To Heaven Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- S33 go to heaven when I die

Fig. 22 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Going To Heaven Mega Variable

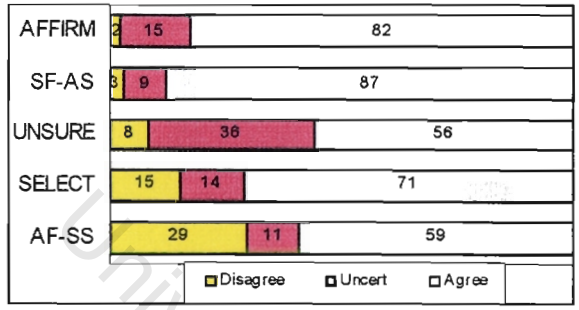
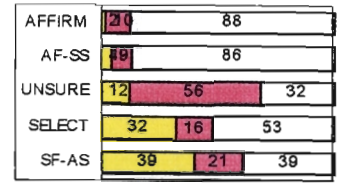


Fig. 11 Reproduced (Becoming An Ancestor)



Note: The Going To Heaven Mega Variable was not as such discussed during the interviews although, as we have reported, the idea of heaven was discussed.

Observations and Comments:

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm profile almost all the Matrics in the SF-AS supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that a little over a third the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable whereas almost all of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported it.
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable while a little more than a third were "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that a little less than a third supported the Becoming An Ancestors Mega Variable while a little over half were "Uncertain".
- A little less than three-quarters of the Matrics in the Select Profile supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that a little over half supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable.
- A little over half of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable. Earlier we observed almost all the Matrics in this profile supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile tended to support Going To Heaven and not support Becoming An Ancestor;
- the Matrics in the Unsure Profile tended to support Going To Heaven and not support Becoming An Ancestor;
- the Matrics in the Select Profile tended to support Going To Heaven more than Becoming An Ancestor;
- the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile tended to support Becoming An Ancestor more than Going To Heaven;
- the Matrics in the Affirm Profile embraced both Going To Heaven and Becoming An Ancestor .

University of Pretoria

The Grand Purpose Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S18 Exciting to be the first to do something
- S19 Time & money on inventions

Fig. 23 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Grand Purpose Mega Variable

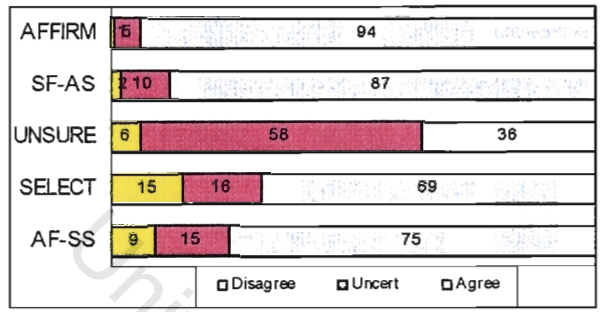


Fig.12 Reproduced (Grand Pattern)

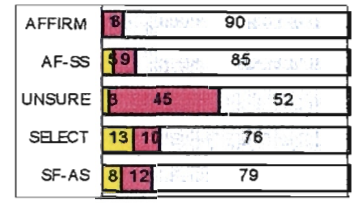


Table 18. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Grand Purpose Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	Qualified support for pushing the frontiers of science and technology • VK was among those in this profile who considered "the investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement" as money well spent. In the following extract he expresses a common concern that government expenditure in this area could be to the detriment of other priority government projects: *Nam ndiyavumelana, kodwa hayi kakhulu. But igovernment maybe as a result ashote endowo ethile.* **I agree, but not to a great extent. But the government may as a result not have sufficient funds for other specific projects.** (File 10A2 Text Units 247-266)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	Support for pushing the frontiers of science and technology but not at the expense of present texture • BW was among those in this profile who supported "the investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement", but he felt that it should not be at the expense of more pressing welfare expenditure. (File ZII-2 Text Units 587-603)
AF-SS	Against spending time and money on pushing the frontiers of science and technology at the expense of present texture • SH was among those in this profile who were against the investment of time and money on inventions, discovery and technological advancement". He said: *I don't agree with this. It is not money well spent. ...Ayikokuchitha mali ngendlela efanelekileyo xa kwenziwa izinto ezinjeyana.* **I don't agree with this. It is not money well spent. The government does not need to waste money on science when it needs to find me shelter first.** (File 10A2 Text Units 247-266) First improve present texture then focus on pushing the frontiers of science and technology • TO was in two minds about "the investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement". He said: *Nam ndithe 5. Ndixhasa ndingaxhasi. Ndithi ndakujonga kwalapha entlalweni isingathi urhulumente makaqale alungise intlalo le yethu, sifumane izindlu phambi kokuba akhuphe le mali.* **I said "5". I second this to some extent but I also vote against this. I say if you take a look around at our living conditions it would be better for the government to first improve our living standards, we need houses before the government incurs this type of expenditure.** (File 10A2 Text Units 247-266) Advances in the science and technology industry improve present texture by creating jobs • JU thought that the investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement was money well spent because it created jobs. He said: *Unyanisile kuba xa esenza ezo zinto uvulela nathi amathuba okuba sifumane ukusebenza sizokwazi ukuba siqhubekeke.* **It is true because when we do these things that open up new opportunities we sometimes generate jobs and we are able to develop.** (File 10C123 Text Units 808-825) Investment in science and technology is risky • In the following passage SY expresses his concern that investing in science and technology is sometimes risky: **Well, in science and technology you can be famous if you start a project, may be you want to get a cure for Aids, you start it and go on the way, then may be you just miss one step and then the whole project, crashes.** (File ZII-2 Text Units 587-603)

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Observations and Comments:

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, almost all of the Matrics SF-AS profiles supported the Grand Purpose Mega Variable. Earlier we saw that over three-quarters of the Matrics in both these profiles also supported the Grand Pattern Mega Variable. This was the only Faku story mega variable that was supported by more than three-quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS.
- A little over a third of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Grand Purpose Mega Variable while little over half were "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that a little over half of those in the Unsure Profile supported the Grand Pattern Mega Variable while a little under a half were "Uncertain".
- Three quarters of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile and a little over two-thirds of the Matrics in the Select Profile supported the Grand Purpose Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that well over three-quarters of those in the AF-SS Profile and a little over three-quarters of those in the Select Profile supported the Grand Pattern Mega Variable.
- From the remarks we observe that while there was support for Grand Purpose in the form of pushing the frontiers of science and technology, the Matrics in the SF-AS and Select profiles were concerned that focusing on science and technology may be at the expense of present texture. Some Matrics in the AF-SS were more explicitly against pushing the frontiers if it meant sacrificing present texture.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile tended to support both Grand Purpose and Grand Pattern; and
- the Matrics in the Unsure Profile were divided between being uncertain and supportive of both Grand Pattern and Grand Purpose but they tended to support Grand Pattern more than Grand Purpose.

University of Cape Town

The Linear Time Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S22 Meeting start on time
- S23 History is moving forward

Fig. 24 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Linear Time Mega Variable

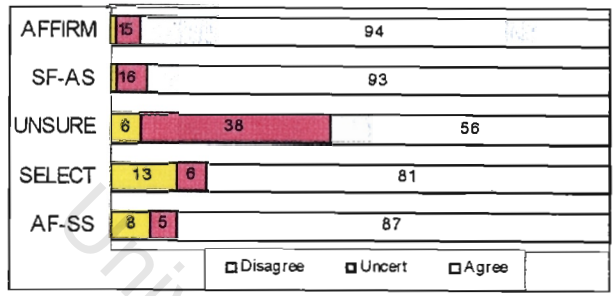
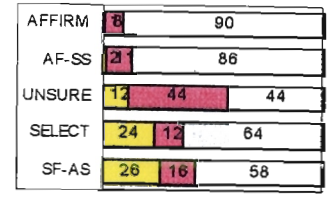


Fig. 13 Reproduced (Cyclical Time)



Note: Neither the Linear Time Mega Variable nor its constituent variables was discussed during the interviews.

Observations and Comments:

- Well over three-quarters of the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile supported the Linear Time Mega Variable.
- A little over half of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Linear Time Mega Variable, with a little over a third responded in the "Uncertain" range. Earlier we observed that a little less than half supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable with a little less than half responding the "Uncertain" range.
- We observed earlier that i.) almost all the Matrics in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable; ii.) a little less than two thirds of the Matrics in the Select Profile and a little more than half of the Matrics in the SF-AS profiles supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- the Matrics in the AF-SS and the Affirm profiles tended to support both Cyclical and Linear Time;
- the Matrics in the Unsure Profile were divided between being uncertain and supportive of both Cyclical and Linear Time although they tended to support Linear Time more than Cyclical time; and
- the Matrics in the Select and the SF-AS profiles tended to support Linear Time far more than Cyclical Time.

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The Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S17 Reshape the world
- S20 Part of the process of reshaping the future
- S21 School teaching science
- S34 Life starts … leave school, over when retire
- S35 Young go-getters most admired

Fig. 25 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable

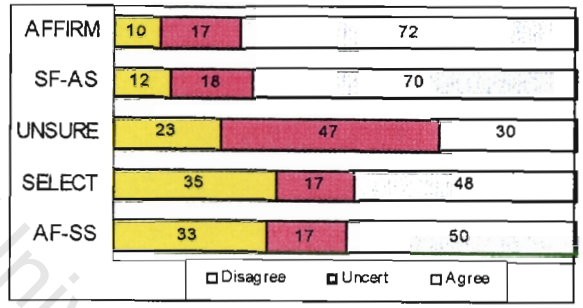


Fig. 14 Reproduced (Fit Into)

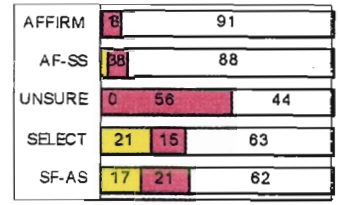


Table 19. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	Science provides opportunities for future generations to advance • VK was among those in this profile who supported science and a scientific world-view. In the following extract he explains that he saw science as a means to advancement: *Umntwana wam ndizo umthumela esikolweni, afunde agqithise kunam.* **I would send my child to this school [that teaches science] for him/her to study in order to advance beyond what I have achieved.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 267-286)
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	No remarks were forthcoming
AF-SS	Take-hold-and-shape with some reservations • JU was among those in the AF-SS Profile who thought "people should try to reshape the world in which they find themselves". In the following extract, however, he expresses his concern that they may not do it for the right reasons: *Nam ndiyangqinelana nalento. Yha kufuneka nyani bezamile ukuwujika umhlaba abazifumana behlala kuwo. Mhlawumbe uyabona phaya emaxhoseni, phaya kudala abantu babethanda izindlu zabo ukuba zibe ngooronta. Kodwa ngokuya bephucuka baye baqonda ukuba, ngoku sowujongelwa phantsi ukuba ungumntu owekha uronta, so bazamazama ukyijika kuzakufana nalapha eDolophini.* **I support this idea. Yes, they should try to change the world in which they find themselves. You may have noticed there in the villages for a long time people liked their houses to be in the form of a rondavel [round shaped]. But nowadays due to modernisation they think that people will look down upon a person who builds a rondavel shaped house, so they try to change and copy the way things are done here in town.** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 803-804) The individual and the community benefits from a succeesful career in the sciences • JU was among those in this profile who supported sending their children to a school that teaches science and a scientific approach to life. JU like many was persuaded by the communal benefits of a career in the sciences. He said: *Ndingamthumela unyana wam kwisikolo esifundisa ngenzulu lwazi. Umzekelo: Masithi afundele ubugqirha, ubugqirha bunemali nyani. And angafumani mali nje kuphela azokwazi nokunceda nathi. Mhlawumbe kubekhona umntu ogulayo apha endlini, abe seyazi ukuba ugula yintoni. So, ndingathanda unyana wam ukuba ndimthumele esikolweni senzululwazi.* **I would send my son to a school that teaches science. For example, let us say he studies to be a doctor. Of course being a doctor is financially lucrative. It is not just about money, though, he would also be able to help us all. There may be someone in the family who is sick, he would be able to diagnose the cause of the illness. So I would like to send my son to the school that teaches science.** (File: 10C123 Text Units: 841- 842) Assimilating a scientific world-view leads people to abandon their traditional cultural heritage • TO was among those who were against sending their children to a school that teaches science and a scientific approach to life. In the following extract he expresses his concern that the introduction of a scientific view of the world undermines the traditional way of life: *Andinokwazi ukuthumela unyana wam kwizikolo zenzululwazi ndingazi nto mna. Kungcono aphele apho ndiphele*

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AF-SS	*khona kuba uza kulahla amasiko nezithethe zalapha ekhaya.* **I would not be able to send my son to a school that teaches science and scientific approach when I don't know anything about this myself. It is better for him to reach the point that I have reached because otherwise he will lose the traditions and customs of our ancestral home.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 274-275) An all-round education is better than an education that is exclusively science orientated • SH was also against sending his child to a school that teaches science. In the following extract he emphasises the need for an education that will develop a well-rounded person: **I totally disagree. The only school I would send my son to is the ONE known to bring out the best in each child and to develop a well rounded human being.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 279-279) Against devalueing the role of the elderly JU along with a small majority was against society valuing the economically active generation and devaluing the elderly. He said: *..Awunothi umntu ubomi bakhe buphelile xa efumana inkamnkam.* **One should not say that a persons' life is over once he/she reaches pensionable age.**

Notes: (See Table A9 in Appendix 3)

1. The pattern for responses of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile to constituent variable S34 deviated from that of the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable as a whole. Variable S34 was supported by 48% of the Matrics in this profile with 24% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 28% in the "Disagree" range.

2. The pattern of the responses of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile in constituent variables S17, S20 and S35 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable itself.
   - Variable S17 was supported by 16% of the Matrics in this profile with 52% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 32% in the "Disagree" range.
   - Variable S20 was supported by 60% of the Matrics in this profile with 36% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 4% in the "Disagree" range.
   - Variable S35 was supported by 16% of the Matrics in this profile with 60% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 24% in the "Disagree" range.

3. The pattern of the responses of the Matrics in the Select Profile in S20, and S34 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable itself.
   - Variable S20 was supported by 82% of the Matrics in this profile with 13% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 4% in the "Disagree" range.
   - Variable S34 was supported by 23% of the Matrics in this profile with 15% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 62% in the "Disagree" range.

4. The pattern of the responses of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile in constituent variables S20 and S34 differed substantially from that of the mega variable itself.
   - Variable S20 was supported by 83% of the Matrics in this profile with 6% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 10% in the "Disagree" range.
   - Variable S34 was supported by 24% of the Matrics in this profile with 17% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 59% in the "Disagree" range.

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Observations and Comments

- Much like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, a little less than three-quarters of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Take-Hold-and-Shape Mega Variable. VK's comment that science and scientific world-view is the route to advancement is typical of those located in the SF-AS Profile. We also observe that less than half the Matrics in the SF-AS supported S34, which suggests that they were unhappy devaluing the role of the elderly. Earlier we observed that a little less than two-thirds of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Fit Into Mega Variable whereas almost all the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Fit Into Mega Variable.
- Less than a third of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Take-Hold-and-Shape Mega Variable while a little less than half were "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that a little less than half supported the Fit Into Mega Variable while a little more than half were "Uncertain".
- About half of the Matrics in the Select and AF-SS profiles supported the Take-Hold-and-Shape Mega Variable while about a third "Disagreed". Earlier we observed a little less than two-thirds of those in the Select Profile and almost all those in the AF-SS supported the Fit Into Mega Variable. The Matrics in the Select and AF-SS profiles tended to vote against devaluing the elderly. The comments by JU and TO suggest that those in the AF-SS Profile were wary of modern science because it tended to undermined indigenous technologies, specifically, and their traditional cultural heritage, generally. They were however open to science and technology which benefited the community.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported both mega variables but they tended to support the Take-Hold-and-Shape Mega Variable more than the Fit Into Mega Variable;
- the Matrics in the Unsure Profile tended not to support either mega variables;
- the Matrics in the Select and the AF-SS profiles tended to support the Fit Into Mega Variable more than the Take-Hold-and - Shape Mega Variable, with almost all the Matrics in the AF-SS supporting the Fit Into Mega Variable; and
- the Matrics in the Affirm Profile tended to support both mega variables although they supported the Fit Into Mega Variable more than the Take-Hold-and-Shape Mega Variable.

The Secularity Mega Variable

Constituent variable;

- S24 Leave behind traditions

Fig.26 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Secularity Mega Variable

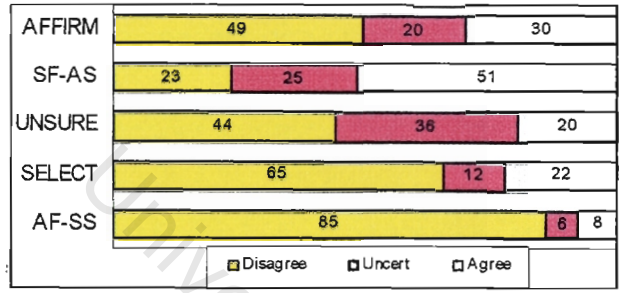


Fig. 15 Reproduced (Spiritual Explainations)

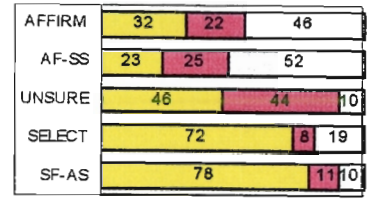


Table 20. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Secularity Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	No remarks were forthcoming
UNSURE	No remarks were forthcoming
SELECT	No remarks were forthcoming
AF-SS	Against abandoning the traditions • JU along with the overwhelming majority in this profile rejected the very thought of abandoning the traditions. He said: *Andingqinelani toe kwaphela nento yokuba amasiko singawashiya ngasemva.* **I totally reject the view that we ought to leave the traditions and customs in the past.** (File 10C123 Text Units 846-865)

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Observations and Comments:

- The Secularity Mega Variable was the least supported of all mega variables from Sipho's story by all the profiles.
- This is the only mega variable taken from Sipho's story where the responses of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile and the Affirm Profile differed substantially. A little over half of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable (while less than a quarter responded in the "Disagree" range) whereas less than third of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable (while almost half responded in the "Disagree" range). Earlier we observed that almost none of the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable. A little less than half the Matrics in the Affirm Profile supported the Traditional Explanations Mega Variable while a little less than a third Disagreed".
- Less than a quarter of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable. Similarly almost no Matrics supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable. In both instances the Matrics' responses were divided between the "Uncertain" and "Disagree" ranges. These Matrics were unhappy with the two extremes represented by Traditional Spiritual Explanations and Secularity Mega Variables.
- Less than a quarter of the Matrics in the Select Profile and almost no Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable. Large numbers of Matrics in these profiles responded to this mega variable in the "Disagree" range. Earlier we found that the Matrics in the Select Profile responded similarly to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable indicating that they too were unhappy with these extreme positions. We also found that the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile barely supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable.
- The responses of the Matrics to the Secularity Mega Variable suggest that most Matrics agreed with JU who objected to a wholesale abandonment of the traditions and customs.
- The above observations indicate the following:
- notwithstanding the remarks made in the fifth point, above, the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile tended to support Secularity more than the Traditional Spiritual Explanations;
- the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile tended to support Traditional Spiritual Explanations more than Secularity; and
- the Matrics in the Unsure, Select, and the Affirm profiles tended not to support either Secularity or Traditional Spiritual Explanations.

The Goals Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S1 Happy when achieving or becoming
- S2 Pressure to achieve
- S3 Think about what I am to become
- S4 Goal orientated to achieve
- S5 Goals give purpose & direction
- S6 Admire people work towards better future
- S7 Sacrifice now, better future
- S8 Frustrated, prevented from pursuing goals

Fig.27 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Goals Mega Variable

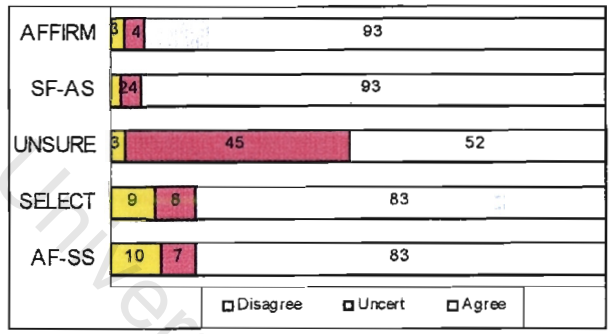


Table 21. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Goals Mega Variable

Profile	Themes & Remarks
SF-AS	Against working for others if it entails any personal sacrifice • VK was among those in this profile who were goal orientated and worried about personal success. He explicitly states his priorities in the following extract: *Iyenzeka into yokuba usebenzele abanye abantu uphinde ungaginyi kwanto. Ngenxa yokusebenzela abantu ulibale ngekamva lakho. Aphele la umntu umsebenzelayo ekhula wena ube usokola.* **It may happen that you work for other people, on the other hand you gain nothing . As a result of working for other people you forget about your own future. The person you are working for develops and you end up suffering** (File 10A2 Text Units 128-145)
UNSURE	No comments were forthcoming
SELECT	Goal orientated • BW and LV were among those in this profile who were very determined to achieve their goals. BW put it well when in response to a question about how he would handle a situation where he felt frustrated because he was prevented from pursuing his goals he said: **I will try to look forward. I will never give up!** (File ZII-2 Text Units 529-541) Unhappy sacrificing just anything for a better future • LV was among those in this profile who were not prepared to sacrifice just anything for a better future. He said: *Njengoba ithi ndizakunikezela ngezinto ezininzi ebomini andizazi ukuba zizinto ezinjani.* **The reason is that it says here I'll sacrifice many things in my life but I'm not told exactly what these things are.** (File 10B1&2 Text Units 403-407)
AF-SS	Being future orientated must not cost us our traditional cultural heritage • TO, SH, and JU were among those in the AF-SS Profile who had "greater admiration for people who work towards achieving a better future for all than those concerned with other people's well being in the here and now". TO was nevertheless concerned that excessive concern about a future society will mean having forfeit the past and present ways of doing things i.e. the traditional African ways. He said: *Ndiyayixhasa lanto kodwa ndiphende ndibe nendawana noko. Into yokuba sijonge ikamva lexesha elizayo silibale ngali lethu. Into ethetha ukuthi siza kulahla eli lethu ke ngoku sijonge elizayo. Ndiyayixhasa kona qha ingalibaleki le isemva.* **I second this idea, but on second thoughts there's an aspect that worries me. What worries me is that we focus on the future and we may forget that which is ours. There is something that says to me that we will lose that which is ours when we focus on that which is to come in the future. I support this idea [of working for the future] if only in doing so we do not forget our past.** (File 10A2 Text Units 128-145)

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	Future orientation must be communal • For SH being future orientated is worthwhile as long as people remain communal. He said: *I really admire nyani abantu abasebenzela towards a better future for all because eyenza umntu abe ngumntu likamva. Uthi uSipho apha xa ethetha kufuneka ube ngumntu ube a goal orientated person so that ulife yakhe will have direction. I really admire those who are working so hard for a better future for all not only for themselves.* **I really truly admire people who work towards a better future for all because it ensures a person is a person with a future. Sipho when he narrates here he says you must be a person who is goal orienated so that your life will have direction. I really admire those who are working so hard for a better future for all, not only for themselves.** (File: 10A2 Text Units: 128-145) • JU also admired those who work for a better future for all. He said: *Yha, nam ndiyangqinelana nalento ithethwa apha kuba kufuneka kuncedancedwene ngabantu sikwazi ukuba sithembane. Mhlawumbe ukuba singathembana ingatsho i-misunderstanding iphele ebantwini.* **Yes, I support that which is being spoken of here [because] we need constantly to be helping one another so that we can give each other hope. Perhaps if we focus on giving each other hope misunderstanding among people will end**. (File: 10C123 Text Units: 652-675)

Notes:

1. Table A9 shows that the pattern of the responses of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile to constituent variables S4 and S6 deviated substantially from that of the mega variable as a whole.
   - Variable S4 was supported by 72% of the Matrics in this profile with 28% responding in the "Uncertain" range.
   - Variable S6 was supported by 24% of the Matrics in this profile with 72% responding in the "Uncertain" range and 4% in the "Disagree" range.

Comments:

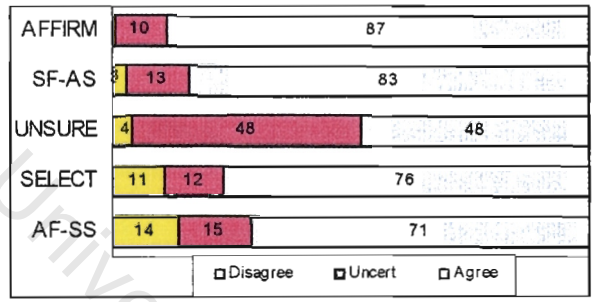
- The Goals Mega Variable was the most supported of all the mega variables from Sipho's story.
- Almost all the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile supported the Goals Mega Variable.
- While only half the Matrics in the Unsure Profile supported this mega variable almost three-quarters said they recognised that they needed to be "goal orientated to achieve" and a little less than a quarter said they "admire people who work towards a better future for all".
- While most Matrics were goal and future orientated different interpretations and emphases emerged from the interviews.
- Those like VK, who located in the SF-AS Profile, were reluctant to support working for communal goals that may threaten their own personal success.
- Those like LV, who located in the Select Profile, were also unhappy sacrificing just anything for a better future.
- Those like TO, SH and JU in the AF-SS Profile supported communal goals and a better future for the community. But it emerged from the interviews that some, like TO, were concerned that being future orientated might lead to the abandonment of their traditions and customs.

The Seek Belonging Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- S32 Seek God

Fig.28 Bar Charts of theProfiles' Responses to the Grand Purpose Mega Variable



Note: The Seek Belonging Mega Variable was not discussed during the interviews.

Observations and Comments

- Like the Matrics in the Affirm Profile almost all the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile supported the Seek Belonging Mega Variable.
- The Matrics in the Unsure Profile were fairly equally divided in their response to the Seek Belonging Mega variable. They either supported or were Uncertain.
- A little over three-quarters of the Matrics in the Select Profile and a little less than three-quarters of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile supported the Seek Belonging Mega Variable.

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CHAPTER 5

THE MANAGERS

Introductory Note

As the study progressed we became convinced that school leavers who affirm African traditional and Western industrial ways of seeing, being and doing could adopt strategies like *allocation* that would allow them to embrace competing paradigms without experiencing the tension of identity fragmentation. This is possible in learning and even working environments where there is little pressure to take responsibility for and to own what we have called the Western Industrial Paradigm. However, we thought that this would become increasingly more difficult for those who climbed the corporate ladder. As managers in business and industry they would be obliged to apply conventional business practices on a daily basis as they manage business systems based on the Western Industrial Paradigm. For these managers to be upwardly mobile in the corporate world they would not only have to demonstrate a range of competencies but a high level of commitment to Western industrial style. It is possible for black managers in the short term to distance themselves from the Westo-centric corporate culture by simply being the administrators of already agreed policy and in the long term to talk about Africanising business and industry in broad terms, however, the real crunch comes in the medium term when they have to take responsibility for formulating policy in the current context. It is at this point that the tensions between the world-views are most pronounced.

We thought that if managers affirmed both paradigms they would be more likely to experience the tension in their own world-view as they increasingly applied and upheld the Western Industrial Paradigm in the workplace knowing that it contradicted African traditional ways of seeing, being and doing. We also expected the numbers in the Select and SF-AS profiles to increase.

We, therefore, included in the study a sample of black managers. The managers completed the questionnaire and participated in in-depth group interviews.

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In the following section we will present profiles of the responses of 21 managers to the two sets of story variables in the questionnaire survey and related remarks made during the interviews, compare the pattern of their responses to that of the Matrics, and report on other themes that emerged during the interviews to add to our understanding of the managers.

We recognise that the sample of managers is not necessarily representative of black managers in general. Their responses to the questionnaire and the subsequent in-depth interviews do none the less, provide us with a picture of the way a group of black managers in business and industry negotiate their world-views.

5.1 MANAGERS ACCORDING TO PROFILE

Method of Analysis

The responses to the questionnaire provided us with a measure of the extent to which the managers incorporated aspects of the two ideal-typical stories in their own model of the world-out-there.

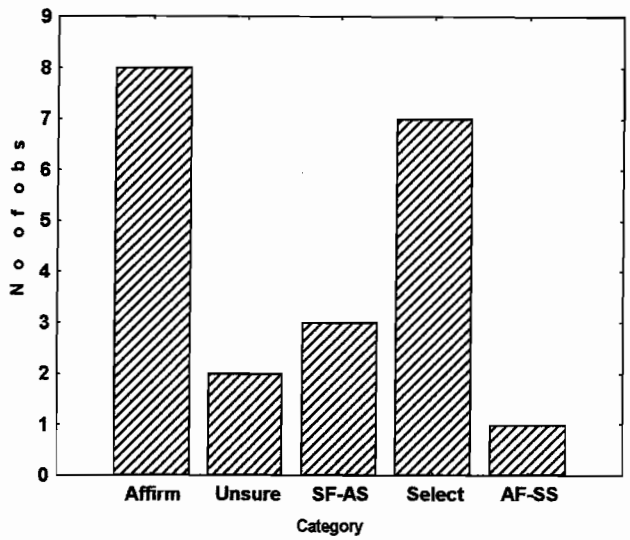
The sets of criteria we used to locate the students in the six different profiles were once again used to locate each of the managers who participated in the questionnaire survey. The profiles in which each of the managers were located were checked during the interviews to see with which of the profiles the managers consciously identified.

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Distribution of the Managers Across the Profiles

Fig. 29, below, indicates the number of managers in each profile. (None of the managers located in the Non Specific Profile.)

Fig. 29. Bar Chart Showing the Spread of the Managers in the Five Profiles



Note: Valid cases 21, Missing cases 2

Comments

We notice that the Affirm Profile and the Select Profile were the most popular, with considerably fewer respondents in the SF-AS and Unsure Profile and only one respondent located in the AF-SS Profile.

Some General Remarks by the Managers[42]

Of those who located in the Affirm Profile, BN said:

> **In terms of percentages I can't put a figure to it but I found myself agreeing with a lot of things that Faku says and a significant number of things that Sipho says as well.** (File KZ Text Units 19 - 27)

ET, who was the only manager to locate in the AF-SS Profile, said:

> **There is a lot that I reacted favourably to, strongly. I strongly agree with Faku. And I strongly agree with Sipho only in some points. There were points that ...were in the middle.** (File EC Text Unit 37) **...Actually I'm not a Sipho.** (File EC Text Unit 845) **..Sipho is too much of an individual. He wants to succeed at the expense of others; alone at the expense of everyone else.** (File EC Text Unit 972)

SOM, who located in the Unsure Profile, said:

> **I was also very selective in my response to both Faku's and Sipho's stories. Some of the comments that Faku makes were real for me and on the other side, some the comments that Sipho made are also real. There are things that I disagreed with [in] what Sipho said and I also disagree with what Faku said.** (File EC Text Unit 55) **... I would say there is a balance [between the agrees and disagrees] in both of stories.** (File EC Text Unit 59)

[42] The managers were not told into which profiles they located. During the course of the interviews some commented on how they viewed the two stories.

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What SOM did not say was that many of his responses were in the "Uncertain" range (i.e. "5's" and "6's") which, of course, is why he was included in the Unsure Profile.

ON, AM and MZ located in the Select Profile. In the follow extracts they indicate the extent to which they supported the variables in the Faku and Sipho stories:

> ON: **Thirty percent of the time, I agreed with Faku. And seventy percent of the time, I agreed with Sipho.** (File EC Text Unit 61)
>
> AM: **I would go along with ON 30:70. Like, I looked at myself personally and judged each case on [merit] I put it to myself, " Do I buy into this sort of value: Yes I do, no I don't".** (File EC Text Unit 73)
>
> MZ: **I was also thirty percent, accepting of what Faku was saying and about 60 percent of what Sipho was saying. But there is this other 10 percent that is there, but you don't know where to place it.** (File EC Text Unit 75)

In the following passage ED, who located in the SF-AS Profile, indicates with reference to the left side of the Likert Scale, meaning "Strongly Disagree", and right side, meaning "Strongly Agree", that he generally disagrees with Faku's story and he generally agrees with Sipho's story:

> **As far as Faku is concerned I'm this side of my hand.** (INTERVIEWER: You agree strongly with Faku.) **No!** (INTERVIEWER: You disagree) **Ja. As far as Sipho is concerned I'm either in the middle or on the extreme right**. (File KZ Text Unit 11-15)

ZN also located in the SF-AS Profile. He explains, in the following extract, that his Christian beliefs have resulted in him agreeing more with Sipho's story than with Faku's story:

> **Ok, well I'm taking from both. I'm selecting from both. But according to what I've done it seems like I'm more of Sipho's view when it comes to the beliefs. Like I believe in God, as a Christian. When it comes to the point where we take God as *Umvelingxangi* [traditional *isi*Zulu word for Creator God] and then compare God or consider the ancestors as a sort of angels well my views are a little bit different, cause I'm just a Christian you know. There is the sort of Faku [type] man who believes that there is God, and his ancestors ...are sort of angels or some sort people who are between himself and God. ... My view is that God does exist but I don't see the ancestors as actually the people responsible for what-you-call my future. Jaaa, I do go to church I do pray but I don't believe that my ancestors have got a responsibility towards me.** (File KZ Text Unit 667)

SN who also located in the SF-AS Profile said:

> **I did not agree with most of what Faku said just because it's based on ancestors. I strongly disagree with Faku. With Sipho there are many things I strongly agree with ...there are very few things that I strongly disagree with.** (File KZ Text Units 52-56)

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5.2 PROFILES OF THE MANAGERS' RESPONSES TO THE STORY VARIABLES

Method of Analysis

We have grouped the managers according to their profiles and summarised the data, as we did with the Matrics, into mega variables. We have also included extracts from the interviews to provide a more detailed picture of how the managers, located in each of the profiles, responded to the story variables. The presentation format is similar to that of the Matrics in that we start with the Affirm Profile and compare the other profiles with it.

Findings

Tables A11 and A12 in Appendix 4 show the response of each manager to each of the story mega variables and constituent variables. Fig.30 and Fig.31, below, present collectively the profiles of the managers' responses to the story mega variables. We do this to get an overall picture of the responses of the managers located in the different profiles before we proceed to focus on each mega variable. Comments on the general picture are reserved until later (see 5.2.3, below) when we compare the managers' responses to that of the Matrics'.

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Fig. 30 Bar Charts of the Managers' Responses to the Faku Story Mega Variables

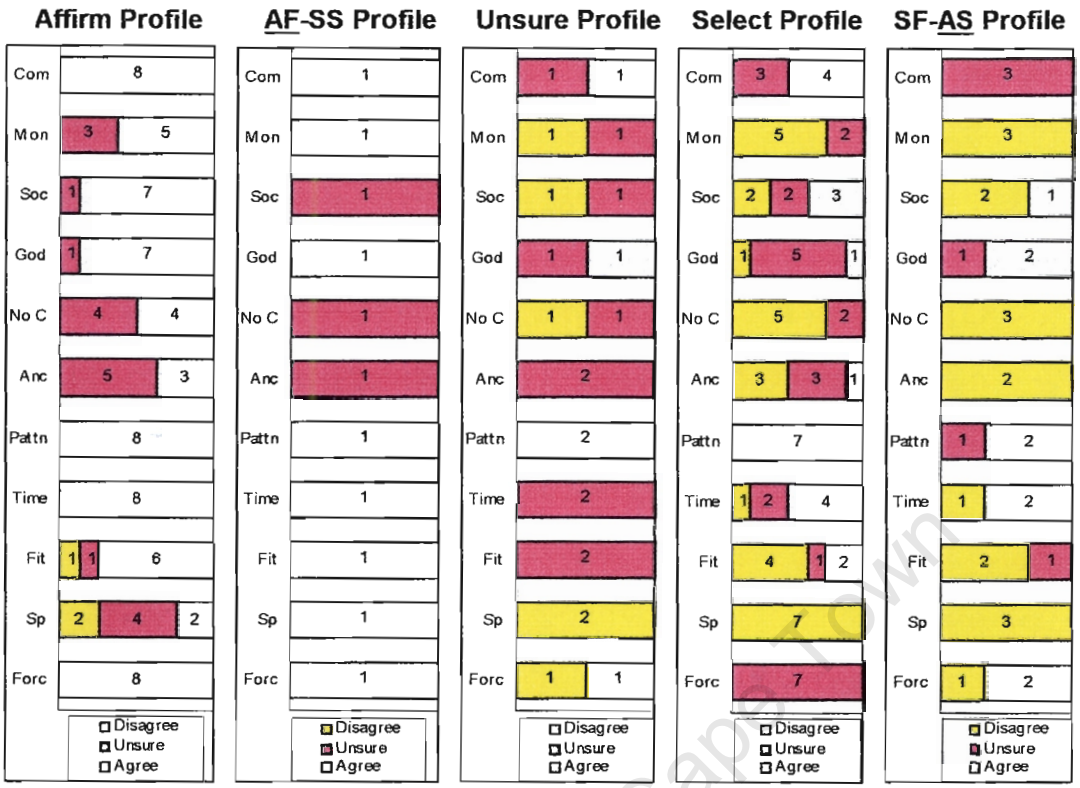


Chart Key: Com = Community; Mon = Monism; Soc = Traditional Social Features; God = God of the Ancestors; No C = No Chance; Anc = Becoming an Ancestor; Pattn = Grand Pattern; Time = Cyclical Time; Fit = Fit Into; Sp = Traditional Spiritual Explanations; Forc = Vital Force

Fig. 31 Bar Charts of the Managers' Responses to the Sipho Story Mega Variables

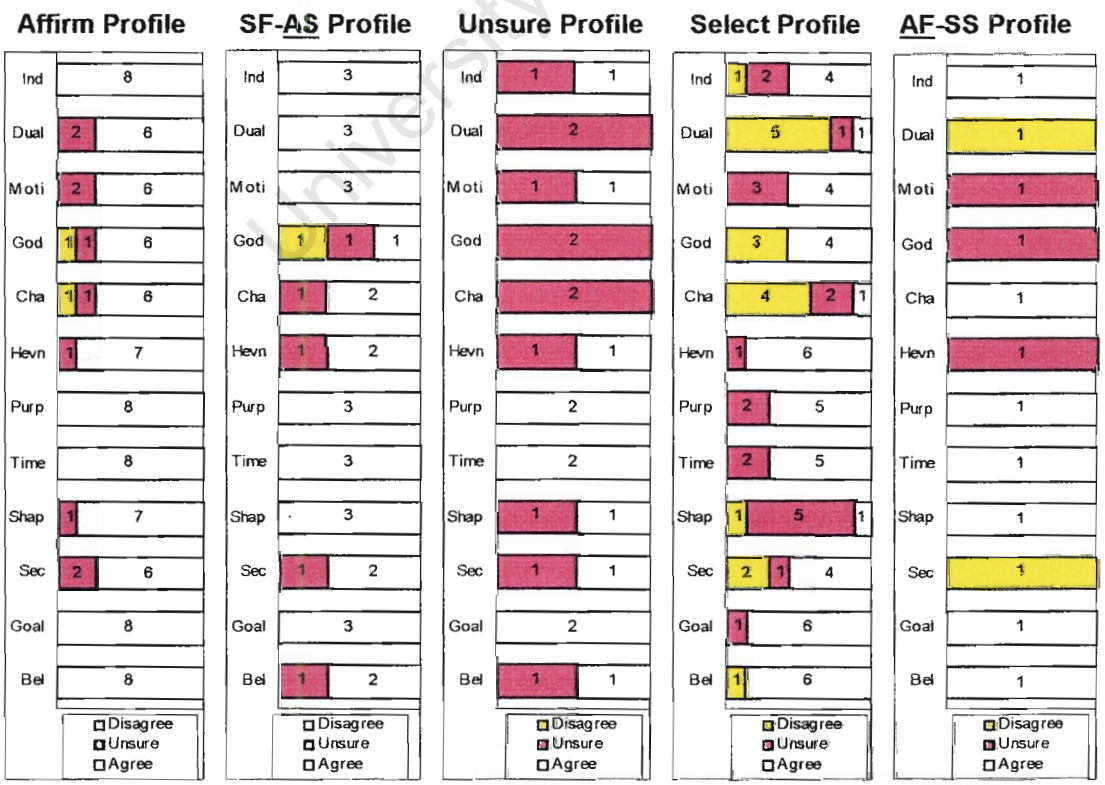


Chart Key: Ind = Individualism; Dual = Dualism; Moti = Social Motivation; God = Personal God; Cha = Chance; Hevn = Going to Heaven; Purp = Grand Purpose; Time = Linear Time; Shap = Take-Hold-and-Shape; Sec = Secularity; Goal = Goals; Bel = Seek Belonging

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5.2.1 The Managers' Responses to the Faku Story Variables

The Communalism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F1 Interdependence statement
- F2 *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*
- F16 I will correct my neglect of the ancestors by performing a ritual
- F26 It is better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves
- F27 Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings

Fig. 32 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Communalism Mega Variable

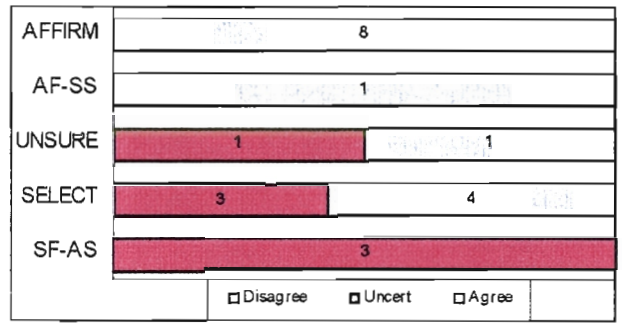


Table 22. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating the Communalism Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
AF-SS	Faku's entire world-view revolves around communalism • ET said he supported Faku's story because **"basically all the major components revolve around *umntu ngumntu ngabantu* [a person is a person through other people] and *ubuntu* [humanisation] principles"** (File EC Text Unit 121).
SELECT	Communalism including family obligation is at the heart of who we are • PC said: **As Africans we've been brought up to live in a communal sort of living together. If you achieve you pull the others with you. And you don't do it** [achieve] **at all costs. I still find it difficult to sort of push ahead and leave the others behind, have money and my aunts and uncles and my sister's children and whatever don't have what they need. I realise I have to contribute to them.** (File AIM Text Unit 102) ...**That's how we are brought up. It's immoral for me to be well off and my sister walking in the streets barefoot, she is not attending school, I'm driving a BMW.** (File AIM Text Unit 123) Group conformity is not at the expense of independence • ON and MZ shared a similar view about how they respond to group pressure. ON articulates their position in the following extract where he explains that he does not believe in blindly conforming to a group decision but for him to support the group decision he would need to be convinced that it is the correct one: **If a group decides to kill a person, I would distance myself. ... I would try to convince them, to say out my voice, to speak my heart out. And if they convince me I'm willing to listen. Only if they convince me do I stick with the group.** (File EC Text Unit 107) Employee co-operation and a community spirit produces excellence • MZ emphasised the need for co-operation and interdependence in the workplace. He said: **... In work related situations our job is people and whatever you do, to do the best, it must be through people. And I cannot move without them, and I have to win their support. You buy into things like persuading them, moving them and motivating them in such a way that they begin to like think very much like yourself and then you will be able to move together. ... I can never move forward without the people. It's either they are there to make me or break me.** (File EC Text Unit 95)
SF-AS	Team work and sharing aspects of communalism are useful • ZN supported aspects of Faku's story that promote teamwork and sharing. He said: **OK, I believe that one does not live on an island, in the area where one lives, in the place where**

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	one works. He lives with other people and somehow they've an impact on the process of development. You've got to grow with them. You don't have to leave them, to isolate yourself completely and consider your own success as the final goal. I believe that in the workplace we need to work with other people to develop teamwork. Working with other people can make us more successful than to work [separately] for our own goals. But as a person who is working in a management level these days it's important for me to develop my subordinates to perform at the level where I feel I'll be congratulated or admired by my bosses in future. So I believe that what we need to do these days, we need to develop some sort of self-directed teams, so if you look back and go back to what Faku is saying here, he does not differ much from my point of view. (File KZ Text Unit 670)

Note:
1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the Affirm and the Unsure profiles

Observations and Comments

- The managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported the Communalism Mega Variable. ET was probably speaking for the managers in both these profiles when he said that the expression *umntu ngumntu ngabantu* is the pivotal point around which all else in an African traditional world-view revolves. It certainly is at the heart of communalism.
- The managers in the Select and Unsure profiles were divided between those who supported and those who were uncertain about the Communalism Mega Variable. One gets the impression from PC's remark that she is all too aware of the pressure to abandon family obligation, but because she associates the spirit of communalism with being African she resists the temptation. The phrase "I still find it difficult to sort of push ahead and leave the others behind..." reflects the conflict she experiences. She works in an environment where she is expected to "push ahead" and "leave the others [read losers] behind" and the mass media supports this view but her cultural background tells her this is immoral. To do so would mean denying her Africanness. Another aspect of communalism is the issue of group loyalty raised by ON. The remark by ON needs to be seen in the context of the political violence of the 1980's and the manner in which "sell-outs" were dealt with in the townships. He seems to saying that he values his independence and even the groups to which he belongs cannot assume his unquestioning loyalty.
- The managers in the SF-AS Profile did not go so far as to reject the Communalism Mega Variable, but they neither did they support it. They selectively rejected the traditional religious aspects of communalism (see their responses to constituent variables F16 and F27 in Table A11 in Appendix 4) while wanting to retain the general communal spirit we find in ZN's remarks. A co-operative spirit, as ZN notes, serves to advance the individual in the company while giving him/her a sense of community. Earlier in the presentation of the Matrics' results we called this pseudo-communalism.
- We notice from the above that those in the Affirm Profile are as committed to communalism as the manager in the AF-SS Profile whereas managers in the other profiles tend be uncertain about aspects of communalism.

The Monism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F3 Ancestors ensure health/well being
- F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have
- F14 Ancestral spirits live in rivers etc.
- F15 Ancestors are important in my life

Fig. 33. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Monism Mega Variable

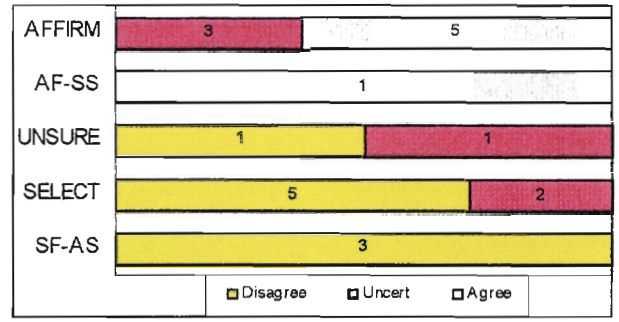


Table 23. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Monism Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
SELECT	Traditional beliefs and practices are not personally believed but nevertheless tolerated • ON like most of the managers in the Select Profile personally rejected what he considered traditional beliefs and practices that revolve around the ancestors or witchcraft. As a member of a Pentecostal church he did not believe in these things any longer. He nevertheless says in the following extract that he caters for those for whom these beliefs are meaningful: **There could be a grey area that comes from me personally in that I accept people who believe in certain really [read extreme] traditional beliefs, I've got room for them, I accommodate them and I can work with those who have those perceptions. Not that I buy into these beliefs, but I accommodate them.** (File EC Text Unit 79) A monistic world-view has been replaced with a Christian view of the spirit world • The following comment by BK about ancestral spirits living in rivers captures the sentiments of the others who responded similarly to the variables that constitute the Monism Mega variable: **(INTERVIEWER: Which points in the Faku story do you really feel strongly do not reflect your position?) For me its about a god or ancestors being in rivers and forests and all of that. From my Christian religious background I find that difficult to accept. (INTERVIEWER: Would you identify with a Christian understanding of the spirit world?) Sure!** (File KZ Text Units 61-71)
SF-AS	God and not the ancestors looks after me • ZN adopted a Western Christian view of the spirit world. He said: **When it comes to the point where we take God as *Umvelingxangi*** [traditional *isi*Zulu word for Creator God] **and then ...consider the ancestors as angels well my views are a little bit different, cause I'm a Christian you know. ...My view is that God does exist but I don't believe that the ancestors are actually responsible for my future.** (File KZ Text Units 667) The spirit world does not exist. • SN made it clear that he was an atheist and that he did not believe in the presence of ancestors in this world. He said: **When it comes to ancestors I also don't believe in them.** (File KZ Text Units 168)

Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the Affirm, AF-SS and Unsure profiles.

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Observations and Comments

- While the majority of the managers in the Affirm Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable three out of the eight were uncertain.
- As expected the manager in the AF-SS Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable.
- Although the managers in the Unsure Profile were divided in the responses to the Monism Mega Variable neither supported it.
- None of the managers in the Select Profile supported the Monism Mega Variable and on the whole they responded in the "Disagree" range. The remarks by ON and BK represent those in this profile for whom a monistic world-view has been replaced by a (Western) Christian world-view. It is not uncommon among the conservative Pentecostal-type Christians like ON to "tolerate" traditional beliefs and practices. They tolerate these views not because they are liberal but because they respect aspects of their traditional cultural heritage they may not personally believe.
- As expected all the managers in the SF-AS Profile responded to the Monism Mega Variable in the "Disagree" range. ZN represents a common position held by Western orientated Christians which does not accept that the ancestors play an active role in the world of the living. SN's response, however, represents an extreme position as he did not believe in the presence of the ancestors in this world because he said he was an atheist.
- From the above we notice a shift in the balance from the managers in the AF-SS and the Affirm profiles who, at the one end of the spectrum, tend to support Monism, to the managers in the Select and SF-AS profiles who, at the other end of the spectrum, tend to reject Monism.

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The Traditional Social Features Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F5 Children are our wealth
- F6 Fertility, obedience and hard work
- F7 Women agree they should be fertile etc.
- F21 Older people to be respected by the youth ... they are close to the ancestors
- F22 Old pass on traditions

Fig. 34 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable

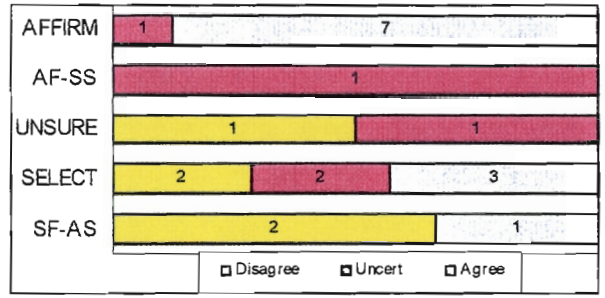


Table 24. The Range of Themes and Remarks Relating to the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
AFFIRM	The traditional role for women is outmoded in modern industrial society • FS alone did not support the prescribed traditional role of women in society. He said: **I think there is also a part where Faku says, the woman has to be fertile and hard working before you could choose her as the best wife, and I find it hard to accept that.** (File KZ Text Unit 74)
AF-SS	The traditional role of women is still appropriate today • ET's views on women are typically traditional and patriarchal. He said: ...**We have gone to the extreme Sipho side, in as far as women are concerned. Women want to take over. If you look at what has happened in parliament. I think that is extreme. Women should be equal. I don't want to say to a certain extent [laughs]. We respect women and treat them as soft people, as people that must be protected. If now they want to act like men, we sort of feel useless. How do you protect this person that is behaving like a man? It's difficult but that's our culture. When you marry, you know your duties and the rules are to protect your family, your wife.** (EC Text Unit 1054) ... **We fulfil different roles. We cannot fulfil the same role.** (File EC Text Unit 1059) Black managers adhere to traditional norms and practices when relating to their elders at work • ET said: **But then again he** [a black manager] **has no choice. That young manager comes in here he is an African he has got to conform to traditional ways. If he is addressing elderly people, he can't call them by their names, he won't. In fact he won't.** (File EC Text Unit 826) ... **If you show any disrespect the word of mouth goes round that now he doesn't respect people and the others respond accordingly and then you end up with a work-force that doesn't respect you as a leader and it won't deliver.** [That is reason for concern] **Because at the end of the day you are judged by what they deliver.** (File EC Text Unit 670) Respect for the elderly and their role in society needs to be revived before it is lost forever. • ET feared that "all our kids are being lost to white schools" (File EC Text Unit 976-988) which have no understanding of African values and morals. In the following extract he expresses his longing for a society based on traditional systems and values: **Within the Faku story the children acknowledge that their parents have been there before them. So, although they might not be educated as much as the kids they have more experience, they have got knowledge. What they are saying is not rubbish, or useless. It's useful information that can guide them in life. ...So within a Faku environment it's age that is important. ... its hierarchy ... associated with respect.** (INTERVIEWER: Are you saying that some of that needs to be carried over to the next generation? What if it's lost?) **If it's lost what will happen, is what is definitely happening now basically, where kids are running around crazy.** (File EC Text Units 1004 - 1013)
SELECT	Supporting the traditional woman's role today is asking for trouble • The most unpopular variable within the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable was F7 women agree they should be fertile ... AM thought it unwise for men to support the traditional

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	role of women in society. He said: **The traditional women's role I am not comfortable with this. These days saying that, you are then making yourself open to persecution.** (File: EC Text Unit: 111) Traditional views of women promote the abuse of women and children • In the following extracts we see that while ON is critical of certain African traditional values that lead to abusive practices and he agitates for greater gender equality his model remains hierarchical. ON: **The first word that he [Faku] uses there, she must be fertile, what if she is not fertile? What does he do? Many woman have lost their husbands because of that. My wife, her father left them because his wife couldn't have a baby boy. ... Those are the problems we have to sort out in our communities. They are very crucial problems. We must be selective to what we must retain of the tradition.** (File EC Text Unit 119) … **There needs to be equality, but we are not equal. There is no way we can be equal. A man and a woman are two different people. One must listen to the other. They must discuss things, I believe people should be fair and open. But at the end of the day there must be somebody who is like a leader, there must be a leader**, [pause] **there must be a leader**. (EC Text Unit 1057) Traditional values: humility and respect are the building blocks of a strong society • ON thought that the traditional society taught young and old alike to be humble and respectful of each other while modern society neglected this. He said: **And as a result the community was strong. There was respect amongst the homes. Ja, I believe we have lost that.** (File EC Text Unit 1019)

Note:

1. Table A11 in Appendix 4 shows that the pattern of responses of the managers in the Affirm Profile to variable F7 deviated from that of the mega variable as a whole. Only two managers in this profile supported variable F7 with four responding in the "Uncertain" range and two in the "Disagree" range.
2. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in Unsure and SF-AS Profiles.

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Observations and Comments

- With one exception the managers in the Affirm Profile supported the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable. While we noted that most of the managers in this profile did not think women would agree that they should be fertile, obedient and hardworking, FS and two others did not personally support this traditional view of women either (See responses to variable F6 in Table A11 in Appendix 4). It is interesting to see that the only women in this profile supported a conservative traditional position regarding gender roles in society (see TEF's responses to variables F6 and F7 in Table A11).
- Against expectations, the response of the manager in the AF-SS Profile to the mega variable and his remark that "Women should be equal. I don't want to say to a certain extent" indicates that he was wary of adopting the traditional patriarchal view of women. However, he returns to the tradition to defend what he perceives to be an attempt by women to "want to take over" and, he continues, "If now they want to act like men, we sort of feel useless". ET also expressed concern that the younger generation did not appreciate the central role of respect in relations between people and that on the factory floor ignoring the norms and practices associated with respect could be very costly.
- The responses of the managers in the Select Profile to the Traditional Social Features Mega Variable were spread across all three categories. AM represents those who did not support the traditional role of women. He reveals however that his objection to the traditional role of women lies in his fear of not being seen to be politically correct and laying himself open to "persecution". ON touched on a controversial cultural issue when he indicated that he selectively rejected the traditional view that pressurised women to give birth to at least one son for them to be granted their full status as women in society. He, however, remained committed to a hierarchical family structure with role differentiation albeit more democratic. ON also represents those in this profile who objected to the devaluing of the traditional notion of respect in modern society.
- From the above we observe that on the whole managers in Affirm Profile adopted a more conservative traditional position on social roles in society than the managers in the other profiles.

The God of the Ancestors Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F8 *Qamata* made earth & everything
- F9 *Qamata* is far away
- F10 Pray to and praise *Qamata*
- F12 Only communicate with *Qamata* during crisis.

Fig. 35 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to God of the Ancestors Mega Variable

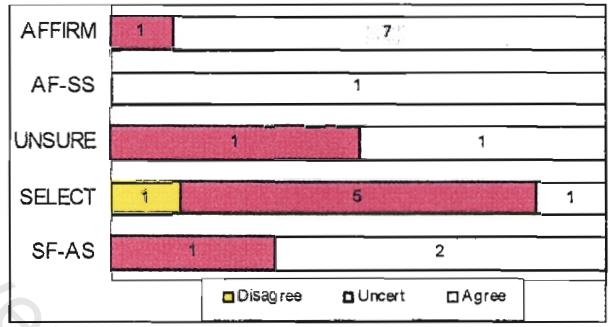


Table 25. Themes and Remarks Relating to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
AFFIRM	God is not far away • FS along with the other managers located in this profile did not share the traditional view of the Divine. He said: **One thing that I don't want to agree with is Faku's point that God is far away and not very active in our lives.** (File KZ Text Unit 82)

Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles.
2. Table A11 shows that the pattern of responses of the managers in the Affirm Profile to variable F9 deviated from that of the mega variable as a whole. None of the managers in this profile supported variable F9 with one responding in the "Uncertain" range and seven in the "Disagree" range.
3. Table A11 shows that the pattern of responses of the managers in the Select Profile to variables F9 and F12 deviated from that of the mega variable as a whole. In each instance one (not the same one) of the managers in this profile supported the variables and all the others responded in the "Disagree" range.

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Observations and Comments

- With the exception of one, the managers in the Affirm Profile along with the manager in the AF-SS Profiles supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable. However, FS along with all the managers in Affirm Profile did not support Faku's view that "*Qamata* is far away and not very active in our lives". This suggests that he, and probably the others, tended to read into word *Qamata* the characteristics of *Thixo*.
- The managers in the Unsure Profile were divided between supporting and being uncertain in their responses to the God of Ancestors Mega Variable.
- On the whole the managers in the Select Profile responded in the "Uncertain" range to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable. What we notice, however, is that where they could they read into the word *Qamata* characteristics of *Thixo*. They, therefore, did not reject the mega variable but neither could they endorse it.
- Two of the three managers in the SF-AS Profile supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable, the other was uncertain.
- From the above it appears that, with exception of the manager in the AF-SS Profile, where the managers could they interpreted characteristics of *Qamata* as references to characteristics of *Thixo*. Those who supported this mega variable seemed to associate many of the characteristics of *Qamata* with *Thixo*.

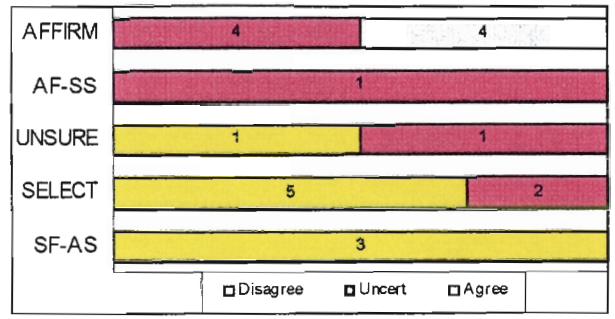
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The No Chance Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F17 Balance upset, someone/thing caused this
- F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual
- F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune.

Fig. 36. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the No Chance Mega Variable



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Table 26. Themes and Remarks Relating to the No Chance Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
AFFIRM	Traditional rituals used to ward off evil are in modern times thought to be "backward" • Responding to the part in the story where Faku says: "If the ritual you perform to address you illness does not heal you then it is because someone else is performing a more powerful ritual." CJ says: **I think Faku is dependent mostly on the rituals. Now the time has changed, if someone goes along completely with Faku's opinions in these times he would be out of sorts**. (File: KZ Text Unit: 90)
SELECT	One should not be obsessed with finding the cause of misfortune • MZ along with the other managers in the Select Profile did not support the No Chance Mega variable. In the following extract he explains why he disagreed with Faku's obsession with finding the cause of misfortune and not allowing for an element of chance: **I disagree with this. When things are wrong it's not someone else, it's myself. [I ask myself:]Where did I go wrong. ... It's either I go back and grasp where did I go wrong or continue and forget about it. Unless the repeat comes and then I will be cautious the next time.** (INTERVIEWER: *Xa mhlawumbe ke* [if perhaps] it's not something that you have caused? Would you be worried like Faku or just carry on?) **Before I used to worry, but now I have learnt things are not always in my control. I shouldn't really bother, I should go on with life, take it easy not try correct things and make them suit my personal being or circumstances. I will just continue**. (File EC: Text Unit 145-155) Witchcraft is a scare tactic used by those in authority to keep the subordinates in line. • MZ went on to dismiss F18 *someone else performing more powerful ritual* and traditional belief in the power of *amagqwirha* (witches). He said: **I disagree with that. I know about these things but I believe in one thing. Like I said to you this is the way I see this whole business. I happened to sit with these old people, the old men. They talk about these things, like in our community how these things were used and in what context. Because *amagqwirha* and all these people, they were used to scare people so that they [those in authority] wouldn't be challenged. In that it's usually old ladies and people like senior in the community that are seen as *amagqwirha*. Those are the people that are making laws. They should not be challenged. They will control your family and the old women, they used to sit on the dirty linen on the family. No one should try getting rich**... File EC: Text Unit 158).

Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the AF-SS, Unsure and SF-AS profiles.

Observations and Comments

- The managers in the Affirm Profile were divided between supporting the No Chance Mega Variable and responding in the "Uncertain" range. CJ represents those in this profile who thought that traditional rituals used to ward off evil were outmoded in modern times.
- Even the manager in the AF-SS Profile responded to the No Chance Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range.
- The managers in the other profiles responded to the No Chance Mega Variable in the either in the "Uncertain" range or the "Disagree" range. MZ's remarks represent those in the Select Profile who were open to chance happenings and who dismissed malevolence. He was also of the opinion that the whole regime of fear built around witches and witchcraft is a strategy used by those in power to oppress the ordinary people.
- Clearly there was little support by the managers for the No Chance Mega Variable. What little support there was came from those located in the Affirm Profile.

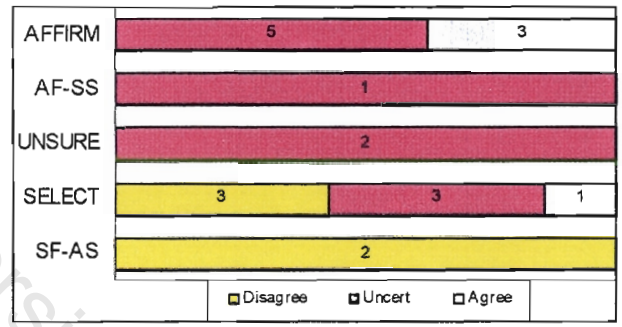
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The Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable

Constituent Variable:

- F23 When I die ...not far from the living.

Fig. 37. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable



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Note:

1. One of the managers in the SF-AS Profile did not respond to this variable.
2. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

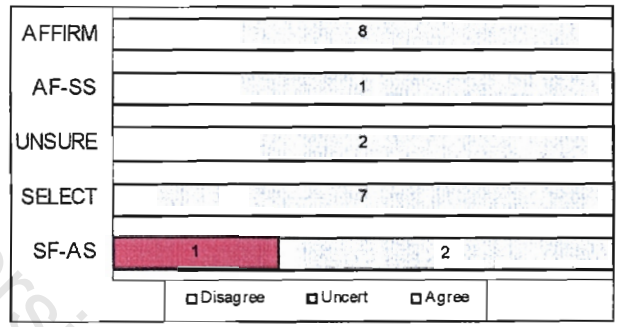
- With the exception of three managers in the Affirm Profile who supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable the managers in the Affirm, and the AF-SS profiles responded in the "Uncertain" range.
- The managers in Unsure Profiles predictably responded in the "Uncertain" range.
- With the exception of one manager in the Select Profile who supported the mega variable the others responded in the "Uncertain" and the "Disagree" ranges.
- The managers in the SF-AS Profile responded in the "Disagree" range.
- Few managers supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable. Once again the only substantial support came from the Affirm Profile.

The Grand Pattern Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F24 Person & thing has its place
- F25 Treat something/one with disrespect weakens all
- F32 Person & thing has a purpose to work out

Fig. 38. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Grand Pattern Mega Variable



Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- With the exception of one manager in the SF-AS Profile who responded in the "Uncertain" range all the managers supported the Grand Pattern Mega Variable.
- This mega variable is more supported than the Communalism Mega Variable.
- It would seem that this is the least confrontational aspect of the Faku Story. It, of course, receives support from ecology.

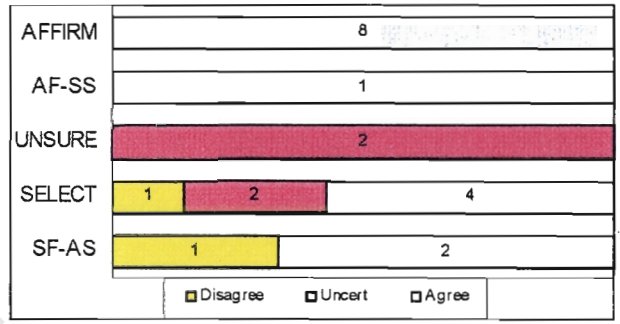
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The Cyclical Time Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F30 Person is born ...goes on to be an ancestor
- F33 Life, time, all that *Qamata* made goes on forever.

Fig. 39 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Cyclical Time Mega Variable



Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- The managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable.
- On the whole managers in the Select Profile and SF-AS also supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable although three managers in the Select and one in the SF-AS did not support the mega variable.
- The managers in the Unsure Profile true to their profile responded in the "Uncertain" range.
- From the above we see that overall support among the managers for the Cyclical Time Mega Variable was high with the exceptions predictably located in the Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles.

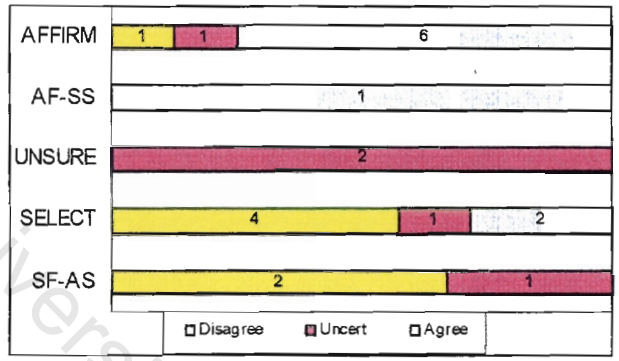
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The Fit Into Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- F31 Fit into the rhythms of nature.

Fig. 40. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Fit Into Mega Variable



Note:
1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- On the whole the managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported the Fit Into Mega variable.
- On the whole the managers in the other profiles did not support the Fit Into Mega Variable. The managers in the Unsure Profile responded in the "Uncertain" range, and those who responded in the "Disagree" range dominated the Select and SF-AS profiles.

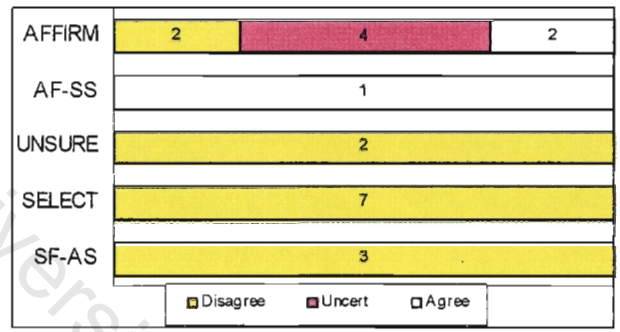
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The Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F11 *Qamata* & Ancestors control the crops
- F29 I go to the *igqira*

Fig. 41 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable



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Table 27. Themes and Remarks Relating Traditional Explanations Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
AFFIRM	Traditional Spiritual Explanations for natural phenomena are replaced with Christian explanations • CJ said: **The story of Faku is based on his religion. There are a few points that I strongly disagree with. Like where he says: "God along with the ancestors they control the growth of the crops". Now if you consider that, you'd say God was not assisted by ancestors. So that's why I say all issues are based on Christianity.** (File: KZ Text Unit: 100)

Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles

Observations and Comments

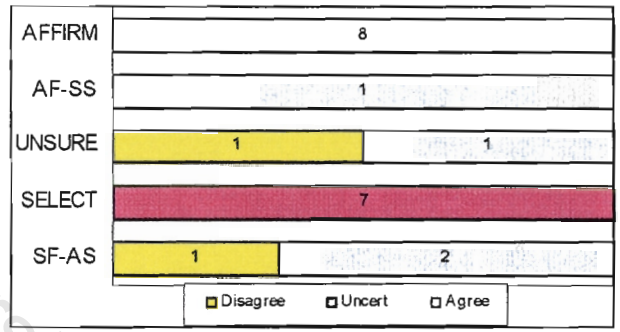
- It is apparent that, with the exception of the manager in the AF-SS Profile and two of the managers in the Affirm Profile, none of the managers supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable.
- The most common response from those in the Affirm Profile to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable was in the "Uncertain" range. The remarks by CJ represent those in this profile who did not accept the traditional spiritual explanations for natural phenomena. He and others in this profile were, however, comfortable with Christian explanations.

The Vital Force Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength
- F28 Everything has power

Fig. 42. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Vital Force Mega Variable



Note:

1. No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- The managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported the Vital Force Mega Variable.
- The managers in the Unsure Profile were divided in their response to the Vital Force Mega Variable. One supported the mega variable and the other responded in the "Disagree" range.
- The managers in the Select Profile all responded in the "Uncertain" range
- The managers in the SF-AS Profile who supported this mega variable dominated, the remaining manager responded in the "Disagree" range.

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5.2.2 The Managers' Responses to the Sipho Story Variables

The Individualism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S12 Make it on my own
- S13 Independence ... I treasure
- S14 Family often holds one back and stifles ambition
- S15 People should be encouraged to provide for their own future
- S16 I co-operate only if it helps me achieve my goals
- S25 Best person for the job.

Fig. 43 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Individualism Mega Variable

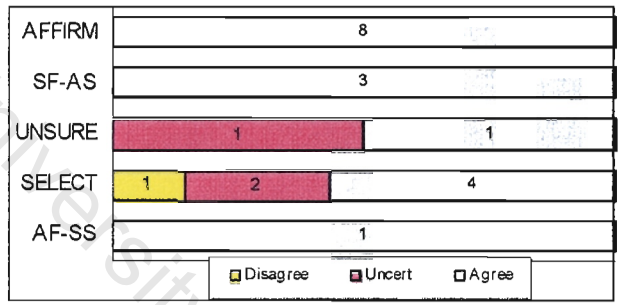


Fig. 32 reproduced (Communalism)

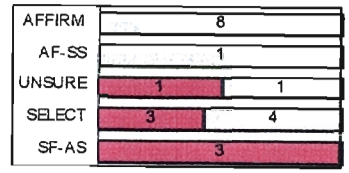


Table 28. Themes and Remarks Relating to the Individualism Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
AFFIRM	Against the solitariness promoted by individualism • In the following extracts TB and STM distance themselves from individualistic behaviour. TB said: **When Sipho says, "I'm determined to make it on my own" I do not agree with him on this point because there needs to be teamwork....** (File KZ Text Unit 166). STM said: **I would say all those points where Sipho says, he wants to do things on his own and without being assisted by anyone I would like to disagree with that because I believe [for example] that if you've got knowledge you must pass it to someone else so that the whole society may benefit from your knowledge.** (File KZ Text Unit 178) There is no individual in this world • HT too did not fully support individualism. He said: **I have got big children, what I always do, I always try to tell them that there is no individual in this world. Two hands are better than one. So, they must always help each other and I even assign some tasks to each child. Not that I cannot afford [to employ someone], but just to teach them responsibility. I mean, that's how we were brought up, we must share ... There is a saying in my home language, "No matter how little you earn, you still have to share that little with others."** (File AIM Text Unit 142) In principle people should be encouraged to be independent but in practice one is obliged to help them out. • Although ST believed that people should be encouraged to provide for themselves he nevertheless, in practice, felt obliged, due to a combination of social pressure and socialisation, to help members of his extended family who were poor. ST said: **You are taught the values of the family. ...Because whatever you are going to do people will be asking, "Who's child is this?".... You are trained to contribute [to your family] and the size of your contribution will mean that firstly you have to look at the situation [and ask,] "What contribution can I make?" Obviously, that must be a positive contribution, depending on the expectations of that particular situation.** (File AIM Text Unit 144) • BN shared this view. In the following extract he supports this by citing a Zulu proverb that shames a person who prospers and yet neglects his/her home: **There is a saying, "*akufuneki ushanyeli kude kwindlu yesonto*" [loose translation: you should not engage in activities that do not benefit the home], first charity must begin here at home that's what you need to do. I mean that's how we were brought up, there is no other way. I don't think it will change.** (File AIM Text Unit 127)

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	Tension between one's own prosperity and family obligation • BN seemed to experience tension between his desire to prosper and feeling obliged to sacrifice his own ambitions to help his extended family. He said: **You know people do not appreciate you if you can drive a BMW and members of your immediate family are suffering. You don't even get blessings [meaning praises] from people. People do not appreciate your development, your achievements which enable you to get the various things that we nowadays go back to school for, whereas you could've sacrificed your [personal] development and helped one of the members of the family to achieve.** (AIM Text Unit 138) Tension between one's commitment to family and economic rationality • In response to S25 BN further reflects the struggle he experiences knowing the principles of economically rationality and feeling obliged to employ members of his extended family. He said: **Family members eat the money ... But I would consider my family first and if I find someone [within my family] qualified for the post I'd give them the job.** (File AIM Text Unit 263) ... **Even if none of them has the skills to run the business you may be able to see one who can learn quickly.** (INTERVIEWER: **BN, you first said that you were concerned that *bazokutya imali* [translation: they will eat the profits]) [Laughs] Ja, its a problem but on the other hand you know the people in your family better than you know an outsider.** (File AIM Text Units 263-279)
SELECT	While an individual is better than a group no person is an island • ON said: **An individual is better than a group. But, because you exist among other people, whatever you do affects other people, whether good or bad. You cannot do anything as an individual.** (File EC Text Unit 99) Ideally one should avoid employing members of one's own family but in practice one feels obliged to • Asked to consider whether she would employ a member of her family she felt obliged to help or the best qualified person available PC said: **When I start a small business I won't be in a position to pay my siblings that well because I would already be supporting them. Now that's another point why I would consider an outsider. But if there is from the family someone and the salary that I'm offering could match them and again he/she is competent and trustworthy that's the way I'd go. But under such circumstances I'd prefer to help my brothers and sisters establish something for themselves.** (File AIM Text Unit 285) ...**(VISITOR: I would prefer someone who I'm not related to at all) That's an ideal situation, its not always that easy .... taking a total stranger when your own blood is suffering so that's why I'm saying it all depends.** (AIM Text Units 287 - 298) Limited sense of family obligation • When PC was asked whether she felt obliged to support members of her extended family who were struggling financially she said: **My first responsibility is to my immediate siblings that would be part of my expenses every month.** (File AIM Text Unit 104-119) **They would be my immediate responsibility and the cousins would get handouts as and when I am able to help them. I would have to postpone my marriage, my house and my car. That's how we are brought up, it's immoral for me to be well off and my sister walking the streets barefoot. She's not able to attend school and I'm driving a BMW.** (File AIM Text Unit 123) Being collectivistic is better than being self-centred and individualistic but this must not negate being an individual • In the following extract AM talks about not being highly individualistic but he does think he asserts his independence and individualism when he feels it is necessary: **Sipho's story is very much "I" focused the way I see the world. How can I change the world to suit ME. Faku's story is more collective. [Faku is saying] We live for the betterment of the community improving things for us all. I do things to assist others and then do things for myself.** (File EC Text Units 19-23) .... **I tend to accommodate the group as well, but you will find scenarios where you are not comfortable with the decision and sometimes you need to show that in this time as possible terms and, I personally feel I'm a very accommodating person. But there are times I feel I'm not going to accommodate this and I distance myself from this. And sometimes you need to take that stance once just to make people aware that, "Look this is definitely wrong!", and you can't entertain it. Obviously it depends on what it is and their function. But there comes a time when you can take a stance. No one should do something that really they feel uncomfortable with, whether in the workplace, at home or socially. If you don't feel comfortable doing a thing, don't do it.** (File EC Text Unit 116) Values being an individual with his own standards • MZ valued being an individual. He said: **A person has to be an individual, and you have to find yourself in order to be able to judge and establish levels for yourself to know where you are or how you're moving.** (File EC Text Unit 138)
AF-SS	Individualism is inconsistent with African culture • There were aspects of individualism that ET did not support. He said: Sipho **is too much of an individual. He wants to succeed at the expense of others, alone at the expense of everyone else. ... In fact Jacques if you look at Sipho he is too individualistic. But to develop you must develop the entire community. Individualism that's more an American**

	norm. I wouldn't call it a Western norm. (File EC Text Units 972-973) ... **You'll find in African culture you have got to go as a group [for example] *xa niyokwaluka* [translation: when initiates go for circumcision]. We have got no activity that is based on an individual.** (File EC Text Unit 975) Tension between own needs and family obligation • ET insisted that he was not like Sipho but he explains in the following extract that this does not mean he does not find burdensome the traditional expectation that he has a moral obligation to his extended family: **Like if you read down there [in Sipho's story], Sipho says his family is sort of pushing him down. Because when you get back home, you meet your family, your sisters, your brothers, your uncles, they have got their "traditional" family demands. But at work Sipho is that highflier** [yuppie]. ... **I'm not like Sipho, but I had those problems where you find that the family is sort of dragging you down. It demands. You really get confused sometimes you don't know what to do because you've got to think about your own needs, you've got to get married, you've got to have kids.** (File EC Text Units 841)

Note:

1. The pattern of responses of the managers in the Affirm Profile to variable S12 and S13 deviated substantially from the pattern of responses to the Individualism Mega Variable as a whole. Variable S12 was supported by four managers in this profile, while one responded in the Uncertain" range and three responded in the "Disagree" range.
2. Variable S13 was supported by four managers in this profile, while four responded in the "Uncertain" range.

Observations and Comments

- The managers in both the Affirm and SF-AS profiles supported the Individualism Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that all the managers in the Affirm Profile also supported the Communalism Mega Variable. It is apparent from the lack of support for variables S12 and S13, confirmed by TB and HT's remarks, that some of the managers overcome the logical contradiction inherent in their embracing both individualism and communalism by censoring the solitary tendencies in individualism they perceive to directly contradict the principle of community. The remarks by ST and BN reveal the tension between their desire to prosper individually and unhindered, and their sense of obligation to their extended family. The managers in the SF-AS Profile did not have this problem because as we saw earlier they did not support the Communalism Mega Variable.
- Although ET located in the AF-SS Profile, he too supported the Individualism Mega Variable. He, however, "Disagreed" with Sipho's statement: "I co-operate only if it helps me achieve my goals" (variable S16) suggesting a commitment to communalism. ET expressed this commitment in his remark that Sipho's world-view was too individualistic and it undermines community. He also acknowledges that for him personally the drawback of valuing communalism is his felt sense of obligation to his family which impeded his upward mobility. His words were, "The family is sort of dragging you down". This is a common problem experienced by young professionals who come from poverty-stricken communities. The conflict between personal success and communal obligation probably makes an individualistic world-view that much more attractive.
- One manager in the Unsure Profile supported the Individualism Mega Variable and the other was "Uncertain". Earlier we observed that they were similarly divided in their response to the Communalism Mega Variable.

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- The managers in the Select Profile were divided in their responses to the Individualism Mega Variable. Four supported the mega variable, two were "Uncertain" and one "Disagreed". There were only two aspects of individualism that all but one of the managers endorsed. These were "People should be encouraged to provide for their own future" and "It is sensible to appoint the person who can do the job best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help" (see variables S15 and S25 in Table A12 in Appendix 4). PC was one of those who were uncertain about whether family holds one back and stifles ambition. Her remarks indicate that she is personally ambitious but feels obliged to take responsibility for her families. She resolves her predicament by setting limits to her sense of obligation to family, thereby behaving communally without completing stifling her own ambition and progress. ON and MZ were explicit in their remarks about valuing the individual apart from the community. AM's remarks about being community minded without compromising individual choice are probably shared by most of the managers in this profile.
- From the above we observe that on the whole the managers supported individualism (although a number guarded against extreme forms thereof) whereas the managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles were the only one's to unreservedly support communalism. Almost half or more of the managers in the other profiles were "Uncertain" about communalism.

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The Dualism Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S26 World is mechanical
- S27 Physical separate from spiritual
- S28 God is in heaven

Fig. 44. Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Dualism Mega Variable According Profile

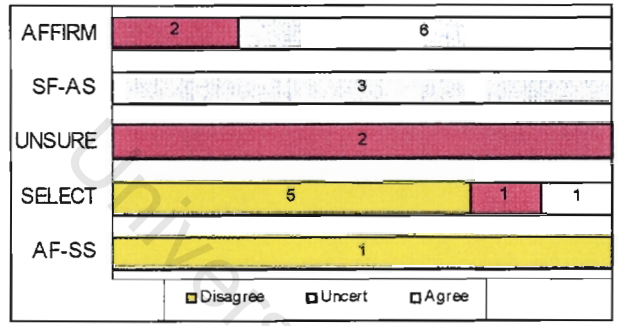
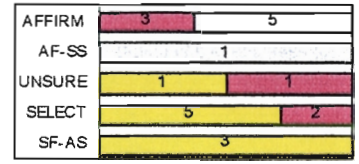


Fig. 33 reproduced (Monism)



Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- With the exception of the two managers in the Affirm Profile who responded in the "Uncertain" range the managers in the Affirm Profile and the SF-AS Profile supported Dualism. Earlier we saw that most of the managers in the Affirm Profile also supported Monism Mega Variable whereas the managers in the SF-AS Profile all responded in the "Disagree" range.
- The managers in the Unsure Profile responded in the "Uncertain" range to the Dualism Mega Variable, whereas they either responded in the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges to the Monism Mega Variable.
- With the exception of two managers those in the Select Profile responded to the Dualism Mega Variable in the "Disagree" range. They responded similarly to the Monism Mega Variable.
- The manager in the AF-SS Profile responded to the Dualism Mega Variable in the "Disagree" range, whereas he supported the Monism Mega Variable.
- From the above we observe that on the whole the managers in the Affirm and SF-AS profiles supported Dualism and the managers in the other profiles did not. Managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles supported monism and those in the other profiles did not.

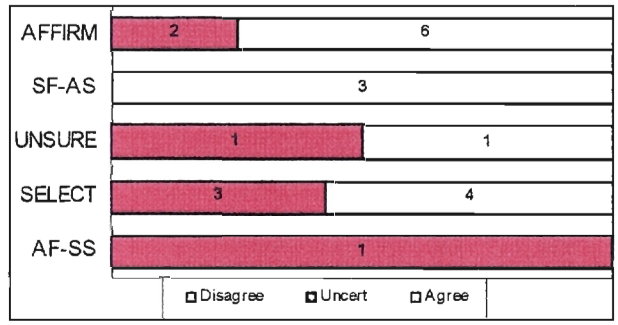
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The Social Motivation Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S9 better to reward than to punish
- S11 best society competitive

Fig. 45 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Social Motivation Mega Variable



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Table 29. Themes and Remarks Relating to the Social Motivation Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
SELECT	Individuals competing for the greatest reward contradicts communalism • PC said: **I think the problem is .... Sipho says, "the best sort of society is the one in which individuals compete with one another for greatest rewards"... as Africans we've been brought up to live in a communal sort of [way], living together. If you achieve, you pull the others with you and you don't do it at others' expense.** (File AIM Text Unit 102) Healthy competition must be nurtured but it can be disastrous when resources are very scarce. There was a mixed response by the managers in the Select Profile to S11. • In the following extract MZ, who supported the Western notion of competition, articulates a number of concerns shared by others in this profile: **I agree with it, but I have a problem in our situation where the resources are not plentiful. It becomes a problem because we all have to compete for only one resource. We are not coming from competitive communities, or ... surroundings. In the past when you started to be creative the government would put a ceiling - that you mustn't shine. And that has sort of been enshrined in us. And when you are seen to be somebody who is really striving and the community would automatically put that ceiling, "You shouldn't run ahead of us, we must all run together". It's a healthy one, but in our society we should teach ourselves to become people [who are] used ... to competing in different spheres of life. But now what is happening, if one business is successful we all go there. Like the taxi thing. We saw that the taxis were successful and the government gave everyone a knife to go and cut this cake. These taxi guys came and the cake was finished, but they still had knives in their hands. They started cutting where they should not cut. ... Competition is very healthy, [but]in the short term the taxi violence is seen as a negative thing. I see it as very positive because in actual fact if it can be recorded down it's gonna to teach for a long time to come. To teach those who are coming not to repeat the same mistake. And it is a positive thing in the long term.** (File Text Units)

Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the other profiles.

Observations and Comments

- With the exception of two managers in the Affirm Profile the managers in the Affirm and SF-AS Profile supported the Social Motivation Mega Variable.
- The managers in the Unsure Profile were divided in their responses to Social Motivation Mega Variable. One supported the Mega Variable and the other responded in the "Uncertain" range.
- The managers in the Select Profile were also divided in their responses to the Social Motivation Mega Variable. Four supported the mega variable and three responded in the "Uncertain" range. PC represents those in this profile who value communalism and do not identify with an economic system based on "individuals competing against each for the greatest reward". MZ represented those who recognised the value of such a system but had reservations about its successful application in a society where resources are extremely scarce and the cultural norms and values discourage individual initiative.
- The manager in the AF-SS Profile responded to the Social Motivation Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range.
- From the above we observe that on the whole the managers in the Affirm and SF-AS profiles supported the Western sources of social motivation whereas almost half or more of the managers in the other profiles were "Uncertain" about it.
- There was no contra-variable from Faku's Story.

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The Personal God Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S29 God as power ... God as a person
- S31 God like a person

Fig. 46 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Personal God Mega Variable

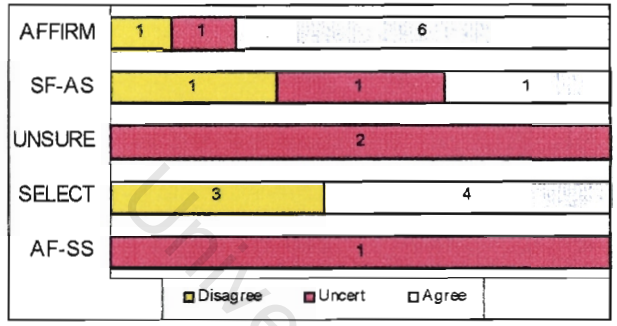


Fig. 35 reproduced (God of the Ancestors)

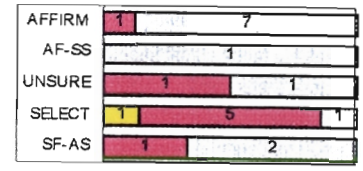


Table 30. Themes and Remarks from the Interviews Relating to the Personal God Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
SF-AS	I don't believe in religion • SN responded in the "Uncertain" range to both constituent variables included in the Nature of Divinity Mega Variable. In the following extract he explains why he does not support Sipho's understanding of God and religion: Probably **what I will be saying is rare. I'm what they call a non-believer. I also don't believe in ancestors and also don't believe in religion. To tell the truth I've not been in a church since 1987 when I got married. And then I just went to church because it was the norm.** (File KZ Text Units 52)

Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the other profiles.

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Observations and Comments

- With the exception of two, the managers in the Affirm Profile supported the Personal God Mega Variable. They also supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable.
- The managers in the SF-AS Profile responded quite differently to Personal God Mega Variable with only one manager in the SF-AS Profile supporting the Personal God Mega Variable, and with one in each of the other ranges. However, earlier we observed that two out of the three supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable. The managers, like the Matrics, were inclined to interpret *Qamata* as simply another name for *Thixo*. It would seem that although the managers generally see God in Christian terms they do not endorse a highly personal view of God. SN's position as an atheist is not common among the managers. He responded in the "Uncertain" range because the question of whether or not God is personal is not an issue for him.
- The managers in the Unsure Profile responded to the Personal God Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range, whereas they were divided between either supporting or responding in the "Uncertain" range to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable.
- The managers in the Select Profile were divided in their responses to the Personal God Mega Variable. Four supported the mega variable and the other three responded in the "Disagree" range. However, most of them responded to the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range.
- The manager in the AF-SS Profile responded to the Personal God Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range, whereas he supported the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable.
- From the above we observe that managers in the Affirm Profile were the only ones to support the Personal God Mega Variable as well as the God of the Ancestors Mega Variable.

The Chance Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- S10 Don't waste much time finding out why

Fig. 47 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Chance Mega Variable

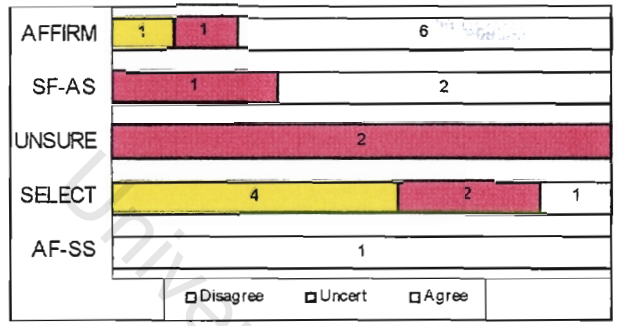
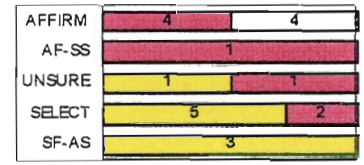


Fig. 36 reproduced (No Chance)



Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- With the exception of two managers those in the Affirm Profile supported the Chance Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that only half of them supported the No Chance Mega Variable.
- Two managers in the SF-AS supported the Chance Mega Variable and one responded in the "Uncertain" range. Earlier we observed that they all responded to the No Chance Mega Variable in the "Disagree" range.
- Both managers in the Unsure Profile responded to Chance Mega variable in the "Uncertain" range. Earlier we observed that one responded to the No Chance Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range and the other in the "Disagree" range.
- Only one manager in the Select Profile supported the Chance Mega Variable while four responded in the "Disagree" range and two responded in the "Uncertain" range. Earlier we observed that none of them supported the No Chance Mega Variable
- The manager in the AF-SS Profile supported the Chance Mega Variable whereas he responded to the No Chance Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range. It would seem that while he remained in the AF-SS Profile he had moved away from an ultra-traditional position represented by those who embrace a closed system of cause and effect.
- While we expected the SF-AS Profile to support Chance and not to support No Chance we notice, with interest, the overall move by the managers in the other profiles away from a closed system with "No Chance" to an open system with "Chance".

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The Going to Heaven Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S33 Go to heaven when I die

Fig. 48 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Going to Heaven Mega Variable

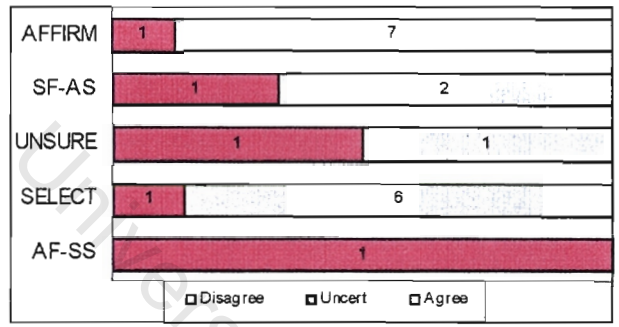
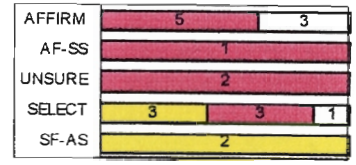


Fig. 37 reproduced (Becoming An Ancestor)



Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers.

Observations and Comments

- With the exception of one in the "Uncertain" range, the managers in each of the profiles Affirm, SF-AS and Select supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable. However, with the exception of three out of eight managers in the Affirm Profile and one out of seven managers in the Select Profile none of the managers in the respective profiles supported the Becoming An Ancestor Mega Variable.
- One manager in the Unsure Profile supported the Going To Heaven Mega Variable and the other responded in the "Uncertain" range. However, both responded to the Becoming an Ancestor Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range.
- The manager in the AF-SS Profile responded to the Going to Heaven Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range as he did in his response to Becoming an Ancestor Mega Variable.
- From the above we observe the managers are inclined to believe in going to heaven and not in becoming an ancestor.

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The Grand Purpose Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S18 Exciting to be the first to do something
- S19 Time & money on inventions

Fig. 49 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Grand Purpose Mega Variable

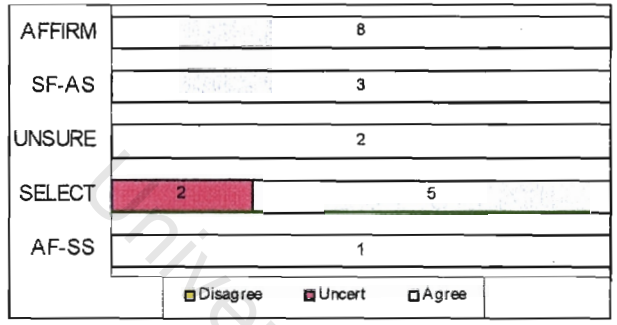
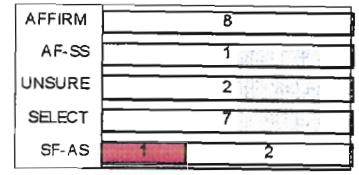


Fig. 38 reproduced (Grand Pattern)



Observations and Comments

- With the exception of two managers in the Select Profile who responded in the "Uncertain" range, all the managers supported the Grand Purpose Mega Variable. Their response to the Grand Pattern Mega Variable was similar.

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The Linear Time Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S22 Meeting start on time
- S23 History is moving forward

Fig. 50 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Linear Time Mega Variable

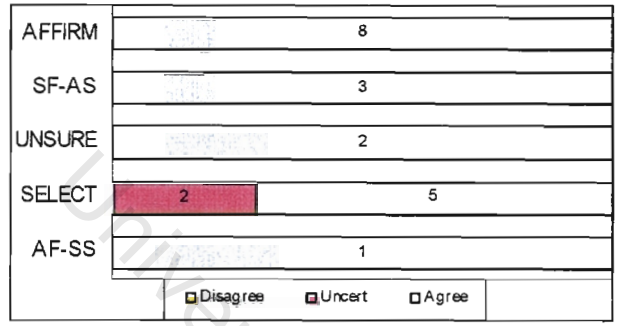
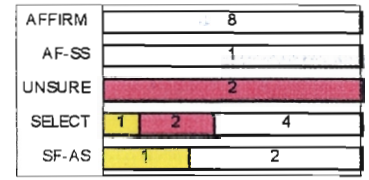


Fig. 39 reproduced (Cyclical Time)



Observations and Comments

- With the exception of the two managers in the Select Profile who responded in the "Uncertain" range, all the managers supported the Linear Time Mega Variable.
- We saw earlier that the managers in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles also supported the Cyclical Time Mega Variable whereas the least support for this mega variable came from the Select and SF-AS Profiles and, predictably, the managers in the Unsure Profile who responded in the "Uncertain" range.

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The Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S17 reshape the world
- S20 part of the process of reshaping the future
- S21 school teaching science
- S34 life starts ... leave school, over when retire
- S35 young go-getters most admired.

Fig. 51 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable

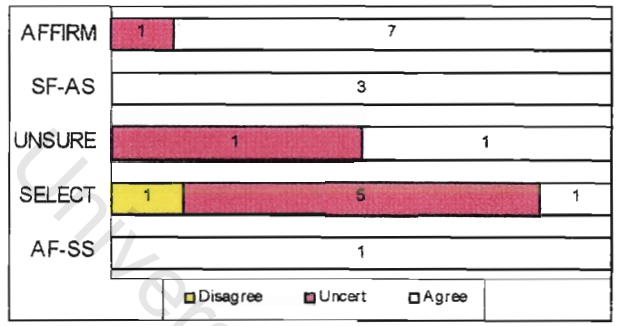


Fig. 40 reproduced (Fit Into)

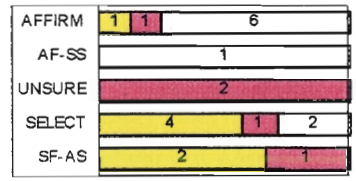


Table 31. Themes and Remarks Relating to the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
SELECT	Don't upset the environment it will have an adverse effect on you. • MZ, along with AM (File EC Text Unit 126), had reservations about imposing too much on the social environment they find themselves in. MZ said: ....**What I have a problem with, is changing the world. Once you start to say you want to change the things that are around you, I have a problem with that. If it's just to influence them that's fine. But changing them, you're dealing with perceptions and values once it comes to people, and into the bigger world you're dealing with issues that you really don't have any idea of how to change them. You can only, when you know yourself and where you want to go, adapt yourself to those situations. By influencing your environment you can move forward much quicker without upsetting the environment because [if you do] it will have adverse effects on you. And that's the problem that I have with changing things.** (File EC Text Unit 138)

Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the other profiles.

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Observations and Comments

- With the exception of one manager in the Affirm Profile the managers in the Affirm, SF-AS and AF-SS profiles supported the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable. Most managers in the Affirm Profile and the one in AF-SS Profile responded similarly to the Fit Into Mega Variable whereas none of the managers in the SF-AS Profile supported it.
- One manager in the Unsure Profile supported the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable and the other responded in the "Uncertain" range whereas both responded in the "Uncertain" range to the Fit Into Mega Variable.
- With the exception of two, all the managers in the Select Profile responded to the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable in the "Uncertain" range. MZ was one of those who responded in the "Uncertain" range to the Take-Hold-And-Shape mode of engagement with the world-out-there. He felt that it would be preferable to disturb the social environment as little as possible. Earlier we observed that only two managers in the Select Profile supported the Fit Into Mega Variable. MZ was not one of them (see Table A12 in Appendix 4). This suggests that MZ is happy to manipulate the physical environment but wary of upsetting the social environment.
- From the above we observe that almost all the managers in the Affirm Profile and the one in the AF-SS Profile were the only ones to support both modes of engagement. The trend among the managers in the other profiles was away from a Fit Into to a Take-Hold-And-Shape mode of engagement with reality.

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The Secularity Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- S24 Leave behind traditions

Fig. 52 Bar Chart of the Profiles' Responses to the Secularity Mega Variable

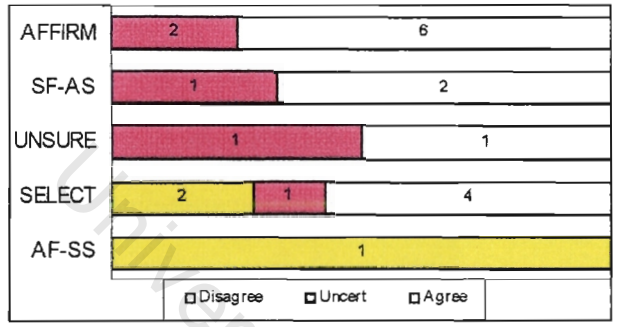


Fig. 41 reproduced (Traditional Spiritual Explanations)

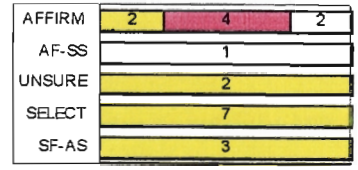


Table 32. Themes and Remarks Relating to the Secularity Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
SF-AS	Negative elements of the tradition must be rejected. • ZN said: **There are negative things that come from what we call traditional culture that we need to reject**. (File KZ Text Unit 796) There is value in retaining aspects of one's cultural heritage • ZN responded in the "Uncertain" range to S24. In the following extract ZN points out, with reference to the values and culture he wishes to pass on to his children, that he does not want them to completely lose touch with their traditional cultural heritage: **But another thing is that I'm living in town here so it's a multi-racial area where we live but I don't want them to lose their own culture. They should still behave the way I behaved when I lived in other places. When I take them to the rural area people should not see them as strange angels falling from the heaven. So what I then do during the holidays I take them to the rural area. I take them to my grandma where they see how people live there. Then they come back here**. (File KZ Text Unit 753) Retain the useful aspects of the tradition • In the following extract ED emphasises the need for people to adapt to urban life while not completely abandoning their cultural heritage: **I think values change as history changes.** (File ZK Text Unit 565) ... **Generally I would like my child to have values that perhaps I think are right for him or her to survive**. (INTERVIEWER: Give us a couple of examples) **For instance respect. Perhaps my son, he goes to university and he is going to meet friends and all that, and he comes back with so many influences but as long as he knows that I'm the father I'll be pleased. As long as the quality of education he has obtained does not conflict with my society... I think I'm the one who must see to it that my children are exposed to the right things. At the end of the day I still have Western values for instance like education and after all we must have good education**. (File ZK Text Units 573) ... **Having done all that they can then become individuals who can take care of themselves. Well the important thing is that we should be aware that values change and we should include an element of adaptability. People learn ...how they can have a mix of their traditional values and Western values.** (File ZK Text Units 591-595)
SELECT	Tradition should be modified not abandoned • MZ supported the idea that tradition should be left behind and one should concentrate on what is to be achieved. He nevertheless qualifies this when he said: **I agree with Sipho here again, but deep down in me [I think]our traditional way of doing things should be modified not left behind in the modern context. It must be redefined in the modern context. Fifty percent of what I am comes from my background, from my family. ...I think I have a responsibility to my family ... and the norms that I have got from my family. I believe they gave me the right direction. It's for me to take them further and leave a new standard for my offspring.** (File EC Text Unit 183) ... **I don't know how far I'm gonna go. But I want them to do better than what I've done.** (File EC Text Unit 540)

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Observations and Comments

- With the exception of the two managers who responded in the Uncertain range the managers in the Affirm Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable. Earlier we observed that only two of these managers supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable.
- Two managers SF-AS Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable and one responded in the "Uncertain" range, whereas they all responded to the Traditional Explanations Mega Variable in the "Disagree" range. ZN and ED's remarks are typical of those in this profile who selectively rejected the extreme traditional values and beliefs but they by no means want to abandon their African identity and aspects of their cultural heritage that are not incompatible with today's industrial society.
- One manager in the Unsure Profile supported the Secularity Mega Variable and one responded in the "Uncertain" range, whereas both responded to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable in the "Disagree" range.
- The managers in the Select Profile were divided. Four supported the Secularity Mega Variable while two responded in the "Disagree" range and one in the "Uncertain" range. Whereas all the managers responded to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations in the "Disagree" range. MZ's remarks are typical of those in this profile who want to modify their African tradition while retaining that which can co-exist or be integrated into a Western Industrial world-view.
- The manager in the AF-SS responded to the Secularity Mega Variable in the Disagree range. Predictably he supported the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable.
- From the above we observe that with the exception of the manager in the AF-SS Profile the managers had moved away from a belief in Traditional Spiritual Explanations to a more Secular position but this does not mean they wish to abandon their African cultural heritage.

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The Goals Mega Variable

List of constituent variables:

- S1 Happy when achieving or becoming
- S2 Pressure to achieve
- S3 Think about what I am to become
- S4 Goal orientated to achieve
- S5 Goals give purpose & direction
- S6 Admire people work towards better future
- S7 Sacrifice now better future
- S8 Frustrated prevented from pursuing goals

Fig. 53 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Goals Mega Variable

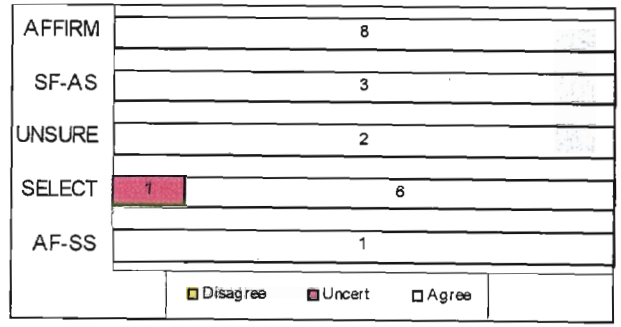


Table 33. Themes and Remarks Relating to the Goals Mega Variable

Profile	Themes and Remarks
SF-AS	Setting and achieving one's goals is important • ZN said: **It is important that one should set his goals and he must be able to achieve them**.
SELECT	Those who are financially independent are in a better position to help the community • MZ felt that those who have personally succeeded in life are in a position to "work for a better future for all". He said: **People who can do that, it's people who have already achieved, and then you can work for the community ... but you can't carry the whole community. You have got to work for yourself. You can first work for yourself and then from there you can move over to the community. But if you haven't worked for yourself first, I don't see how you'll be able to work for the community**. (File EC Text Unit: 189] .... **It's the individual. Once the individuals are better off, then obviously the community is better off.** (File EC Text Unit 195) • On another occasion MZ said: **They [people] should first prosper as individuals and then they will be able to help other people or their family** (File EC Text Unit 540). To succeed one needs to be single minded and avoid traditional obligations • ON was convinced that one needs to be single minded to succeed in life and to somehow avoid being distracted by family. He said: **He [Sipho] wants to see himself succeeding. And to do that, he knows he has to work hard and he has to avoid the frustrations that elders or senior people in the family always burden you with: You must do all these funny things, you must support the WHOLE family**! (File EC Text Unit 27)

Note: No remarks were forthcoming from the managers in the Affirm, the Unsure and the AF-SS profiles.

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Observations and Comments

- With the exception of one manager in the Select Profile all the managers supported the Goals Mega Variable.
- The remark by ZN (located in the SF-AS Profile) sounds like that of a typical manager in the corporate business world.
- The response by MZ (located in the Select Profile) to variable S6 echoes a view that is not uncommon among black professionals, that one must delay trying to help one's community until one is economically secure and then one will be in a position to do far more.
- ON (located in the Select Profile) was convinced that one's success depends on being focused on one's own goals even if it means denying family obligations. This is a challenge facing many black professionals. ON's remarks indicate that he valued individualism more than communalism.

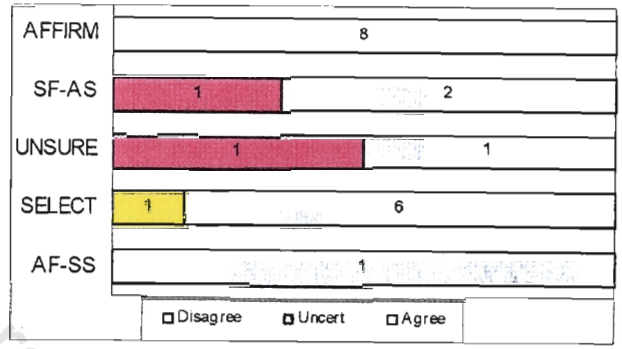
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The Seek Belonging Mega Variable

Constituent variable:

- S32 Seek God

Fig. 54 Bar Charts of the Profiles' Responses to the Seek Belonging Mega Variable



Observations and Comments

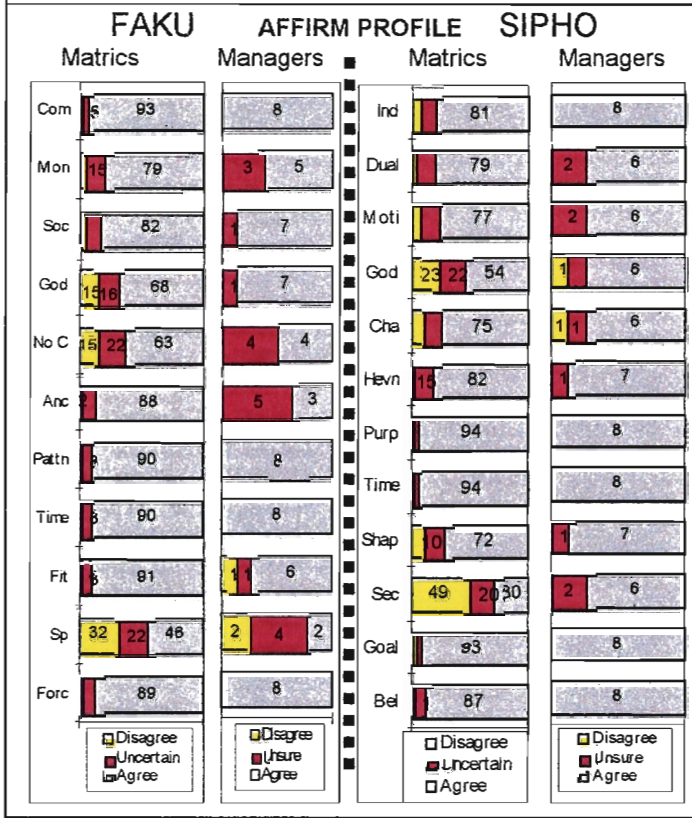
- With the exception of one manager in the SF-AS Profile and one in the Unsure Profile who responded in the "Uncertain" range, and one manager in the Select Profile who responded in the "Disagree" range all the managers supported the Seek Belonging Mega Variable.

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5.2.3 Comparison of the Profiles of the Managers and the Matrics' Responses to the Story Variables

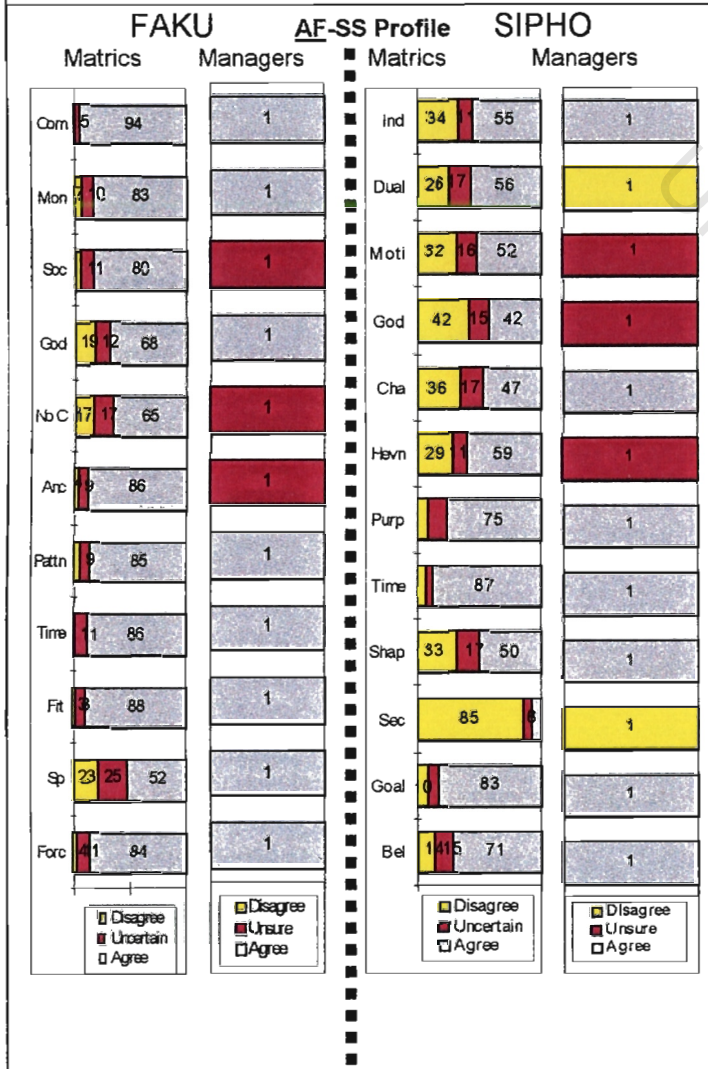
We recognise that strictly speaking the managers are too few for any serious comparison. Nevertheless, the comparison of proportions of the Managers and Matrics' responses in the three ranges does serve to highlight the similarities and differences and show an emerging picture of a general shift by the managers, along the continuum, away from Faku world-view closer to Sipho's while remaining within the profiles. This represents a likely move by the Matrics if they were to enter the ranks of management in the corporate world.

Table 34. Comparison of the Managers and the Matrics Responses in the Affirm Profile to the Mega Variables

Bar Charts	Faku's Story Mega Variables	Sipho's Story Mega Variables
	**Matrics:** • **Almost all** (i.e. 80% or more) supported Communalism, Traditional Social Features, Becoming an Ancestor, Grand Pattern, Cyclical Time, Fit Into and Vital Force • **About 3/4's** supported Monism with the remainder in the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges • **About 2/3rds** supported the God of the Ancestors and No Chance • **Just less than 1/2** supported Spiritual Explanations with remainder divided into the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges **Managers:** • **All or almost all** supported Communalism, Traditional Social Features, Nature of Divinity, Grand Pattern, Time & Vital Force; • **Half or a little over half** supported Monism, Fit Into & No Chance • **Less than half** supported Becoming an Ancestor & Spiritual Explanations **Comment:** • While the managers remain in the Affirm Profile there is proportionally less support for Monism, No Chance, Becoming an Ancestor & Traditional Spiritual Explanations than among the Matrics	**Matrics:** • **Almost all** supported Individualism, Going to Heaven, Grand Purpose, Linear Time, Goals & Seek Belonging; • **About 3/4's** supported Dualism, Social Motivation, Chance, and Take-Hold-And-Shape • **A little over half** supported Personal God with small but substantial minorities in the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges • **About 1/3rd** supported Secularity with a large number in the "Disagree" range and a small but substantial number in the "Uncertain" range **Managers:** • **All or most all** supported Individualism, Going to Heaven, Grand Purpose, Linear Time, Take-Hold-And-Shape, Goals & Seek Belonging • **A little over half** supported Dualism, Social Motivation, Personal God, Chance and Secularity **Comment:** • With two exceptions, the pattern of responses of the managers was similar to the Matrics • The only marked difference was that where substantially fewer Matrics supported Personal God & Secularity the managers, on the whole, supported both. • on the whole the managers favoured Sipho's mega variables marginally more than Faku's

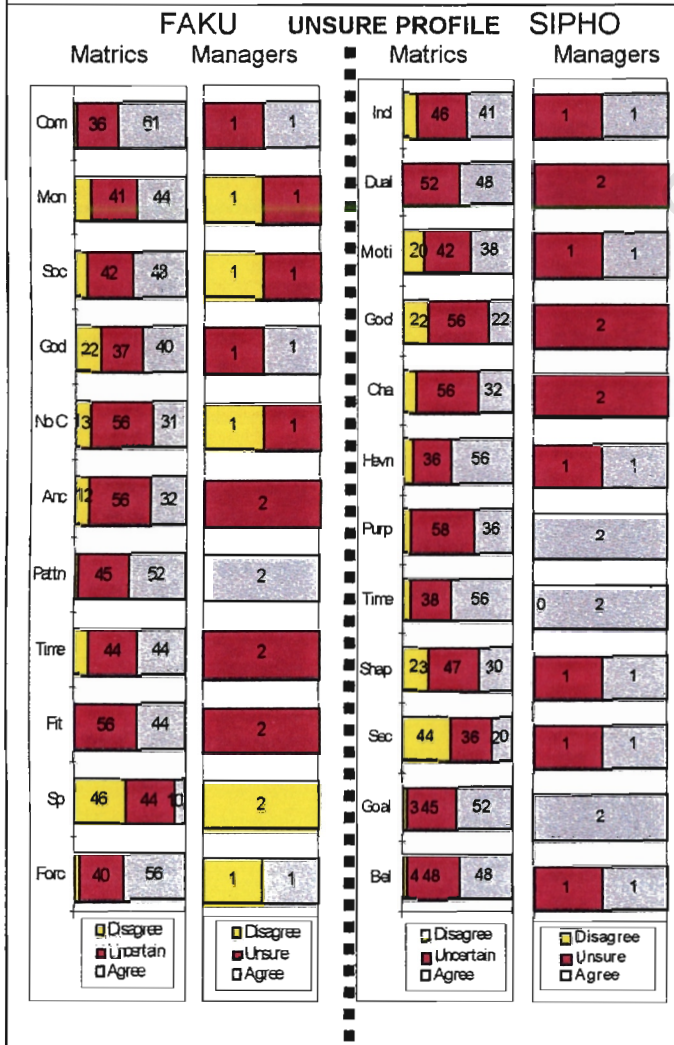
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Table 35. Comparison of the Managers and the Matrics Responses in the AF-SS Profile to the Mega Variables

Bar Charts	Faku's Story Mega Variables	Sipho's Story Mega Variables
	**Matrics:** • **Almost all supported** Communalism, Monism, Traditional Social Features, Becoming an Ancestor, Grand Pattern, Cyclical Time, Fit Into and Vital Force • **About 2/3rds supported** God of the Ancestors, No Chance with substantial numbers in the "Uncertain" & "Disagree" ranges • **A little over 1/2 supported** Traditional Spiritual Explanations, with substantial numbers in the "Uncertain" & "Disagree" ranges **Manager:** • **Supported** Communalism, Monism, God of the Ancestors, Grand Pattern, Cyclical Time, Fit Into, Traditional Spiritual Explanations and Vital Force • **Responded in the "Uncertain" range** to Traditional Social Features, No Chance and Becoming an Ancestor **Comments:** • There being only one manager in this profile it does not reveal much • With two exceptions the manager responded in a similar way to that of the majority of the Matrics. The exceptions were him being "Uncertain" of Traditional Social Features & Becoming an Ancestor whereas the Matrics supported them • Although the manager and a little over half of the Matrics supported Traditional Spiritual Explanations the Matrics tended to be divided in their responses to this mega variable	**Matrics:** • **Almost all supported** Linear Time & Goals • **About 3/4's supported** Grand Purpose & Seek Belonging with small substantial numbers in the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges • **A little over 1/2 supported** Individualism, Dualism, Social Motivation, Going to Heaven, with small but substantial numbers in the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges • **Half supported** Take-Hold-And-Shape with substantial numbers in the in "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges • **A little less than half supported** Personal God & Chance, with large numbers responding in the "Disagree" range and a small but substantial numbers in the "Uncertain" range • **Almost none supported** Secularity with almost all in the "Disagree" range **Manager:** • **Supported** Individualism, Chance, Grand Purpose, Linear Time, Take-Hold-And-Shape, Goals, Seek Belonging, • **Responded in the "Disagree" range** to Dualism and Secularity • **Responded in the "Uncertain" range** to Social Motivation **Comments:** • The manager supported Individualism, Chance, Take-Hold-And-Shape whereas the Matrics were divided in their responses to these mega variables with about half not supporting them. • The pattern of responses of the manager to the remaining mega variables was similar to that of the Matrics i.e. where substantial numbers of Matrics responded in the "Disagree" and "Uncertain" ranges the manager responded in the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges, and where the Matrics on the whole supported a mega variable so did the manager • Both the manager and the Matrics supported the Faku more than the Sipho mega variables but the manager supported more of the Sipho mega variables.

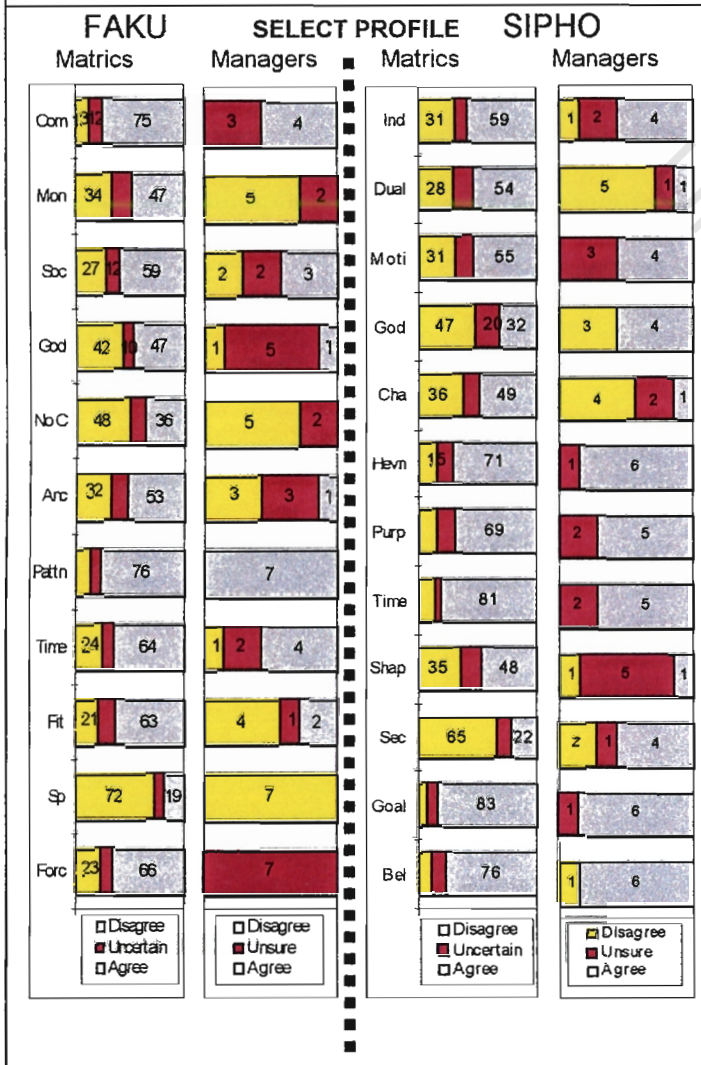
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Table 36. Comparison of the Managers and the Matrics Responses in the Unsure Profile to the Mega Variables

Bar Charts	Faku's Story Mega Variables	Sipho's Story Mega Variables
	**Matrics:** • **About 2/3rds supported** Communalism with most of the others in the "Uncertain" range. • **A little over half supported** Grand Pattern & Vital Force with most of the others in the "Uncertain" range. • **A little less than half supported** Monism, Traditional Social Features, Cyclical Time and Fit Into with most of the others in the "Uncertain" range • **About 1/3rds supported** No Chance and God of the Ancestors with remainder of those responding to No Chance in the "Uncertain" range and the remainder of those responding to the God of the Ancestors divided into the "Uncertain" or the "Disagree" ranges. • **Almost no one supported** Traditional Spiritual Explanations with most of the Matrics divided between the "Disagree" and the "Uncertain" ranges. **Managers:** • **Supported** Grand Pattern • **Responded in the "Uncertain" range** to Becoming and Ancestor, Cyclical Time, Fit Into • **Responded in the "Disagree" range** to Traditional Spiritual Explanations • **Divided in their responses** to Communalism, God of the Ancestors, Vital Force with one supporting the other responding in the "Uncertain" range. • **Divided in their responses** to Monism, Traditional Social Features & No Chance with one each in "Uncertain" and "Disagree" ranges. **Comments:** • The pattern of responses of the managers was similar to the Matrics. with more responses "Uncertain" than in any other of the profiles • More Matrics than not, and at least one manager, supported Communalism, Grand Pattern and Vital Force. • The managers, like the Matrics, were divided their response to God of the Ancestors. • The managers, like the majority of the Matrics did not support Monism, Traditional Social Features, & Traditional Spiritual Explanation.	**Matrics:** • **A little over half supported** Going to Heaven, Linear Time, Goals with the remainder in the "Uncertain" range • **A little less than half supported** Individualism, Dualism, & Seek Belonging with most of the remainder in the "Uncertain" range • **About 1/3rd supported** Social Motivation, Chance, Grand Purpose & Take-Hold-and-Shape with about half in the "Uncertain" range • **About a 1/4 supported** Personal God and Secularity with the remainder divided into the "Uncertain" or "Disagree" ranges **Managers:** • **Supported** Grand Purpose, Linear Time & Goals • **Were "Uncertain" about** Dualism, Personal God & Chance • **Divided** in their response to Individualism, Social Motivation, Goingto Heaven, Take-Hold-and-Shape, Secularity, Seek Belonging with one supporting and the other in the "Uncertain" range **Comments:** • The managers were at the very most "Uncertain" about Secularity while almost half of the Matrics rejected it. • The pattern of responses to the Sipho mega variables by managers and the Matrics are similar

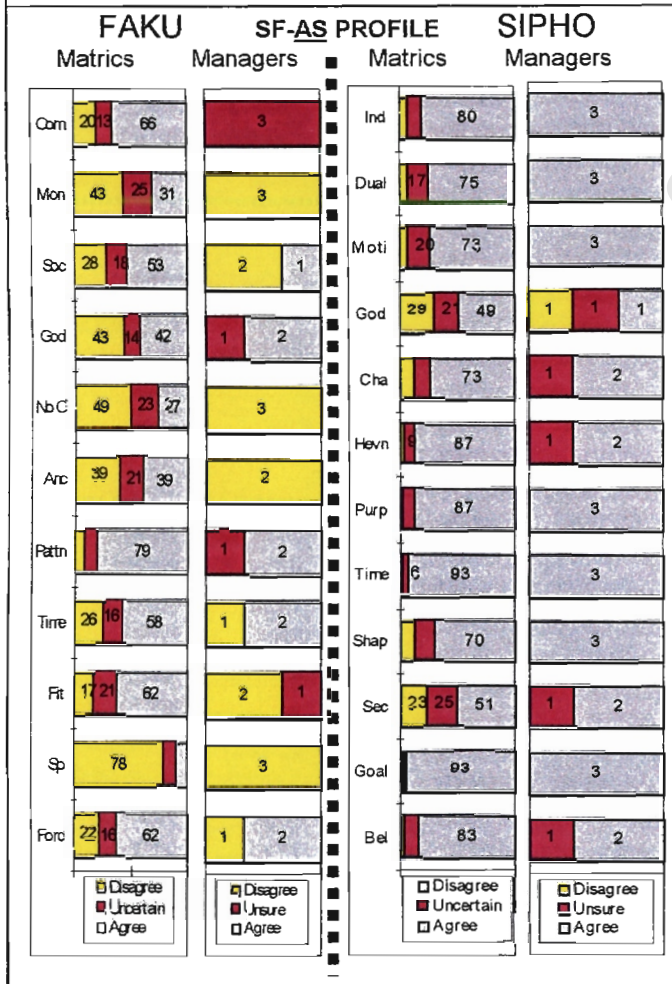
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Table 37. Comparison of the Responses to the Mega Variables of the Managers and the Matrics in the Select Profile

Bar Charts	Faku's Story Mega Variables	Sipho's Story Mega Variables
	**Matrics:** • **About 3/4's supported** Communalism & Grand Pattern • **About 2/3rds supported** Vital Force, Cyclical Time & Fit Into with the remainder responding mostly in the "Disagree" range. • **A little over 1/2 supported** Traditional Social Features & Becoming an Ancestor, with most of the remainder in the "Disagree" range • **A little over 1/3rd supported** Chance, with most of the remainder responding in the "Disagree" range. • **Almost none supported** Traditional Spiritual Explanations with most of the remainder in the "Disagree" range. **Managers:** • **Half or more supported** Communalism, Grand Pattern & Cyclical Time with most of the remainder responding in the "Uncertain" range. • **Spread across all three ranges** in their responses to Traditional Social Features • **None or almost none supported** Monism, No Chance, the God of the Ancestors, Fit Into, Traditional Spiritual Explanations & Vital Force **Comment:** • With the exception of Communalism, Grand Pattern, & Cyclical Time there was very little support among the managers for Faku's story mega variables. The Matrics' pattern of responses was similar.	**Matrics:** • **Almost all supported** Linear Time & Goals • **About 3/4's supported** Becoming an Ancestor & Seek Belonging with the remainder responding, fairly equally, in the "Uncertain" and "Disagree" ranges • **About 2/3rds supported** Grand Purpose with the remainder responding fairly equally in the "Uncertain" and "Disagree" ranges • **A little over half supported** Individualism, Dualism, & Social Motivation with most of the remainder responding in the "Disagree" range • **A little under half supported** Chance & Take-Hold-And-Shape with most of the remainder responding in the "Disagree" range. • **About 1/3rd supported** Personal God with most of the remainder responding in the "Disagree" range. • **About 1/4 supported** Secularity with most of the remainder in the "Disagree" range. **Managers:** • **Almost all supported** Going to Heaven, Goals, and Seek Belonging. • **A little over half supported** Individualism, Social Motivation, Personal God, Grand Purpose, Linear Time & Secularity with the remainder as follows: re: Personal God & Secularity mainly in the "Disagree" range and re: the other mega variables they mostly responded in the "Uncertain" range. • **Almost none supported** Dualism and Take-Hold-and-Shape with most of the remainder responding to Dualism in the "Disagree" range and over half responding to Take-Hold-and-Shape in the "Uncertain" range **Comment:** • The managers' responses were similar to the Matrics'. More managers "Disagreed" with Dualism and Chance and more managers were "Uncertain" about Take-Hold-and-Shape.

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Table 38. Comparison of the Responses to the Mega Variables of the Managers and the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile

Bar Charts	Faku's Story Mega Variables	Sipho's Story Mega Variables
	**Matrics:** • **About 3/4's supported** Grand Pattern. • **About 2/3rds supported** Communalism, Fit Into & Vital Force with the remainder responding fairly equally in the "Uncertain" and "Disagree" ranges. • **A little less than half** supported God of the Ancestors with most of the remainder responding in the "Disagree" range. • **About 1/3rd supported** Becomng an Ancestor and Monism with most of th eremainder responding in the "Disagree" range. • **A little over 1/4 supported** No Chance with most of the remainder in the "Disagree" range. • **Almost none supported** Traditional Spiritual Explanations with most responding in the "Disagree" range **Managers:** • **Two out three supported** God of the Ancestors, Grand Pattern, Cyclical Time, Vital Force • **All three were "Uncertain"** about Communalism • **Two or three out of three "Disagreed"** with Monism, Traditional Social Features, No Chance, Becoming an Ancestor, Fit Into, & Traditional Spiritual Explanations **Comments:** • On the whole very few of the managers and Matrics supported the Faku mega variables. • While the pattern of the managers responses was similar to that of the Matrics, the managers did not support Communalism, and Fit Into whereas the majority of the Matrics did. The managers were less supportive of Faku's Mega Variables than the Matrics were	**Matrics:** • **Almost all supported** Individualism, Becoming an Ancestor, Grand Purpose, Linear Time, Goals and Seek Belonging • **About 3/4's supported** Dualism, Social Motivation, Chance, Take-Hold-and Shape with most of the remainder responding as follows: re: Dualism, Social Motivation and Take-Hold-And-Shape in the "Uncertain" range and re: Chance divided almost equally. • **Just over or just under half** supported God of the Ancestors & Secularity **Managers:** • **Two or three out of three supported** Individualism, Dualism, Social Motivation, Chance, Going to Heaven, Grand Purpose, Linear Time, Take-Hold-and-Shape, Secularity, Goals, Seek Belonging • **Were spread across all the ranges** in their response to Personal God **Comments:** • The pattern of the managers' responses was very similar to that of Matrics i.e. with the exception of Personal God all tended to support the Sipho mega variables

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5.3 THE MANAGERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR WORKING ENVIRONMENTS BY PROFILE

The managers talked about their experiences working in a Westocentric corporate culture. A more detailed picture emerged of the strategies adopted by the managers in the various profiles to facilitate moving between home and work, and to navigate the work environment.

Affirm Profile

FS and BN (File AIM Text Unit 12-22) emphasised that their respective working environments reflected a Western business culture. FS said: "It is extreme when it comes to competition and time" (File AIM Text Unit 12).

FS said that it is important for him to find opportunities, wherever he is, to affirm his Africanness, but there were no opportunities at work. Consequently he found, like others who adopted the allocation strategy, that he suppressed his traditional identity while at work and only once he was away from work could he be fully himself. He said:

> **I find myself taking off the traditional me and leaving it behind whenever I enter the gates and picking it up and putting it on whenever I walk out through the gates after work. I go home and I'm myself.**
> (File AIM Text Units 179 - 181)

In the following extract he points out that there are opportunities outside the company to be "what you are", both modern and African:

> **I think there are organisations outside [the company], and you also have your own family, where you can exercise what you are. Besides your family, there are maybe other community organisations where you may be involved, where you exercise what you are and influence others that you are involved with.**
> (File KZ Text Unit 521 - 525)

BN (File AIM Text Unit 179) said he felt at times as if he were being pulled apart. The world of business wanted him to be Western and his home culture was calling him to uphold the tradition. HT agreed that he too felt pulled apart. He said: "I think we all do - you have to be so artificial at work." (File AIM Text Unit 181). HT and BN seemed to long for some continuity between their home and work identities.

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In the following extract BN looks forward to the day when the African traditional ethos *ubuntu* is an integral part of the corporate business culture[37].

> **When it comes to the question of our workplace it's too Westernised. The notion of *ubuntu* is still not yet a theme at this moment.**
>
> (File AIM Text Unit 22)

FS also expressed his desire for some form of integration of African symbols in the work culture. In the following extract FS wishes his company would adopt African traditional gestures of appreciation rather than the Western way of presenting an employee with a tie and plaque:

> **Last year the company celebrated its twentieth fifth anniversary and when I came back from the University of Cape Town I found a piece of metal in the house it is in a form of A for ALUSAF and written on it is 25 years. I don't enjoy it being there. I don't even know it's there until I look at it because it doesn't add value to me as a person. If only the company did something that whenever I look at it I will remember and be proud of working for a company like ALUSAF. ... For example perhaps when you go on pension the company could buy you a goat like an African ... instead of a tie. I'd remember that this goat was bought for me by the company that I worked for and that goat would generate income for me as a person.**
>
> (KZ Text Unit 264 - 268)

Comments

Each of the above contributions suggests that while the managers located in the Affirm Profile may adopt short-term strategies to cope with having to leave a major part of themselves outside the company gates they are keen to find ways to integrate both Western and African models of the world-out-there. They are not propagating the abandonment of Western business practices; rather, they seek to build African humanism into them. This, they believe, would meet their need for continuity between their home and work selves.

AF-SS Profile

ET was asked whether or not his company in any way reflected its location in Africa. In the following extracts ET[38] emphasises that at work he and others feel compelled to conform to the Western industrial model and suppress their Africanness:

---

[37] Mbigi (1997) in *UBUNTU: The African Dream in Management* writes about the ubuntu-fication of the corporate world. Khoza (1994:4-7) in his writing about "Afrocentric Management" also emphasises the concept of *ubuntu*.

[38] Subsequent to my fieldtrip ET moved from the European multi-national, for which he was working at the time, to a company that is widely known for publicly adopting an Afrocentric approach to business.

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At the moment it [the company] doesn't [acknowledge its location in Africa]. What they all do is what Sipho is saying, they conform, forget about their African culture, keep it outside work. This is work.
(File EC Text Unit 837)

... Here it's modern. Ja, the EXTREME side of it. Performance to them is about meeting targets. Typical German, you have to think precision. People are people, not machines! ...The Germans have got a different perception and understanding of what the working environment is all about.
(File EC Text Unit 663)

...As an African you have to change to the English [European] culture, to the culture of the business.
(File EC Text Unit 719)

... The business has got its own culture, to survive in the business you must conform to its culture.
(File EC Text Unit 725)

... You have got to embrace those values because it's all about competition.
(File EC Text Unit 741)

He went on to talk about the effect this had on him and many black employees who share his world-view. In the following extract he focuses on the debilitating effect:

... It's a big problem. It actually demotivates. You just want to sit there from 8 to 4 and that's terrible. There must be correlation between your work environment and your home environment. If that's missing then you have problems.
(File EC Text Unit 667)

ET was asked how he would deal with a situation at work where he was required to discipline an older African person. His reply, in the following extracts, indicates that he would do what he was expected to do, but he would dissociate himself from the system that required him to take punitive action:

That is a very difficult situation. You can't use the Sipho way. You've got to go extremely the Faku way. You know you've got to come from down there. You can't come from the top. So in other words you blame the system, the system wants you to do this NOT YOU. [laughs] ... You say you both work for the system. In other words you are not instructing him, it is the system that instructs.
(File EC Text Units 764-773)

You are distancing yourself from the system. Try to make him see your position. ...You've got to bend the system. And again it is the only way Jacques. You should tell him the problem you are facing and let him sympathise with you. And he must do it because you are in trouble. You'd say: "*Nantsi ixhaki injena...*" [translation: "Here's the problem, it is like this ..."]. So he will take it but it must not be forced on him.
(File EC Text Units 787-792)

Comments

ET's remarks indicate that although he went through the motions and did what he was supposed to do, he did not identify with the corporate business culture. The norms and assumptions that underlie standard management and business practices conflicted with his traditional and communalistic values. He could not implement some of the company policies, and in his interaction with black employees was constantly having to "bend" the system and was generally demotivated. His work experience seems to exemplify the

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different dimensions of alienation. Popenoe (1995) refers to a common definition of worker alienation which includes four elements, namely, "powerlessness", "meaninglessness", "isolation" and "self-estrangement". ET suggests that he, and others like him, would be far more productive were South African business and industry to find practical ways to reflect its location in Africa.

ET did not seem to hold out much hope for multi-nationals changing on their own. He later hints at local African businesspeople taking the initiative to Africanise the workplace. (See ET's remarks below about Lovemore Mbigi in the section "Ways of Mediating Between the Competing Paradigms".)

Select Profile

The following criticism of Western-style business by BK, and his confidence in an alternative was typical of the remarks made by the managers in the Select Profile:

> **If I may add something on that. It [the Western approach] goes perhaps to some extent hand in glove with the concept of assertiveness in the Western perspective. Whether in a supervisor position, [or a] managerial position you are supposed to be assertive and stamp your authority so that people respect you. The tendency from my observation is that Western norms encourage you to feel and act big so that people tend to fear you because you are the powerful one. That's not my style, but it doesn't mean I can't get things done. I love my way of delegating and speaking to people in a way that they'll understand and still produce.**
>
> (File KZ Text Unit 349)

BK represented those in this profile who did not support highly individualistic work models. He went on to single out as destructive the practice in the corporate world of individual assessments for promotion. In the following passage he expresses his misgivings about performance appraisals that focus almost exclusively on the individual and his/her ability to succeed in the work environment:

> **I have a problem with [the emphasis on] individual excellence in performance appraisals** (INTERVIEWER: Is it the type of thing you'd expect to find in Sipho's story?) **I think it's very close, they tend to reward and recognise only the individual. ... You use who you can use and who you can step on.**
>
> (File KZ Text Unit 238, 249)

BK indicates in the following extract that he was prepared to challenge company policies that went against his value system:

> **I was attending a workshop incidentally on Wednesday or Thursday and we were told by a respected attorney representing employers that in many cases: "You don't give a reason, don't dare try and give a reason if somebody did not get a job. Don't even attempt to do so". It's these kinds of things [with which I differ]. To me I would want to give reasons, some kind of indication of what could have gone wrong. ...Why is it so important for the company not to give reasons. It's because of a lot of reasons. They cite [being] afraid of litigation, afraid of being taken to the court. ...For me, well it's a question of doing what I would want done to me. I think it's a question of being transparent, at least letting the**

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person have some information, which I don't think ...if, if everything is above the board why I should hide those kinds of reasons. Because [in so doing] I'm creating the suspicion that something didn't happen as it should have happened. So that actually worries me but in terms of company policy I'm not to do that. (INTERVIEWER: Is this a point of tension?) **It's a point of tension for me and in some cases you have to do it regardless and you just make sure that the person doesn't take it any further. ...You're risking.**

(File KZ Text Units 296-320)

PC was also very critical of the way things were done in her work environment. In the following extract she expresses her frustration at having to work within a system where, as a junior manager, she is expected to implement decisions she believes are ill-informed and counter-productive:

...You are made to do things that sometimes you do not relate to or you do not clearly see ...although I may not want to I have to. Sometimes it is things that you know will not bear fruit. Exactly, because I'm here to work and although I don't want to do it this way I have to do it this way...It makes you feel angry, frustrates you sometimes. If you feel angry, that's where you end up fluking [swearing] sometimes, but you have to do it. Like others [in the group] have said [before me] management view is: policies and procedures are here, this is the way you do it... And this really relates to the question of productivity. South African workers are said to be lazy and yet everybody that does the work understands what is really going on. Our [senior] managers only have the theory or hearsay. They sit in fancy seminars and eat cakes and they think they know everything. Whereas we are the people that are doing the work on the ground and we understand it better.

(File AIM Text Unit 191-205)

PC's view about finding contextually appropriate policies and procedures was shared by MC who said: **When we go to policies, people that are applying the policies have got no understanding why we do things the way we deem them fit to be done.** (File EC Text Unit 244)

In the following extract AM echoes PC's view that they are working in a system they do not fully support:

There is too much to compromise. A lot of people feel that they cannot compromise. It certainly puts them under a lot of pressure when you have to buy into a system that you don't fully support it. And like I say, it depends on the individual whether he/she is comfortable doing things that he/she is not really comfortable with.

(File EC Text Unit 669)

MZ was determined to find ways of "bending" the company practices to cater for the black workforce. He said:

The way we do it's like to bend the rules of the company. You work with the team and you make your own rules that you are going to apply within the dominant [company] rules. By so doing you will get a great deal more co-operation, a working and functioning team. But you're not gonna go public, whatever you do in your group and they [senior management] will keep on asking why is your team working so well. And then you will give them all the other reasons ... but it's frustrating when you can't work openly with your colleagues.

(File EC Text Units)

AM had some sound advice for young people from the perspective of a manager within the Select Profile. He said:

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You may live in a traditional way, but you have at some stage in your life to enter the business world and if you do not find the mix early enough, you will find yourself struggling when you enter the business world.

(File EC Text Unit 1145)

Comments

The above quotations indicate that the managers in the Select Profile were very critical of the corporate business culture. Their remarks suggest that they were inclined to agitate for participatory decision-making, workplace democracy and the contextualising business practices.

SF-AS Profile

ZN acknowledged his company, like most in South Africa, was run according to Western business practices. In the following extract, however, ZN talks about the changes he sees taking place in his working environment and a move to a team-based approach:

Well it [the work environment] can easily be said to be like the Sipho story but the trend is changing. It looks like in the past people have been consumed by their own individual success but they are changing. The focus is going back to the traditional view but in a different way. Like we've considered the Japanese way of doing things today. We too are talking about working in teams, we are talking about *ubuntu* ...those are the elements that seem to be cropping up in the company and it shows that we are beginning to go in a new direction. However I also find it a bit of a problem that people are used to the Western culture whereby there was no difference between what we call a subordinate and the machine on which he works. The machine and the employee were just one thing, a boss is the person who wants to go forward, who wants to succeed. He must utilise his machines and subordinates in order to succeed. There is a transition that is taking place and change that is taking place in the organisation. The top guys are now aware of what they want and they can see the direction [in which] the company is going. The guys in the middle, they are caught in a situation where they'll have to accept the instructions from the top guys, at the same time and they don't see that the change is for the good. The guys in the middle level, they prefer that a person must be highly individualistic in his approach to be more successful. They view the change, as a threat ... they might end up unable to control the situation.

(File KZ Text Units 709)

ZN also referred to a project they had at work that promoted a sense of unity in diversity. He said:

Well, we started a sort of a project in our company which we call "Simunye"[translation: we are one]. We bring people of different cultures: we've got the Indian guys in our company, the white guys and the black guys, we just come together there and we hold some sort of a picnic. What we are trying to do, we are trying to break the barriers, we are trying to see things from the other culture's perspective. It's a very good thing the company is trying.

(File KZ Text Unit 242)

ED represents those in this profile who were less optimistic than ZN in their view of the workplace. In the following extract he talks about the frustration he experiences being excluded from senior levels of decision-making:

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There is this point that is fresh in my mind. I think there is a major problem here. Our organisation has strategies and those strategies are not fitted well to the guy on the factory floor.

(File KZ Text Unit 433)

There is this problem. You are working as a supervisor and you are supposed to know what is happening in your department. It must not end within the walls of management. All that must filter down to the what you call a supervisor, down to the ordinary person on the floor. Because now we are working with a very demotivated team. The problem is we don't know the strategies, we don't know the managers' plans. All you are supposed to do is to do what your superior tells you to do. In fact he is in a better position to know about the strategies of the company. But it is important for workers, for instance, to see what role they can play as individuals or as a team in achieving those objectives.

(File KZ Text Unit 436)

Comments

There are some like ZN in the SF-AS Profile who feel part of the corporate world and are optimistic about the signs of change they see. There are others in the SF-AS Profile, like ED, who aspire to being part of senior management and the corporate world. Their exclusion from decision-making, however, as junior managers, frustrates their need in the interrim to feel linked into world in which they are investing their aspirations and values.

5.4 WAYS OF MEDIATING BETWEEN THE COMPETING PARADIGMS

In terms of our theoretical framework those who locate in the Affirm Profile are potentially the most fragmented and pulled apart, the other profiles being strategies to mediate the competing paradigms. We have seen from the findings that some people in the Affirm Profile manage to hold together in their own world-view the conflicting paradigmatic symbols they embrace in a way that counters the tendency to feel pulled apart. Of course for many it is not as conscious as it sounds. They are often responding to a need and they do what seems to be natural to meet the need.

One way of holding the two paradigms together in a single world-view involves embracing a bridging symbol that holds together the irreconcilable elements, as best it can.

With this in mind we asked the groups of managers whether they could think of people or organisations which integrated African Traditional and Western Industrial ways of seeing, being and doing.

The responses are now presented according to profile.

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5.4.1 Charismatic Leaders as Potential Bridging Symbols

Table 39 below arranges the examples of leaders thought by the managers to combine Western industrial and traditional African ways. These charismatic leaders are potential bridging symbols.

Table 39. Examples of Leaders Who Combine Western Industrial and African Traditional Ways

Profile	Level	Themes & Remarks
AFFIRM	Regional	Successful politician affirms her African identity in the way she dresses • FS thought the then minister of Education in the Eastern Cape legislature, Ms Balindlela, represented someone who integrated traditional African and modern Western cultures. He said: **A person that impresses me is that lady Balidlela. ... Yes I think that lady is able to maintain her Africanity and if you could see her going to ...important public functions, in her traditional dress. Doing her government work she fits these things together - the way I see her. And I like it!** (File KZ Text Unit 643)
AF-SS	National	Successful businessperson based his company on African principles • ET cited well know businessman Lovemore Mbigi as someone who has taken his traditional African culture into a Western industrial context and made a success out of marketing his Africanness. He said: **If we can quote people who are successful in business that are from the African culture. ...Lovemore [Mbigi] has done well. His success is based on selling the African principles. Selling being an African. He takes the company and introduces it to the African culture. That's what made him famous. And now he is a director in that particular company [NAMPAC]....** (File EC Text Unit 1074)**...I've found that most of them that are like Lovemore those are people with balance and the ones who are stable.** (File EC Text Unit 1133)
SELECT	Local	Successful teacher acknowledges his African roots in the way he talks • MZ admired the way in which a local school principal does not deny his cultural background and try to imitate Western culture. MZ said: **There is another guy who is a principal ... he was my teacher....** (File EC Text Units 600) **He is mixing them both together. He does not imitate other people. He is stable in what he is doing. You watch him when he is addressing white people. He doesn't use the Western expressions, he will use things that you know and he will refer to them. And make them [white people] understand, like he'd start by saying: "Where I grew up..."** (File EC Text Unit 604)
SELECT	Local	Trade Unionists are admired for asserting their Africanness in the way they dress • In the following extract AM emphasises the trade union leaders' ability to be themselves and not feeling pressurised to conform to the Western dress codes when they meet in the boardroom with top company officials: **I would like to go for the labour leaders at the line level. ...If you look at the shop stewards, these guys go into meetings at board level. How are they dressed? Like I'm dressed now and sit with the directors who have got these fancy ties and expensive suits. They go there, they have not conformed to the Western way of dressing. And by doing that, they walk in there and they are clearly saying to you I'm not like you. As they walk in that room, they as different as day and night in terms of dress code.... I enjoy this when I see them. They have got this guy Gavin Hartfield ...this white guy and he comes in African style. He fits in with the group [of trade unionists] and embraces the values and the traditions. Those are role models for me at line level, at the local level.** (File EC Text Unit 1068)
SELECT	National	Mandela's modern African dress code suggests he is secure in who he is. • In the following extract ON emphasises the confidence with which Mandela projects his modern African public image: **I respect a person who is himself. That's why I was saying Nelson Mandela. He never went in as president who said: "I must conform" and said: "I must wear suits". He remained the same man. He said: "I'm wearing my shirts. These shirts are given to me by people and I must wear**

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		them." And he was as casual as he was before. ... He is himself. Whoever you are. If you are sure of yourself, you are just as important as anyone else, you are my role model. (File EC Text Unit 1072)
SELECT	National	Tutu does not imitate others: he seeks to integrate Christianity and aspects of African culture • MZ singled out Archbishop Desmond Tutu as someone who integrates the Western and African traditional paradigms. He said: **I really admire Tutu, Bishop Tutu. He does this well. Under this cloak of religion where you would expect him to forget about *ubuntu* and our African culture he has portrayed a picture of *ubuntu*. He does *amasiko* [traditional customs] He slaughters, he makes *kaffir beer*. Once it comes to the West he is very fine. ... And he doesn't imitate any other persons...** (File EC Text Unit 590 - 596)
SELECT	National	Ramphele integrates being African and Western • When her group was asked whether they could think of anyone whom they thought successfully combined traditional African and modern Western values PC said: **UCT's vice chancellor Mamphela Ramphele is a good example.**
SF-AS	National	Zuma moves easily between modern government and her traditional home • ED identified Dr Zuma, the then Minister of Health, as someone who is able to move with ease between the traditional home and Western work environment and affirm the culture of ordinary people she represents in the course of performing her duties in government. He said: **One individual who's a good example is Nkosasana Zuma, for instance. In parliament, she is a parliamentarian and when she gets home she prepares home brew and everything .. just like an ordinary [traditional] wife. Even in the government at government functions and all that, she toyi-toyis** [a marching-type dance popularised by political activists] **- because toyi-toyi is now an official act ... I don't want to ... remove that factor because she must identify herself with the people. You know it's a bit political, one must have to portray oneself politically. But in my view she is one of the many people that can bring together both worlds and all that....** (File KZ Text Unit 628)
SF-AS	National	Mandela fits equally well into Western and African traditional contexts • ZN said: **Well, from what I've seen I'd say President Mandela he is a very good role model. ...Ja he is not highly westernised and he is not that traditional. You take him to the western people he fits there and you take him to the traditional people he still fits there and I feel that guy is a very good role model, we can learn a lot from him.** (File KZ Text Units 766-781)
SF-AS	Local	Successful modern professional acknowledges his Africanness • In the following extract ED talks about a professional who moves with ease between his traditional and work worlds and who asserts his Zulunesss in the company of business executives: **The other gentleman is a doctor. He is director for colleges in KwaZulu. Doctor Gubazi. Fortunately I had lunch with him yesterday. He was there enjoying everything ... top management and all that, but when he was offered cakes for instance he said: "Hey, look here, I'm a Zulu man I'd better have some fruits you know." But the way he conducted his business you could say that he could switch over from being a man from the kraal and he became a man in the corporate world.** (File KZ Text Unit 628)

Comments:

- All the leaders were seen to be successful in their respective professions. They had "made it" in Western terms. They, nevertheless, asserted their African identity, for example, by wearing traditional clothing at public functions, by acknowledging their African traditional background when addressing "white people", by not conforming to the Western ways of dressing, by preparing home-brew, by toyi-toyiing at government functions, by eating fruit because it is inappropriate for Zulu men to eat cakes. With a

few exceptions, these examples of people combining Western and African ways are arguably superficial. However, in view of the pressure on urban professionals to conform to Western standards these assertions of Africanness are significant, although they do not tell us much about how the two paradigms are meaningfully combined.

- The remarks by the manager in the Affirm Profile represent those in this profile who constantly seek opportunities for symbolic continuity between the tradition and the modern.
- The remarks by the manager in the AF-SS Profile suggest that for him the possibility of Africanising business is a priority. He wants to affirm substantial elements of his traditional identity in the workplace and still be successful.
- The remarks by the managers in the Select Profile suggest that for them the real issue is "being yourself and not "imitating others (meaning Western styles), or "conforming to the Western way". The reference to Tutu "under the cloak of religion portray[ing] a picture of ubuntu" points to serious efforts to integrate aspects of traditional African culture with Christianity. Dr Mamphela Ramphele is seen to symbolise the renaissance black woman who selectively blends aspects of the African culture and the Western medical science and women's rights. She too was one of the founder members of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. (See reference below.)
- Dr Zuma, who was referred to by one of the managers in the SF-AS Profile symbolises the continuity between traditional culture and modern black politics.
- The issue for the managers in the SF-AS Profile was the ability to "fit into" both worlds and to "switch over" from the traditional to the urban corporate world without appearing "backward".

5.4.2 Organisations That Are Potential Bridging Symbols

Table 40 below arranges, according to profile, the organisations that were considered by the managers to combine modern and traditional ways. These organisations serve as potential bridging symbols.

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Table 40. Examples of Leaders Who Combine Western Industrial and Traditional African Ways

Profile	Organisation	Themes & Remarks
AFFIRM	Catholic Church	Inculturation in the Catholic Church expresses Christianity in the African idiom • TEF referred to the Catholic Church's attempt at inculturation as an example of integration of Western Christianity and African traditional culture. In the following extract another participant, who only attended one of the group meetings, develops TEF's suggestion: TEF: **What about the Catholic Church?** VISITOR: **I would say by the whole question of inculturation where we tried to pick up some of the cultural elements from African cultures, selectively and then others from the West in my point of view, and we grouped them together. They promote cultures, mutual enrichment. So that now when a Westerner is in the Catholic Church he feels he can identify himself with the Catholic Church and when an African is in the Catholic Church he can also identify himself with the Church....** (File AIM Text Unit 327) **...The gospel message should be expressed through African culture in the African continent. For instance, they say there is no need of sitting there passively when you can say sway your head, shuffle your feet, clap your fingers, that is an African way of singing. Now they are addressing the question of customary marriage, not that when you have married through customary law then the whole process has been repeated. Now they are considering the possibility of that as the marriage**. (File AIM Text Unit 333)
AF-SS	Black Consciousness Movement	Black Consciousness merges modern and African principles • ET explains in the following extract the value of the Black Consciousness Movement in promoting self-worth, self-confidence and African pride: **To succeed anywhere, you must move from the position of strength. I must tell you why the BC leaders, they were strong in what they were believing in. They moved from the point, that we Africans we are going to succeed here. So, that's why they succeeded. They had a power base. I think for AIM to be successful, the candidates, of course, should be strong from the Western point of view, from a business base because after all they are in business. They must also be strong in their traditional African principles. Then they can merge these two. But if you are strong in the African principles and weak in the business then the businessmen say: "Aaag, you are just [pause] we want to make money after all. We don't want to carry you Affirmative Action types - useless!"** (File EC Text Unit 1166)
SELECT	Black Consciousness Movement	Black Consciousness helps you perform in the Western world knowing who you are. • In the following extract ON talks about the value of the Black Consciousness ideology in helping people to succeed in the Western world of work secure in their African identity: **I respect those BC [black consciousness] people because they haven't sold their identity ...most of them. As much as I'm against their principles today in that they are bit outdated, that is BC [is outdated]. As much as I may disagree with their principles but that identity part of it, that I am an African. I like that identity. They haven't sold their identity. I believe you can perform in the Western world knowing who you are, you don't have to throw away your identity. But you must know that I'm here now and this is what I do to play the game but you are not compromising your culture and values.** (File EC Text Unit 1158)
SF-AS	Black Management Forum (BMF)	Black Management Forum acknowledges the "black experience" in the corporate world • ED: **Like the BMF. I'm involved [in it].** (INTERVIEWER: And for you it's a very important forum?) **Ja, it's a very important forum because for me it draws quite a number of managers from different companies and all that, you come together and share ideas. You meet and they learn about you and you learn about them and how to not forsake or move away from your principles. ...And [share] how you do things at the end of the day. You understand the issues better....** (INTERVIEWER: In other words you help each other and you are an influential lobby group?) **Ja.** (File KZ Text Units 534-548)

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Comments

- The Catholic Church and the Black Consciousness Movement seem to have the necessary qualities to serve as bridging symbols.
- Aspects of Catholic beliefs, doctrine and ritual practice present opportunities for integration with traditional African beliefs and practices and hence form bridging symbols. For example, ancestor veneration and the veneration of the saints can easily overlap. (see Lapointe in Makobane et al., 1995: 42-50). Tlhagale (1995: 55-56) advocates, concerning the traditional libation ceremony, that "a more visible religious aspect of the ceremony. [namely] [t]he Sprinkling or pouring of blood on the shrine itself should be visible. The invocation of the ancestors should be heard. This should be linked to the word of the Gospel so that the ceremony clearly has a Christian stamp on it. In this sense therefore Christianity would enhance the existing meaning or better still, give a new meaning to the ritual." The emphasis on belonging to the Catholic community in order to belong to God (see Cumpsty, 1991, on Indirect Cosmic Belonging) is communalistic in that the community is elevated above the individual. (There is considerable literature on inculturation.)
- A discussion of the philosophy of Black Consciousness can be found elsewhere (c.f. Leatt et al., 1986: 105-119). What needs to be said here is that the Black Consciousness programme to foster an awareness of and a pride in blackness, involved the general rediscovery of black people's cultural roots (Leatt et al., 1986:109) and in particular the notion of black communalism. "Taking as its model 'African family-ism' or African socialism, black consciousness developed a political and economic policy aimed at modifying the worst elements of capitalism ..." (ibid). Black Consciousness can, therefore, be seen to be a strategy to integrate the best of Africa and the best of what the West has to offer.
- The Black Management Forum's main focus is the black experience of the business world and solidarity among black professionals. It does not directly lend itself to bridging traditional African and Western industrial society.

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RESULTS - PART 2:

TRIGGERED AGGREGATIONS

AND SELF DESCRIPTION

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CHAPTER 6

THE MATRICS AND THE MANAGERS

Introduction

In this section we integrate the results of the responses to Question 1 and Question 2 from among the additional questions. We mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, where we provided the rationale for the questions used in the questionnaire, that these questions solicited information about how the respondents conceived themselves. Question 1 was a free-style self-description in seven phrases and Question 2 was a 14 item table of aggregations significant in identity assessed by how upset the respondent feels if the aggregation is criticised (we refer to this as the "triggered aggregations" question). These questions complement each other and the results add to our understanding of the respondents as a whole indicating the arenas in which the values and aspirations of the profiles play themselves out.

We first describe the method of analysis and then present the results of the Matrics' responses to the two questions followed by the responses of the managers, noting similarities and differences between the two samples.

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Method of Analysis

In answering Question 1 the respondents listed short phrases or single words that describe who they are. They either wrote in English or *isi*Xhosa. We first translated the *isi*Xhosa texts and then recorded shortened versions of each of the respondent's statements in a word document. We also included with each self-description the case number of the respondent and the profile in which they were located. Each respondent's self-description, profile and case number formed a text unit. The document was then imported into QSRNUD*IST, a qualitative data processing software package, for further text analysis. We generated a number of categories which grouped together phrases with a common denominator. For example the statements "I am from a poor family" (File SELFNUD Text Unit 155) and "I belong to the Miya clan" (File SELFNUD Text Unit 73) both refer to Family. We used the

search engine in QSRNUD*IST to extract all text units which contained one or more key words (or synonyms) associated with the category. For example, the key words associated with the category Family were clan, family, parent(s), relatives, children, brother(s), sister(s). The result was labelled, e.g. Family, and stored in our indexing system as a node. Each relevant text unit was coded with this node label. This procedure was repeated for different categories until all the common phrases were identified, classified, labelled and the corresponding text units coded accordingly. We then checked each text unit in the orginal text file to be sure that we had not omitted to classify, at least once, all the phrases in each text unit. Sometimes a phrase was classified in more than one category . For example, the statement "I am an African from the Transkei" (File SELFNUD Text Unit 9) was classified in the category Africa and it was also classified under the category "Region" because Transkei is a Region. One way to see which categories are coded at a text unit involves opening the text file, which contains the entire text, highlighting any text unit and "asking" QSRNUD*IST to display the nodes or categories coded at the text unit. Where a text unit containing self-description phrases was not classified automatically or a phrase already classified could be further classified in one or more additional categories this was done manually.

The above process involved creating narrow categories which best fit the phrases used by the respondents. Finally, the narrow categories were grouped into broader categories to facilitate the presentation of the findings and to link these findings to our research objectives.

The respondents had used the free-style self-description question to describe themselves in terms of their social identities (i.e. groupings to which they felt they belonged) and the values they held. In keeping with this we divided the different categories into aggregations significant in identity, values, and personal qualities. There were two types of aggregations, namely, aggregations in a hierarchy of aggregations and non-hierarchical aggregations. The aggregations[38] within a hierarchy of referents include Family[39], School, Community[40],

[38] All aggregations have a referent. There are two types of referents. One type can be almost purely symbolic, what Anderson (1997) calls "imagined communities", in that the members will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. The other type of referent can have controlling influence upon what it means to espouse that aggregation, e.g. clan.

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Region[41], Nation[42], Africa[43], and Humanity[44]. While the aggregations in the hierarchy were often "real" as geographical entities they were also conceived of as ideological groupings (or symbolic communities) to which the respondents belonged. The aggregations including Gender, Black, Sport, Music, Age Group, Student, and Christian, were symbolic groupings without a hierarchical referent.

We divided the values into individualistic values and communalistic values. We have drawn on the typology developed by Schwartz and subsequently used by Triandis, McCusker and Hui (1990) in their "Multimethod Probes of Individualism and Collectivism", and Jagers and Mock (1995) in their development of the "Communalism Scale". Ten universal value types were classified by Schwartz. Each value type was defined in terms of the kind of general goal it represented and according to whose interests it served (Schwartz, 1990:143). While Schwartz and Triandis et al focused on Individualism and Collectivism, Jagers et al (1995: 163) established that a positive relationship existed between Communalism and the collectivistic tendencies using the same types of values. Jagers et al (ibid.) were confident that they could show that much of what Schwartz and Triandis et al had to say about Collectivism applied to Communalism and therefore this justified their substituting the Collectivism component of typology with Communalism.

Collectivistic/Communalistic types included the following:

i. Pro-social (interpersonal), e.g. loyal, helpful, forgiving

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[39] The category "Family" refers to both the nuclear Family and the extended Family. The respondents did not seem to clearly differentiate between the two.

[40] The category "Community" is that entity to which one belongs that is greater than kinship but more immediate than Region or what, in South Africa, we may call province. "It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home (Cohen, 1985:15)

[41] We use the category "Region" to refer to provincial location and provincial language and ethnic grouping. In the South African context the language *isi*Xhosa is an official regional language of the Eastern and the Western provinces. The term "Xhosa" is often used in English to refer to the language and the people (the *ama*Xhosa).

[42] Nation refers to South Africa and we have included organisations with a national agenda in this category e.g. national political organisations.

[43] The category "Africa" refers to a sense of belonging beyond the national level and being associated with the continent of Africa and her peoples.

[44] The category "Humanity" is probably the most inclusive aggregation. It is also the most abstract grouping to which one may conceive as belonging.

ii. Prosocial (universal), e.g. equality, social justice
iii. Restrictive conformity, e.g. humble, obedient, responsible, self-disciplined
iv. Security, e.g. safety, social harmony, stability of society, social order, Family security
v. Tradition, e.g. respect, acceptance of traditional customs and ideas, honoring elders

Individualistic types included the following:

i. Hedonism, e.g. comfortable life, pleasure, fun-loving
ii. Achievement, e.g. social recognition, ambitious, success
iii. Self-direction, e.g. freedom of choice, independent, goal orientated, future orientated, creative
iv. Social Power, e.g. wealth, control over others
v. Stimulation, e.g. daring, varied life

We found that most of phrases used by the respondents to describe themselves fitted Schwartz's classification. We decided to use the term "Social harmony" rather than "Security" and "Wealth" rather than "Social Power" because these labels fitted better what the respondents said.

There were, however, a number of phrases that we thought did not fit easily into these categories.

We added the category "Formal Education" which included the Matrics' concern to further their "studies", "learning" and the like. We also added the category "Personal Qualities" because much of what the Matrics said when describing themselves could be located in this category. Jager and Mock (1995: 155) note that Markus and Kityama (1990) had already established that "[h]ighlighting one's personal qualities is viewed as a tendency found in individualistic cultures and among idiocentric people". They go on to say that typical descriptions of self are in terms of personal traits, qualities, or behaviours such as "I am honest", and "I am always on time". Jagers and Mock (ibid.:158) also mention that according to Triandis' *The Twenty Statements Test*, in which respondents complete twenty "I am ..."

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type statements, can be content analysed to determine whether they reflect a collective or a private notion of self and that the latter focuses on personal traits, qualities or behaviours.

A handful of Matrics identified with Western culture and others made statements that included words such as "realistic" and "pragmatic". Where these statements were in a "I am..." form they could be included under Personal Qualities. But they were not always in this form and the distinctive reference by some Matrics to modern culture with its emphasis on science and technology, and rationalism, realism and pragmatism begged a separate category which we have called "modernity".

We have added the category "Nature", although only a small number of Matrics described themselves as close to Nature or the Environment.

While the findings in the section tell us a great deal about the Matrics as a whole we are specifically interested in adding to our understanding of the profiles in which the Matrics are located.

Because each text unit was associated with a respondent and each respondent with one of our profiles we could use QSRNUD*IST to search and group all text units in one of our profiles and create a node in our indexing system for each profile. With the help of QSRNUD*IST we were able to find the intersection between the text units in each of the profile nodes and the text units in each of the nodes which represented one of our aggregations. For example the intersection between all the text units coded at node "Affirm Profile" and the text units coded at node "Family" produced a new node which included only the texts from the respondents in the Affirm Profile which referred to Family. Using this method we could isolate all the texts in a particular category, e.g. the aggregation Family, and a profile e.g. Affirm Profile. This also allowed us to see how many references within a profile were made to a particular aggregation or value. (See Appendix 5.)

QSRNUD*IST software has made creating categories, searching, retrieving, and coding texts, and intersecting the results quicker and more manageable than any manual method.

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For the Triggered Aggregations Question the respondents were asked to choose on a scale of 1-10 (where "1" meant "not at all upset" and "10" meant "greatly upset") how upset they thought they would feel if an outsider criticised fourteen different aggregations. The responses were captured in an Excel spreadsheet and then collapsed into three categories. All scores in the 1-4 range were classified "Not Upset", scores 5 and 6 were classified "Uncertain" and scores 7-10 were classified "Upset". This method was used to facilitate presentation.

To minimise our influence over the respondents' self-description we asked the Self-description Question before the Triggered Aggegations Question. However, the results of the triggered aggregations are reported first as the qualitative nature of the self-description data builds on the quantitative type data obtained from the Triggered Aggregations Question.

6.1 THE MATRICS

In this section we present a summary of the results of the responses by the Matrics to the triggered aggregations and the self-description questions. In the main the results are grouped according to our five profiles and presented comparatively. We want to show what the profiles have in common and where there are substantial differences.

6.1.1 The Matrics' Responses to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile

We now turn to how the Matrics in each of the profiles responded to the triggered aggregations.

Fig. 55 below summarises the responses of the Matrics according to their profiles to the 14-item Triggered Aggregations question in the form of bar charts.

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Fig. 55 Bar Charts of the Matrics Responses (Valid%) to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile

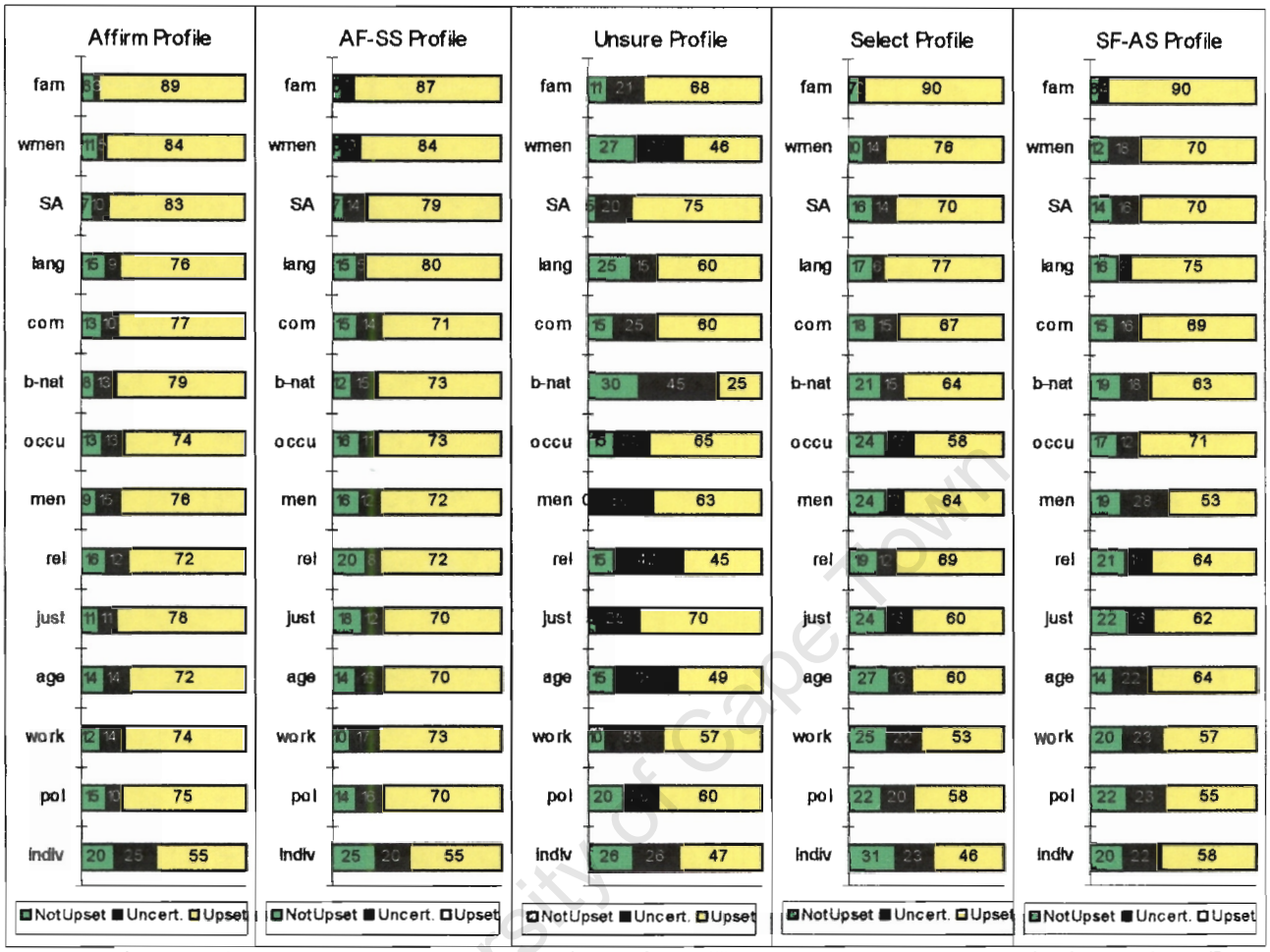


Chart Key: fam = Family; wmen = Women; SA = South Africans; lang = Home Language; com = Community; b-nat = Group Beyond Nation; occu = Occupational Peers; rel = Supporters of Your Religious Position; just = Seekers of Social Justice; age = Age Group; work = Workers; pol = Supporters of Your Political Position; indiv = Supporters of Individual Initiative

Note:

1. Affirm Profile (n = 264):
- Missing cases in variable MEN: 9 (n = 104)
- Missing cases in variable WOMEN: 15 (n = 160)
- Average missing cases in the remaining variables 18 (min. 15, max. 22)

2. AF-SS Profile: (n = 135):
- Missing cases in variable MEN: 4 (n = 61)
- No. of missing cases in variable WOMEN: 8 (n = 70)
- Average missing cases in the remaining variables 8 (min. 6, max. 10)

3. Unsure Profile (n = 25):
- Missing cases in variable MEN: 3 (n = 11)
- No. of missing cases in variable WOMEN: 3 (n = 14)
- Average missing cases in the remaining variables 5 (min. 5, max.6)

4. Select Profile (n = 142)
- No. of missing cases in variable MEN: 6 (n = 55)
- No. of missing cases in variable WOMEN: 8 (n = 87)
- Average missing cases in the remaining variables 8 (min. 5, max. 14)

5. SF-AS Profile (n = 161)
- Missing cases in variable MEN: 5 (n = 42)
- Missing cases in variable WOMEN: 11 (n = 119)
- Average missing cases in the remaining variables 12 (min. 11, max. 15)

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Findings

With a small number of exceptions the majority of Matrics in the different profiles indicated that they would be upset if an outsider criticised any of the fourteen aggregations.

One exception was found in that the majority of the Matrics in the Select Profile did not feel strongly about Supporters of Individual Initiative (a total of 54% responded in the "Not Upset" or "Uncertain" ranges). Most of the exceptions, however, apply to the Matrics in the Unsure Profile. The majority of Matrics in the Unsure Profile did not feel strongly about Women, Group Beyond Nation, Supporters of Your Religious Position, Age Group, and Supporters of Individual Initiative. These Matrics were either divided equally between the "Uncertain" or "Not Upset" ranges, or more of them responded in the "Uncertain" range than the "Not Upset" range.

The overall pattern of responses of the Matrics in the respective profiles reveals the following:

- Those in the Affirm and AF-SS Profiles tended to feel strongly about all the aggregations (70% or more responded in the "Upset" range) except Supporters of Individual Initiative (55% responded in the "Upset" range). Family (89%), Women (84%), and South Africans (83%) were more prominent among the aggregations the Matrics in the Affirm Profile tended to feel strongly about. Family, Women, Home Language and South Africans were more prominent among the aggregations the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile tended to feel strongly about.
- Far fewer aggregations attracted as high a proportion of the Matrics in the other profiles. The Matrics in the Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles tended to be more selective than those in Affirm and AF-SS profiles about which aggregations they felt strongly about. Those in the Unsure Profile, however, tended to be more often "Uncertain" than the others.
- South Africans (75%), Seekers of Social Justice (70%), and Family (68%) were the more prominent aggregations among the Matrics in the Unsure Profile.
- Family (90%), Home Language (77%), Women (76%), South Africans (70%), Supporters of Your Religious Position (69%) and Community (67%) were the more prominent aggregations among the Matrics in the Select Profile.
- Family (90%), Home Language (75%), Occupational Peers (71%), Women (70%), South Africans (70%) and Community (69%) were the more prominent aggregations among the

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Matrics in the SF-AS Profile.

- Family and South Africans were the most prominent among the aggregations about which most Matrics in all of the profiles felt strongly.
- Supporters of Individual Initiative was the least prominent aggregation in each of the profiles except in the SF-AS Profile. More Matrics in the SF-AS Profile felt strongly about Supporters of Individual Initiative than in any other profiles.

Differences in the Responses of Male and Female Respondents

The Mann-Whitney Z test was used to determine whether or not there was a significant difference between the responses of the male and female respondents to each of triggered aggregations except, of course, the aggregations "Men" and "Women". The only triggered aggregation variables that showed a significant difference between the responses of male and female respondents (where alpha was set at 0,05) were: Age Group (where the percentage responses of the male respondents was 15% Not Upset, 16% Uncertain, 69% Upset and the female respondents was 19% Not Upset, 21% Uncertain, 60% Upset and p = 0,008); Group Beyond Nation (where the percentage responses of the male respondents was 16% Not Upset, 20% Uncertain, 64% Upset and the female respondents was 12% Not Upset, 14% Uncertain, 74% Upset and p = 0,0008); Supporters of Religious Position (where the percentage responses of the male respondents was 22% Not Upset, 18% Uncertain, 60% Upset and the female respondents was 16% Not Upset, 10% Uncertain, 74% Upset and p = 0,0003). This shows that the male respondents identified marginally more strongly than the female respondents with their Age Group, while female respondents identified more strongly with Group Beyond Nation and Supporters of Religious Position than the male respondents.

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6.1.2 The Matrics' Self-descriptions by Profile

Numbers of Respondents

As the questionnaire was rather long time constraints prevented some of the respondents from completing this question. In total 364 Matrics out of 779 completed the "Self-description" question.

Of the 364 Matrics who completed the "Self-Description" question 108 were located in the Affirm Profile, 66 in the AF-SS Profile, 11 in the Unsure Profile, 70 in the Select Profile, 89 in the SF-AS Profile and 20 in the Special Profile (which we do not consider in this thesis).

Self-descriptions

We place a great deal of value on the free-style self-descriptions because the actual aggregations and values the Matrics chose in the self-descriptions were unsolicited. So when say 33% of the Matrics in a profile describe themselves with reference to a particular aggregation or value, this is weighted more heavily in our analysis than if it were solicited.

A summary of the way in which the respondents by profile described themselves is provided in Table 41, below. The detailed version, on which this summary is based, is presented in Appendix 5. In Table 41 the responses are grouped according to profile and then classified, within each profile, according to aggregations in the hierarchy of aggregations, the non-hierarchical aggregations and values and personal qualities.

Findings

(see below)

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Table 41. Summary of the Matrics Self-descriptions by Profile

Profile	Hierarchy of Aggregations	Non-Hierarchical Aggregations	Values & Personal Qualities
AFFIRM (n=108)	**Family** happy family, poor family, clan **School** Zingisa High, Nondwe High, I like my school **Community** from Umtata, from the village of Gatyana, love my community **Region** Transkeian, a Xhosa, speak *isi*Xhosa **Nation** PAC member, ANC supporter, South African **Africa** I am an African, African culture **Humanity** I embrace all humans created in the image of God	**Sport** soccer, rugby, tennis, netball **Music** reggae, ballad, choral, classical, gospel, rhythm & blues, traditional **Student** Matric student **Christian** African Independent Church, Catholic, Protestant & Pentecostal; I am a Christian **Age Group** **Gender** references to man, girl & woman **Black** I am black	**Individualistic/Modern Industrial** • PERSONAL QUALITIES patient, sensitive, serious, confident, talkative, honest, short tempered, shy, positive, good looking • SELF-DIRECTION I would like to achieve my goals, I am one who has self-determination, want to be a doctor/teacher/nurse/radio announcer/social worker/musician, I am who I am • HEDONISM I like going to parties, I love sex and being happy, driving fast cars • ACHIEVEMENT I like success rather than being popular • FORMAL EDUCATION I love education • MODERNITY I am realistic, I like Western Civilisation **Communalistic/Traditional African** • PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL) I care about others, I like to work with others • PROSOCIAL (UNIVERSAL) I believe in equality • RESTRICTIVE CONFORMITY I come from a disciplined family • TRADITIONAL I am a traditionalist, I believe in the ancestors and *Qamata*, respect my elders • SOCIAL HARMONY I wish for an end to violence, I like living in a peaceful environment • NATURE I'm a nature lover, I am an animal lover
AF-SS (n=66)	**Family** I love my family, from a poor family, clan, If you don't have children you're someone who is poor. **School** Zingisa High, Nondwe High **Community** from Umtata, from the district of Willowvale, I want to help my community progress **Region** Thembu , Transkeian, Xhosa, Xhosa speaking, Nguni **Nation** PAC member, ANC member , I am one of the poor people of South Africa, South African, AZAPO member **Africa** I am an African, love African songs	**Sport** soccer, rugby, netball and softball **Music** rap, reggae, choral, gospel, black America ballads, umbagqanga (a mix of traditional & township music) **School Students** I am a school student **Christian** I am a Christian, church affiliation (African Independent, Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal), I believe in God. **Age Group** **Gender** boy, man, girl, women, female **Black** I am a black person	**Individualistic/Modern Industrial** • PERSONAL QUALITIES I am an introvert, I am easily irritated, I am charming and bold, I am disciplined • SELF-DIRECTION I like to be free, I would like to achieve my goals, I want to be an engineer/beauty technologist/lawyer/nurse/land surveyor/teacher/social worker • HEDONISM I'm a playboy and I like joking around, I like partying, fun loving • FORMAL EDUCATION I enjoy reading about the history of black people, Next year I shall be at university • ACHIEVEMENT I want to have a high status • STIMULATION I like discovering new things, I like visiting different places **Communalistic/Traditional African** • PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL) I like helping people, I like to work with others, work in groups • RESTRICTIVE CONFORMITY I am disciplined, I respect and obey older people • SOCIAL HARMONY I like peace among South Africans • TRADITIONALISM I believe in the ancestors, I like church but I don't want to leave my traditions behind, I am against modernism, I like my traditionalism, I enjoy being involved in traditional rituals
UNSURE (n=11)	**Family** I am close to my family **School** I am a student at Zingisa **Community** I am from Umtata; I live in Ngangelizwe township **Nation** I am not against politics, I like the ANC; I'm South African	**Sport** soccer, netball **Music** black American rhythm & blues, South African music **School Student** I am a high school student **Age Group** **Gender** only references to "girl"	**Individualistic/Modern Industrial** • PERSONAL QUALITIES I hate leadership roles, I am talkative about my body, I am kind, humerous, quiet, moody, tolerant, intelligent, unpredictable • FORMAL EDUCATION I like to study • ACHIEVEMENT I am talkative especially about my future, I want to be a musician/medical technologist/accountant • HEDONISM I like watching videos, I like driving cars • ACHIEVEMENT I want to have a high status **Communalistic/Traditional African** • PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL) [I associate with] people who need help • NATURE I love animals

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Profile	Hierarchy of Aggregations	Non-Hierarchical Aggregations	Values & Personal Qualities
SELECT (n=70)	**Family** e.g. Family is the most important to me; I am from a middle income family; clan name **School** I am in Matric at Zingisa High, Xolilizwe High **Community** from Butterworth; I would like to modernise my community **Region** Transkeian, I am from Eastern Pondoland; I belong to the Xhosa group, My mother tongue is Xhosa, I am part of the Nguni people **Nation** supporter of the ANC; I am a South African, I am a member of the Democratic Party, I am a national asset **Africa** I am an African **Humanity** I belong to the world	**Sport** soccer, tennis, netball, softball, volleyball, boxing, skateboarding **Music** reggae (most common), country, choral, rap, gospel, black America ballads **Christian** African Independent, Catholic, Protestant & Pentecostal; I am a religious person, I trust in God **School Student** I am a Matric student **Age Group** **Gender** only references to "girl", "woman", "female" **Black** I am proud of being black	**Individualistic/Modern Industrial** • PERSONAL QUALITIES I am a punctual person and dependable, honest, impatient, understanding, shy, okay looking, intelligent, outgoing • SELF-DIRECTION I want to pursue my dreams, I am unique, I value my independence, I care about my future, I want to become a doctor/journalist/social worker/accountant/nurse/leader, work for tourism board • HEDONISM I love fashion, fun loving, I love girls and fast cars, I like movies • ACHIEVEMENT I always like to be successful, When I have succeeded I want to make things better for my community • EDUCATION education is very important, I want to finish my studies • MODERNITY I am realistic, I would like to modernise our community • STIMULATION I am adventurous, I am interested in other cultures and peoples **Communalistic/Traditional African** • PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL) I am loyal to my friends, I would like to see more job opportunities and people working hand-in-hand • PROSOCIAL (UNIVERSAL) We need to fight for freedom, I don't like prejudice • RESTRICTIVE CONFORMITY I am self-disciplined, I respect my parents and older people • TRADITIONALISM I believe in the ancestors and *Qamata*, I believe in the ancestors but not traditional healers, I respect the elders • SOCIAL HARMONY I wish for an end to violence, I like living in a peaceful environment
SF-AS (n=89)	**Family** my family is the most important to me; I am not close to my family (anti-family); clan; I want my home to progress **School** I am a Matric student at Zingisa; I am from Xolilizwe High; I love my school **Community** I am a community person; I am from Nqgeleni village **Region** I am Xhosa speaking; I belong to the Tembu tribe **Nation** I am a South African; I am an ANC member **Africa** I am an African	**Sport** soccer, tennis, athletics, boxing surfing, rugby, volleyball, tenniqoit **Music** gospel (most frequent) classical, jazz, choral, rap, reggae, gospel, black America ballads **School Student** I am a Matric student **Gender** man, boy, women, girl, female were mentioned **Age Group** **Black** I am black	**Individualistic/Modern Industrial** • PERSONAL QUALITIES confident, easy going, honest, don't like pressure, handsome, short, fat, lazy, ugly • SELF-DIRECTION I hate being dependent, goals are important, I am self-determined, I believe in myself rather than others, I am concerned about the future, I want to be a medical technologist/health inspector/doctor • HEDONISM I just love to have fun, I love nice things, I like driving cars, I like movies • ACHIEVEMENT I always want to be on the winning side, I am very ambitious • EDUCATION I want people to be more educated, education is important • MODERNITY I hate unrealistic people • STIMULATION I am interested in inventing new things, I move along with new things an dthe times • WEALTH I want to be rich sometime in the future, I believe money is power and power is everything **Communalistic/Traditional African** • PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL) e.g. I like helping the poor, I like making new friends, I enjoy working with other people • PROSOCIAL (UNIVERSAL) I am a non-racist, I'm fighting for justice, socialist • RESTRICTIVE CONFORMITY I am self-disciplined, I respect other people • TRADITIONALISM (Anti-traditionalism) I do not believe in *Qamtata* • SOCIAL HARMONY I would like to live in a peaceful world • NATURE preservation and conservation of the environment

Note
The examples included in this table are either the actual words of typical respondents or key words used by them in their self-description.

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Observations and Comments

I. Aggregations in the Hierarchy of Aggregations

Between 60% and 67% of the Matrics in each of the profiles described themselves with reference to at least one communal aggregation in the hierarchy of aggregations from Family through to Africa. The most outstanding feature about the aggregations they identified in their self-descriptions was that those who identified with more than one aggregation tended to cluster around the same level in the hierarchy. This clustering trend continued up the hierarchy from local to global providing some conceptualisation of the size of their world. For example, of those who described themselves in terms of their school, those who mentioned other aggregations tended to identify with the aggregations Family and Community; whereas the trend among those who identified with Africa was to mention a regional aggregation and a national aggregation. Tables A13, A18, A23, A28, and A33 in Appendix 5 show this tendency to cluster in all the profiles.

- ***Family***

  Family was the first or second most frequently mentioned aggregation in all five profiles. Family was mentioned by between 22% and 27% of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile, the AF-SS Profile, the Unsure Profile and the SF-AS Profile. Family, however, featured far more prominently among the Matrics located in the Select Profile with 40% referring to this aggregation. The phrase "I love my family" (or versions thereof) was commonly used by Matrics from all five profiles. Many Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile identified themselves in terms of their clan names. References to the socio-economic status of the family were made by Matrics in the Affirm, AF-SS and Select profiles. It is notable that only the Matrics within the Affirm and AF-SS Profiles used the phrase "poor family"; whereas the student in the Select Profile who described his family in socio-economic terms said, "I am from a middle income family". The only traditional African view of Family came from a student in the AF-SS Profile who said, "It is very important to have children in life. If you don't have children you're someone who is poor". There were only two

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negative statements about Family. A student located in the Affirm Profile said, "I hate my stepfather and my mother", and a student in the SF-AS Profile said, "I am not close to my family".

- ***School***

Between 11% and 18% of Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile mentioned their school. A much larger proportion of Matrics (27%) located in the Unsure Profile referred to their school. The following schools were named by Matrics across all the profiles: Zingisa High, Nondwe High and Xolilizwe High. All these schools are in one geographical area, namely, the Transkei. Not a single one of the Cape Town schools was referred to by name. The other commonly used phrase was, "I like my school".

- ***Community/Town/District***

Between 11% and 23% of the Matrics located in the different profiles described themselves with reference to their community, town or district. Matrics located in the Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS profiles also used phrases such as "I love my community", and "I want to help/serve my community". The most commonly referred to place was Umtata and all the other places named by the Matrics in the various profiles were also in the Transkei. No mention was made of the townships in the Western Cape or Cape Town.

- ***Region*** *(which is between district and nation)*

Between 10% and 16% of the Matrics located in the Unsure and Affirm profiles, and between 21% and 23% of the Matrics located in the AF-SS, Select and SF-AS profiles referred in one way or another to Region. Many Matrics in the Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS profiles described themselves in terms of their traditional ethnic grouping or "tribe" e.g. Thembu, Mpondomise, Gcaleka, Hlubi. But the most frequent reference was to *the Transkei* which is an *isi*Xhosa-speaking region. Many Matrics across all five profiles described themselves as "Xhosa" or "*isi*Xhosa-speaking". In the South African context indigenous languages are associated with regions. *Isi*Xhosa is the indigenous language of the Eastern and Western Provinces.

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There was one reference to "rural area" which was made by a student located in the Unsure Profile. There were two references to "Nguni" which is a more inclusive language grouping that includes the *isi*Xhosa, *isi*Zulu, *isi*Ndebele and *isi*Swati-speaking peoples of Southern Africa. The term "Nguni" was used by Matrics located in the Select and the AF-SS Profiles.

- ***Nation***

Between 10% and 18% of the Matrics located in the Affirm, Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles referred to Nation. A substantially larger number of Matrics (26%) located in the AF-SS Profile referred to Nation. Matrics in all the profiles had two things in common they supported the African National Congress (ANC) and they described themselves as South African. A few Matrics located in the Affirm Profile supported the Pan-Africanist Congress. Matrics in the AF-SS profile also supported the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation (an organisation with its origins in the Black Consciousness Movement). There was one reference to the Democratic Party (historically the political home of liberal white people), which came from a Matric in the Select Profile. Matrics from the Affirm and SF-AS Profiles mentioned being part of the "New South Africa".

- ***Africa***

Between 7% and 12% of the Matrics located in the Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS Profiles identified with Africa. Matrics from all these profiles used the phrases like "I am an African" and "I admire people from Africa". One student in the AF-SS Profile said, "I am an African, a real one, I must be identified as an African". Student from the Affirm and AF-SS Profiles were the only ones to explicitly state that they identify with African culture. The phrases they used included, "I like ... African culture" and "I love African songs".

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- ***Human***

  Between 1% and 3% of the Matrics from the in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile referred to humanity or the world. The Matrics in the Affirm and Select profiles used the terms marginally more. The terms these Matrics used included "created in the image of God", "human being" and "the world".

II. The Non-Hierarchical Aggregations

The Matrics described themselves with reference to the following non-hierarchical aggregations: sport, music, school student, Christian, age group, gender and black.

- ***Sport***
  - Between 46% and 55% of the Matrics in the Affirm, AF-SS and Unsure profiles described themselves in terms of supporting one or other sport. A smaller proportion in the Select Profile (39%) and the SF-AS Profile (23%) referred to Sport. Sport in the SF-AS Profile was second only to Christian as the most popular aggregation.
  - Among the male Matrics soccer was undoubtedly the most popular sport across all the profiles. Netball was the most popular among the female Matrics.
  - A very narrow range of mainstream sports was supported by Matrics in the AF-SS and the Unsure Profiles. A wider range of mainstream sports was supported by Matrics in the Affirm and Select profiles, while the greatest variety of sports, including relatively marginal sports like surfing, tenniquoit and wrestling, was referred to by Matrics located in the SF-AS Profile.
- ***Music***
  - Between 22% and 29% of the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile, in which there over a third, described themselves with reference to their choice of music.
  - The Matrics in the Affirm and the Unsure Profiles enjoyed a range of different types of "Black American" and "Black South African" music. Those in the AF-SS Profile favoured Black America Rhythm and Blues (R and B), and Ballad, Reggae, Gospel and Traditional. Traditional music was not mentioned by Matrics in any of the other

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profiles. While those in the Select Profile listened to a wide range of music, reggae was marginally more popular. Black American Ballads and Gospel were the most popular music among the Matrics in the SF-AS Profile.

- ***Christian***
  - Between 21% and 27% of the Matrics in the Affirm, AF-SS and Select profiles described themselves as Christian. None of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile identified themselves with Christianity, while 37% of the Matrics in the SF-AS called themselves "Christian".
  - Many of those located in the Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS profiles who described themselves as Christian either used the term itself or referred to one or other denomination.
  - A substantial number in the Select Profile used inclusive language such as "I believe in God", "I'm a child of God", and "I'm religious". A substantial number in the SF-AS described themselves as "born again" or "saved".
- ***Age group***
  - Between 9% and 16% of the Matrics in the Affirm, Select and SF-AS profiles mentioned their age or called themselves "teenager". A greater proportion of the Matrics in the AF-SS Profile (24%) and the Unsure Profile (27%) referred to Age.
- ***Gender and Black***
  - A small proportion of between 2% and 17% of the Matrics in each of the profiles referred to their gender or to being black. The only exception was the 36% in the Unsure Profile who identified themselves as "girls". Across all the profiles female respondents referred to their gender more often than male respondents.

III. Values and Personal Qualities

We first present the Individualistic and Pro-Modernity Types of Phrases.

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- ***Personal Qualities***
  - Between 36% and 42% of the Matrics in all the profiles except the AF-SS Profile described themselves with reference to personal qualities.
  - The terms "shy/introvert", "hardworking", "talkative", "short tempered/moody" together with a range of physical attributes were used by Matrics across the profiles to describe their personal qualities.
  - The terms "easy going", "serious/serious about life" and "intelligent" were used by Matrics in most of the profiles.
  - The following terms were used by one or more Matrics in particular profiles: "lacking in confidence" by those in the AF-SS Profile, "I hate leadership positions" and "I am tolerant" by those in the Unsure Profile, "self-confident" by those in SF-AS Profile. A number of negative phrases were used by those in the SF-AS Profile to describe the personal qualities. These include the words "fat", "lazy", "ugly" and "immature".

- ***Self-direction***
  - Between 31% and 46% of the Matrics in all the profiles regarded themselves as future and goal orientated, and were conscious of their career preferences.
  - The range of career choices among the Matrics in the Affirm Profile are all typical mainstream professions found in industrial societies. These included becoming a teacher, TV presenter, lawyer, musician, politician, doctor, nurse, accountant and social worker. The career choices among Matrics in the AF-SS and Unsure Profiles were similarly mainstream. Those in the Select Profile were a little more varied. In addition to the usual career choices, Matrics in the Select Profile spoke of careers in tourism, public administration or simply becoming a leader. Those in the SF-AS chose careers that, on the whole, were in the medical science field e.g. medical technologist, health inspector, and doctor.
  - Asserting oneself seemed to be important for many Matrics across the Affirm, Select and SF-AS profiles. They used with phrases like "I believe in myself", and "I am who I am". The Select and SF-AS profiles tended to indicate greater commitment to

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independence and personal freedom in statements such as "I stand for myself", "I believe in myself rather than others", and "I like independence and freedom".

- ***Achievement***
  - A small proportion of between 3% and 11% of the students in the Affirm, Select and SF-AS profiles were interested in "success", in "winning", and generally being "the best". None of the Matrics in the Unsure Profile used Achievement-type phrases in their self-description whereas those in the SF-AS Profile used these phrases most.
  - Typical phrases included "I always strive for the best", "I like to succeed rather than to be popular", "I am very ambitious", and "I am serious about life and success". At least one student located in the Select Profile wanted to use her success to benefit the community. She said, "When I have succeeded I want to make things better for my community".
  - The Matrics in the AF-SS were more concerned about social status. They used phrases like "I want to be somebody" and "I want to have a high status in the future".

- ***Hedonism***
  - Between 19% and 21% of the Matrics in the Affirm, AF-SS and SF-AS profiles and around 33% in the Unsure and the Select profiles used phrases we have categorised as Hedonism.
  - Most of these Matrics enjoyed movies, videos, watching TV, partying, following the latest fashions and generally having a good time. A few Matrics in all except the AF-SS Profile also liked "driving fast cars".

- ***Wealth***
  - The only Matrics to mention Wealth were located in the Select Profile (2%) and the SF-AS Profile (3%). The phrases used by Matrics located in the SF-AS Profile included "I want to be rich. But I want to work for my wealth" and "I believe money is power and power is everything in life". One student located in the Select Profile said, "I would like to make lots of money".

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- ***Stimulation***
  - A small proportion (less than 10%) of Matrics in the AF-SS, Select and SF-AS were adventurous.
  - Typical phrases included "I am interested in inventing new things", "I move along with new things and the times", and "I am interested in other cultures and peoples".
- ***Modernity***
  - A small proportion (less than 10%) of the Matrics in the Affirm, the Select, and the SF-AS Profiles used terms we have categorised as Modernity. At least one in the Affirm Profile valued Western culture and one located in the Select Profile was committed to "modernising the community". The phrases "I am a realist" or "I am realistic" were used by most of these Matrics. We have taken this to mean they were pragmatic.
- ***Formal Education***
  - Between 14% and 21% of the Matrics in Affirm, AF-SS, Select and SF-AS profiles and 55% in the Unsure Profile expressed an interest in and a desire to further their education.
  - Typical statements included "I love education", "I enjoy reading history books", and "Next year I shall be at university".
  - At least one student located in the AF-SS Profile asserted his cultural identity in his choice of reading material when he wrote, "I enjoy reading about the history of black people".

We now present the Communalistic and Traditional type phrases.

- ***Prosocial (Interpersonal)***
  - Between 34% and 41% of the Matrics in all the profiles believed in caring for the needy, and generally being kind and friendly.
  - Of these all except those in the Unsure Profile valued co-operation, making new friends and communicating with people. Typical phrases included "I like helping people in need", "I am a friendly person", I like to work with others, working in groups", and "I

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believe we can only succeed if we help each other".

- ***Restrictive Conformity***
  - A small proportion of between 4% and 8% of the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile used the phrase "I am disciplined". The phrase "I am obedient" was also used by few.

- ***Prosocial (Universal)***
  - Between 3% and 8% of the Matrics in the Affirm, Select and SF-AS profiles were against all forms of social injustice. They used phrases like "I believe in equality", "I hate discrimination" and "I don't like prejudice".
  - A few in the SF-AS described themselves as "socialist".

- ***Social Harmony***
  - Between 7% and 24% of the Matrics in all the profiles except the Unsure Profile wanted peace and an end to violence. Typical phrases included "I wish for an end to violence, our leaders should stop fighting", "I don't like people to be afraid of others", and "I like peace among South Africans".
  - While most focused on local violence some Matrics in the SF-AS Profile referred to the need for world peace.

- ***Nature***
  - A very small number of Matrics located in the Affirm (4%), Unsure (10% or one respondent), Select (1%) and SF-AS (1%) identified with nature and the environment.
  - The phrases included "I love the environment", "I am an animal lover", and "I am interested in the preservation and conservation of the environment".

- ***Tradition***
  - Between 13% and 17% of the Matrics in the Affirm, AF-SS and Select Profile and 5% in the SF-AS Profile favoured African tradition.
  - The Affirm and AF-SS profiles felt strongly about preserving their traditional African cultural heritage and valued the traditional view of respect. One student in the AF-SS

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Profile went so far as to say "I am against modernism". Typical phrases included "I believe in the ancestors and *Qamata*", "I like church but I don't want to leave my traditions behind", "I like my traditionalism", "I am one who respects the elders", and "I enjoy being involved in all types of [traditional] rituals".

- Matrics in the Select and the SF-AS profiles also valued the traditional notion of *respect*. Those in the Select profile tended to distinguish between their support for the less extreme aspects of traditional culture like "acknowledging the ancestors" and their rejection of what many considered "backward" aspects like the notion of "*ukuthakata*" (bewitching) and the "*amagqira*" (traditional diviners/healers). The statement "I believe in the ancestors but not traditional healers" is typical of those who support this view. While those located in the SF-AS tended to distance themselves from traditional beliefs, some said, "My family believes in the ancestors and the traditions", but they would not say this of themselves. Others distanced themselves overtly by saying, for example, "I do not believe in *Qamata*".

6.2 THE MANAGERS

In this section we first present the responses of the managers, in their profiles, to the Triggered Aggregations and the Self-description questions. We then consider these findings in the light of Matrics' responses.

18 out of the 21 managers completed these two additional questions, hence the results are a little sparse. This particularly applies to the single responses in the AF-SS and the Unsure profiles. Nevertheless, we were interested in learning what we could about likely ways in which the Matrics in the respective profiles might re-negotiate their identities, were they to move into management positions and experience similar pressure to "buy into" the corporate culture. In other words which aggregations did they indicate were significant in identity?

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6.2.1 The Managers' Responses to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile

Fig.56 showing the managers' responses to the Triggered Aggregations is included below although the data is sparse in places.

Fig. 56 Bar Charts Showing the Managers Responses to Triggered Aggregations by Profile

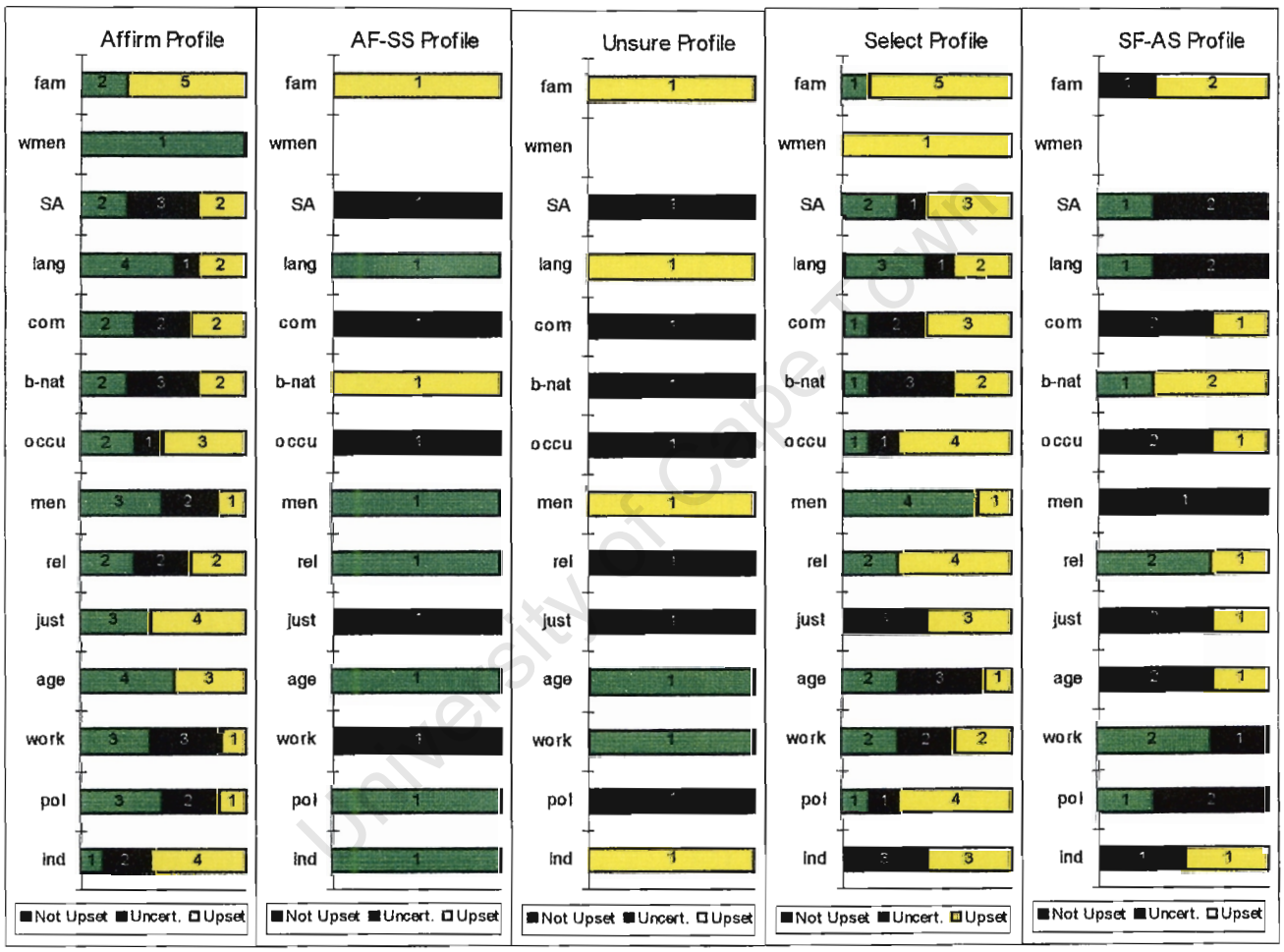


Chart Key: fam = Family; wmen = Women; SA = South Africans; lang = Home Language; com = Community; b-nat = Group Beyond Nation; occu = Occupational Peers; rel = Supporters of Your Religious Position; just = Seekers of Social Justice; age = Age Group; work = Workers; pol = Supporters of Your Political Position; indiv = Supporters of Individual Initiative

Obviously one does not want to read too much into the responses of the manager in the AF-SS Profile and the Unsure Profile. The responses of the managers nevertheless provide us with some valuable insights.

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Observations

The following aggregations were identity-significant to half or more than half of the managers in each profile:

- The managers in the Affirm Profile singled out Family, Seekers of Social Justice, Occupational Peers and Supporters of Individual Initiative.
- The manager in the AF-SS Profile singled out Family, and Group Beyond Nation.
- The manager in the Unsure Profile singled out Family, Home Language (i.e. *isi*Xhosa), Men and Supporters of Individual Initiative.
- The managers in the Select Profile singled out Family, Women, South Africans, Community, Occupational Peers, Supporters of Your Religious Position, Seekers of Social Justice, Supporters of Your Political Position and Supporters of Individual Initiative.
- The managers in the SF-AS Profile singled out Family, Group Beyond Nation and Supporters of Individual Initiative.

The responses of the managers across the profiles are characterised by a number of other features. These include the following:

- Half or more of managers in each of the profiles felt strongly about Family.
- Half or more of the managers in all the profiles except the AF-SS Profile felt strongly about Supporters of Individual Initiative.
- With the exception of half the managers in the Select Profile who felt strongly about South Africa and Community, almost all of the remaining managers responded to these particular Triggered Aggregations either in the "Uncertain" or "Not Upset" ranges.
- Almost all the managers in all the profiles, except the Select Profile, responded to Workers, Supporters of Your Political Position, and Supporters of Religious Position in the "Uncertain" or "Not Upset" ranges.

Comments

- With the exception of the managers in the Select Profile the most outstanding feature about the managers in the other profiles is the reduction in the number of aggregations significant in identity. The managers in each of the profiles were more discriminating than

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the Matrics in singling out fewer identity-significant aggregations. This suggests that the social worlds of the managers are smaller and more focused than the Matrics' worlds. The intensity of commitment among the managers to a few identity-significant aggregations is in all likelihood greater than that of the Matrics in profiles were they try to belong to all the aggregations.

- As was the case with the Matrics, Family was the only aggregation that all or almost all the managers in each of the profiles felt strongly about.
- With the exception of the AF-SS and Unsure profiles, which had only one respondent, the managers in the other profiles were divided in their responses to Supporters of Individual Initiative. Earlier we observed that the Matrics in each profile were also divided in their responses to this aggregation. When ranked from the most popular to the least popular aggregation this aggregation features last or almost last on the list of Triggered Aggregations of the Matrics in each profile but it features prominently (in the top four) in the order of Triggered Aggregations of the managers in each profile. For this reason Supporters of Individual Initiative is weighted more heavily as an identity-significant aggregation among profiles of managers in which it features than among the profiles of Matrics in which it features.
- The absence of community, regional or national aggregations in all the managers' profiles except the Select Profile suggests a more individualistic sense of belonging than that of the Matrics. The manager in AF-SS Profile however did not rate Supporters of Individual Initiative among his identity-significant aggregations, although earlier we observed that he valued aspects of individualism. This suggests that while he may personally value aspects of individualism, he does not have an individualistic sense of belonging.

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6.2.2 The Managers' Self-Description by Profile

The managers' self-descriptions are presented in Table 42, below. Not all the managers responded to the Self-description question and, therefore, there was insufficient data to compare the self-descriptions of the managers in the different profiles. The managers' self-descriptions add to a growing picture of the profiles.

Table 42. The Self-Descriptions of the Managers in Each of the Profiles

Profile	Hierarchy of Aggregations	Non-Hierarchical Aggregations	Values & Personal Qualities
AFFIRM	**Family** My grandparents & parents reflect something of who I am (ST), I have caring loving parents (ST)	**Christian** church motivated (FS)	**Individualistic & Modern** • **PERSONAL QUALITIES** I'm straight talking (TF), I am a hard worker (TF), I am a willing person (BN), I'm full of energy (BN), I tend to trust too much (HT), open (BN) • **SELF-DIRECTION** a problem solver (HT) (FS), a motivator (HT & ST) a thinker (BN), a strategist, (BN) I am who I am (TF), strong willed (TF), creative (TF) • **ACHIEVEMENT** ambitious (TF) • **EDUCATION** [I] identify with educators (ST) **Communalistic & Traditional** • **PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL)** I am always available to help others (TF), I am sympathetic (BN), I identify with those who are job creators (ST), I'm involved in a counselling programme (FS), love people as they are (HT), • **PROSOCIAL (UNIVERSAL)** All people are equal (HT) • **TRADITIONALISM** I value traditional living (FS), I respect people (HT) • **SOCIAL HARMONY** I identify with peace loving people (FS), I am a peacemaker (ST), I get concerned about misunderstandings (HT), Always available to help others (TF) • **CONFORMITY** I am a hard worker (TF)
UNSURE			**Individualistic & Modern Industrial** • **PERSONAL QUALITIES** honest, reliable, and flexible (SM) • **SELF-DIRECTION** determined (SM) • **HEDONISM** fun loving (SM) **Communalistic & Traditional African** • **PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL)** caring (SM)

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Table 42. The Self-Descriptions of the Managers in Each of the Profiles (Continued)

Profile	Hierarchy of Aggregations	Non-Hierarchical Aggregations	Values & Personal Qualities
SELECT	**Family** family orientated (AM) **Nation** Pan Africanist Congress (PC), extremely patriotic (AM) **African** an African (PC)	**Gender** female (PC), women as servers of men and children (PC) **Christian** child of God (ON), strongly Christian (AM) **Black** I am black (PC) **Workers** I am a worker (PC)	**Individualistic/Modern Industrial** • **PERSONAL QUALITIES** I'm headstrong....gregarious (PC). [I am] always polite, never negative, honest, good natured. (GD), fair, honest, go-getter and loving (ON), light-hearted, straight forward, not easily pleased (MZ), I am hard working (MZ), I am very practical (MZ), confident (GD) • **SELF-DIRECTED** I face life head on (ZM) **Communalistic/Traditional African** • **PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL)** compassionate (ON), I am very accommodating if you play as a team member (AM), committed to the upliftment of the disadvantaged (AM) • **PROSOCIAL (UNIVERSAL)** We are all equal (ON), I treat everyone equally (AM), I am always fair to people (GD) • **RESTRICTIVE CONFORMITY** hard working (MZ), I believe in the use of punishment, but it must fit the crime. (AM), always respectful (GD) • **TRADITIONALISM** I am Pro-life (AM) • **NATURE** We have an obligation to preserve and protect the environment (AM)
SF-AS			**Individualistic & Modern** • **PERSONAL QUALITIES** hardworker, quiet, and persevering (ZN), I am reliable, honest and dedicated to everything I do (SN), loyal to my employer (SN) • **SELF-DIRECTION** goal orientated (ZN), committed to achieving goals (ZN) • **HEDONISM** I like to socialise (SN) **Communalistic &Traditional** • **PROSOCIAL (INTERPERSONAL)** caring towards everyone (SN), open to negotiating and discussing (ZN)

Note: The manager in the AF-SS Profile did not complete the Self-description question.

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Observations and Comments

The Affirm Profile

- The managers in the Affirm Profile described themselves largely in terms of Family. This confirms what we observed earlier in their responses to the Triggered Aggregations. It is understandable that managers in the thirty to forty-something age group focus on family. Nevertheless investing one's social identity exclusively in Family, even if it is the extended family, effectively means that one is excluded from a sense of belonging to a bigger world. The manager who referred to church is probably integrated into the wider world community of Christians via his local church community. It remains exclusive unless at an all-encompassing level he feels he belongs to the aggregation "all people created in the image of God". While the managers in the Affirm Profile may be too focused, the Matrics may be too superficial in their attempt to belong to as many aggregations as possible.
- The combination of "Individualistic" and "Communalistic" values and personal qualities of managers in the Affirm Profile are similar to those of the Matrics.
- The managers' phrases we have categorised as "self-direction" sound like people who support individual initiative, which we observed earlier they do.
- The managers did not refer to hedonistic type phrases which the Matrics readily used is in all likelihood do to the age difference.
- The managers and the Matrics alike identified not only with the Supporters Social Justice but also espoused the value "all people are equal". This is understandably important given South Africa's political and economic history.

The Unsure Profile

- The manager in the Unsure Profile did not describe himself with reference to any of the aggregations. He did however refer to values and personal qualities.
- He was similar to the Matrics in emphasising the individualistic and modern values over the communalistic and traditional values.

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The Select Profile

- The self-description of the managers in the Select Profile confirms what we had discovered earlier in their responses to the Triggered Aggregations. There is some evidence to suggest that managers in the Select Profile are linked to a wider world through a series of aggregations from Family through to Africa as well as a shared identity with Christians, women and black people.
- The picture that emerges from the managers' self-description together with their responses to the triggered aggregations is similar to that of the Matrics. There are, however, some marked differences. Compared to the Matrics, the managers in the Select Profile were more individualistic and even less traditional than the Matrics. The managers make no reference to sport, music or age group. As this applies to all the profiles it must be a characteristic of youth that is not shared by the older generation.

SF-AS Profile

- We noticed earlier, in the managers' responses to the Triggered Aggregations, the absence of aggregations at the community, regional and national levels and an individualistic sense of belonging. The managers in SF-AS Profile focus almost exclusively on individualistic values in their self-description confirming the emerging picture of the managers in this profile who only have time for their careers and their social involvement revolves around Family. While the Matrics in this profile emphasised individualistic and modern values as well, and they were against traditional values they perceived to be backward, they were interested in the world around them and felt a sense of belonging and solidarity with Africa and black people.

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CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

7.1 COMMON CULTURE ACROSS THE PROFILES

Earlier when we considered the responses of the Matrics in the profiles we drew attention to what seemed to be an underlying common culture[45]. This manifests in the fact that certain elements within the African traditional paradigm are the first to be relinquished while other elements are the last to be abandoned or not abandoned at all. Equally, certain elements within the Western industrial paradigm are readily assimilated while others are resisted.

The common culture is not simply a collection of elements but a positioning of boundaries. Matrics seemed prepared to go so far in the traditional direction and so far in the Western industrial direction.

Most of these boundaries manifest as elements in opposition, some as directions in which the Matrics' culture has shifted.

We summarise them below.

- The Matrics are happy to abandon the traditional notion of divinity associated with *Qamata* while retaining a sense of an all-pervading vital force or life force. However, they are not yet ready to accept a transcendent and, therefore, personal view of God.
- They have moved away from the idea of malevolence in a closed system of cause and effect but are not prepared to write off all misfortune to chance.
- They are happy to discard what are perceived as outmoded traditional spiritual explanations which are challenged by modern scientific thinking, but they are against travelling down the path advocated by secularists which would require that they abandon *all* African traditions and customs.

[45] See "Observations and Comments About the Matrics' Responses to the Story Variables" under 4.5.

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- They are committed to the general principle of communalism which sets limits to individualism.
- They value both grand pattern, which is about the communalism of the natural order, and grand purpose, which is about pushing the frontiers. They do not appear to be aware of the tension between grand pattern and grand purpose, which manifests in the discourse about how much present texture one is prepared to sacrifice for future gains.
- They embrace linear time and the importance of goals which are necessary competencies to minimally cope in a Western technological society.
- They also see the need to actively seek belonging, which means they have given up the traditional view that belonging is something one is born with, and are in the pursuit of it.
- They believe that in order for there to be quality life one must fit into the rhythms of nature. Fitting into the rhythms is closely related to "Grand Pattern" and finds support in contemporary society in the ecological lobby.

This establishment of boundaries is not fully replicated in the managers who largely share with the students their responses to the Western industrial elements but have become more critical of the African traditional elements.

A number of other features characterise this common culture underlying the different profiles. These are summarised as follows:

- The Matrics all identify most strongly with their family, including extended family, and fellow South Africans. They identity least with those who take individual initiative.
- They describe themselves as school or Matric students
- They are proud of their home language, *isi*Xhosa.
- They admire what the African National Congress has achieved.
- They regard themselves as Christians, at least in name.
- They are goal orientated, self-disciplined and thinking about their careers.
- They value education.
- They enjoy watching movies and television.

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- The male respondents play soccer, the female respondents play netball.
- They feel it is important to care for the less fortunate in society.
- They respect their elders
- They are peace-loving people.

While there are a number of features the managers in the various profiles have in common the size of our sample prevents us talking about a common culture. Two outstanding features characterise the managers' self-description. They are all family orientated people and they do not have a well-developed sense of South Africanness.

7.2 FEATURES OF THE TYPICAL STUDENT (AND MANAGER) IN EACH PROFILE

The above mentioned common elements will not be repeated here. What we are interested in is the distinguishing characteristics of the typical Matric student in each profile. It is to this that we now turn.

Where we have observed that the managers and the Matrics in the same profiles differ in their responses, we have a clue to moves brought about by the pressure of working in the Westo-centric world of business and industry. Given the small sample, all the managers offer is a likely tendency, although one is encouraged by the fact that such moves are readily understandable.

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The Affirm Profile

Matric Student[46]

The typical student in the Affirm Profile values all the elements of the Faku and Sipho stories except what he/she perceives to be outmoded Traditional African beliefs and practices, and extreme forms of Western individualism. The outmoded Traditional African beliefs and practices include traditional spiritual explanations for natural phenomena that patently contradict scientific explanation, and the belief that malevolence is the cause of

[46] See "Summary of, and Strategies in the Responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to the Story Variables" at 4.5.1.3, "Matrics' Responses to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile" at 6.1.1, and "The Matrics' Self-descriptions by Profile" at 6.1.2

misfortune. The extreme aspects of individualism include feeling stifled by one's family, and the absence of a sense of obligation to one's extended family.

The typical Matric student values independence but is not prepared to ignore his/her sense of obligation to his/her extended family.

While he/she recognises that competition motivates people to do better, he/she is wary of the destructive side of competition which is evident in situations where individuals are competing for scarce resources.

Although he/she is not strictly speaking open to chance, he/she would not waste "unnecessary time" seeking the cause of misfortune.

He/she does not imagine a transcendent God and spiritual world divorced from the physical world. He/she is in two minds about God being more like a person than a force. He/she does not distinguish between *Qamata* (the God of the Ancestors) and *Thixo* (the God of the Bible).

He/she is happy to support the pushing of the frontiers of science and technology as long as it benefits society in the short term and is not at the expense of more immediate or "present texture" type needs. Sacrificing present texture in order to obtain a longer term goal, in a future generation, is considered worthwhile as long as the goal is communal.

He/she is not prepared to reject his/her traditional cultural heritage but accepts that a small number of traditional elements are inappropriate in modern society and if these cannot be modernised they should be abandoned.

This Matric student shares in the common culture that links the profiles when it comes to the way he/she describes him/herself. However, there are some marked differences. He/she is more worried than most about violence and killing, which he/she sees destroying South African social life. There is an indication that he/she identifies with poorer classes. He/she enjoys nature.

The typical Matric student in the Affirm Profile embraces the whole range of aggregations from family to humanity. He/she identifies strongest with his/her extended family, and

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being South African and, in the case of a female respondent, women. He/she identifies least with those who take the initiative and who are prepared to be different.

The typical Matric student in the Affirm Profile seems to want to have everything both worlds offer. The real choices he/she has to make between the two worlds are yet to confront him/her.

Manager[47]

The "typical" manager in the Affirm Profile has moved even further away from the elements in Faku's Story that are seen to be very traditional, and embraces all the elements of Sipho's Story more firmly. He/she describes him/herself with reference to family, those who support individual initiative, occupational peers and those who struggle for social justice. This represents a major shift from the typical Matric student who feels that all aggregations except those which support individual initiative are significant in his/her identity. In the way he/she describes him/herself, the manager's emphasis on work and management talk adds to a picture of one whose world is increasing dominated by work and the corporate culture and who is finding it difficult to remain firmly committed to both worlds, the traditional one and the industrial one.

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AF-SS Profile

Matric student[48]

The typical Matric student in the AF-SS Profile responds to Faku's Story like the Matric student in the Affirm Profile. The difference lies in the way the student in the AF-SS Profile handles Sipho's Story. He/she does not support or is, at least, in two minds about almost all the elements of Sipho's Story and he/she comes out strongly against secularisation. Those elements of Sipho's Story that he/she does support, he/she tries to

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[47] See "Comparison of the Profiles of the Managers' and the Matrics' Responses to the Story Mega Variables" at 5.2.3 , "The Managers' Responses to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile" at 6.2.1, and "The Managers' Self -description by Profile" at 6.2.2

[48] See "Comparison with the Other Profiles' Responses to the Story Variables" at 4.5.2, "The Matrics' Responses to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile" at 6.1.1, and "The Matrics' Self-descriptions by Profile" at 6.1.2

soften or redefine so that they appear to be more compatible with Faku's traditional position.

For example:

- He/she seeks opportunities within an individualistically orientated social environment to exercise his/her commitment to communalism and to soften individualism (see responses to Individualism Mega Variable).
- He/she does not think one should depend solely on reward to motivate people. He/she thinks that a more effective system would combine rewards and punishment (see responses to the Social Motivation Mega Variable).
- He/she has reservations about the Take-Hold-and-Shape approach of Western industrial society because it destroys indigenous/traditional knowledge and technologies. Science needs to be used to benefit the community not simply to push the frontiers of knowledge (see responses to the Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable).
- The typical Matric student in the AF-SS Profile is happy to advance science and technology if it is seen to improve the present quality of life (see responses to the Grand Purpose Mega Variable).
- He/she thinks that goals and plans are worth pursuing only if they benefit the community (see responses to the Goals Mega Variable).

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The range of aggregations embraced by the Matric student in the AF-SS Profile extended only as far as Africa. He/she identifies more strongly than those in the Affirm Profile with *isi*Xhosa speaking people. And at a national level he/she admires the ANC, but supports the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO), which have an Africanist philosophy. There is an indication that he/she identifies with the poor.

This Matric student shares in the common culture that links the profiles when it comes to the way he/she describes him/herself, however, his/her taste in music is narrower than that of the average Matric student of the entire sample. He/she listens to a range of music that affirms his/her blackness or Africanness.

The typical Matric student in the AF-SS Profile seems to be more consciously focused on maintaining his/her traditional African culture and black identity than the typical student in the Affirm Profile.

Manager[49]

The manager in the AF-SS Profile identifies with family and fellow Africans which suggests that he is consciously wanting to be traditional and African. This is further borne out by his being somewhat more traditional than the Matric student in his response to the Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable, which is seen to be an extremely traditional view of natural phenomena. However, he is not as critical of Sipho's story as the students are. This suggests that although he tries hard to remain traditional, he is finding it increasing difficult.

The Unsure Profile

Matric Student[50]

The main characteristic of the typical Matric student in the Unsure Profile is that, with few exceptions, he/she does not support the various elements of the Faku and Sipho stories and he/she is more uncertain that any of the other profiles about all the elements.

He/she is the most decisively against Traditional Spiritual Explanations in Faku's Story and Secularity in Sipho's Story. The elements that he/she supports are the least confrontational. These are the elements which are happily supported by even the Matrics who selectively rejected Sipho's Story.

He/she is also the most uncertain of all the profiles in identifying with the range of aggregations. Here again we see that the student in the Unsure Profile is not simply lazy, because he/she discriminates between those that he/she is genuinely undecided about and those that he/she either supports or rejects. He/she identifies strongly with South Africans, justice seekers and family. He/she is most uncertain about aggregations beyond the national level and he/she one of a small number who do not identify with their own age group.

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[49] See Footnote 47.
[50] See Footnote 48.

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While he/she identifies with the common culture, he/she listens more often than most to black American music with its long established appeal to black youths world-wide.

Manager[51]

The "typical" manager is as uncertain about the Faku and Sipho stories as the Matric student who shares the same profile. The fact that he/she, like the typical Matric student, rejects outmoded traditional elements and is supportive of the most commonly embraced elements of Sipho's story namely, goals and linear time, indicates that he/she has considered his/her responses and is genuinely uncertain about the majority of the elements in the stories. This is also reflected in his/her response to the Triggered Aggregations question.

The Select Profile

Matric Student[52]

The typical Matric student in the Select Profile selectively rejected a substantial number of elements in Faku's and Sipho's stories.

The elements he/she most strongly disagrees with are the same elements the typical Matric student in the Affirm Profile is beginning to question. He/she distinguishes broad ideas like communalism and traditional social features which have value today, from aspects thereof that need to be amended or abandoned because they are outmoded and incompatible with the modern scientific world-view, or contrary to Christianity. The role of the ancestors in preserving communal harmony is one example of what he/she views as outmoded. Another example is the outdated patriarchal view of the role of women in society, which does not fit a gender equality conscious and rights-based modern society. He/she does accept that for some the outmoded elements are real.

He/she is less critical of Sipho's Story than those in the AF-SS Profile, although here too he/she disagrees with elements that promote extreme individualism and secularisation, and is against a highly personal God, favouring rather a view of God as a force.

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[51] See Footnote 47.
[52] See Footnote 48.

One gets the impression from his/her emphasis on caring for family, from a strong sense of a grand pattern and fitting into the rhythms of nature, that he/she retains the "feminine" side of Faku's story to temper the militant, masculine, highly individualistic, goal orientated, take-hold-and-shape approach to life found in Sipho's Story.

The typical Matric student in the Select Profile seems to have chosen quite carefully the aggregations with which he/she identifies. He/she is clearly far more selective than the Matric student in the Affirm Profile. He/she identifies most strongly with family, women (in the case of the female respondents) and those whose home language is *isi*Xhosa. Family means both his/her immediate and extended family. He/she also identifies quite strongly with South Africans, Christians and his/her local community. He/she has no affinity with supporters of individual initiative. His/her view of Christianity is inclusive, being religiously inclined rather than narrowly Christian.

While his/her values and choices reflect the common culture among the profiles, which we have noted, there are a number of characteristics that differentiate this Matric student from the others. He/she enjoys a wide range of varied music and a very wide range of sports, including less popular ones like hiking, skateboarding, and wrestling. While he/she supports the ANC, he/she is attracted to aspects of the Democratic Party, a historically liberal white political party. He/she is also interested in new things and other cultures. There is an indication that he/she identifies with the middle class.

What emerges is a person who is more conscious of the tension between the paradigms and choices that must be made. Someone who is more modern than Faku and sufficiently confident to criticise Sipho's Western individualistic paradigm. A student who is willing to deviate from mainstream thinking. This is particularly evident in his/her choice of sports, music and political affiliation

Manager[53]

The "typical" manager in the Select Profile is, like the typical Matric student in this profile, very selective in his responses to both stories. His/her selectivity is also manifest in him/her specifically identifying strongly with family, women (in the case of the female

[53] See Footnote 47.

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respondent) and Christians. He/she, however, identifies more strongly than the typical Matric student does with those who share his/her profession and have the same political persuasion.

The SF-AS Profile

Matric Student[54]

The typical Matric student in the SF-AS Profile is most like the Select Profile in his/her response to Faku's Story, only more critical, and most like the Affirm Profile in his/her response to Sipho's Story, only more affirming.

Distinguishing features of this typical Matric student are that he/she is a born-again Christian and distances him/herself from African Traditional Religion which is frowned upon by the mainline missionary churches.

The hierarchy of aggregations significant in his/her identity extends only as far as Africa. He/she identifies most strongly with family, women (in the case of female respondents), people whose home language is *isi*Xhosa and fellow Matric students. He identifies more noticeably with supporters of individual initiative than the students located in the other profiles.

This Matric student listens to black American and gospel music. He/she plays a wide range of very diverse sports including less popular ones like surfing, swimming and boxing. His/her career choice is in the health sciences.

He/she also emphasised acquiring wealth, and believed that "money is power and power is everything" in life.

What emerges is a young person who seems to be more consciously focused on establishing him/herself as a modern upwardly mobile black professional who values his/her cultural heritage as long as it does not interfere with his/her upward mobility.

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[54] See Footnote 48.

Manager[55]

The "typical" manager like the typical Matric student in this profile firmly favours Sipho's story over Faku's. The manager in the SF-AS Profile is strongly individualistic while deriving a sense of belonging from his/her immediate family and a general international group that does not demand an actual commitment from him/her[56].

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[55] See Footnote 47.
[56] See Cumpsty (1991: 330-331) on Utopianism.

CHAPTER 8

Discussion

Introductory Note

We now return to the questions we posed at the outset of this study and discuss them in the light of our findings, the theoretical framework and other pertinent literature.

Given that ...

i. black youths of the 90's want to succeed materially in our increasingly Western industrial society;
ii. the school leavers in this study come from traditional African cultural backgrounds;
iii. the world of business and industry is even more Westo-centric than the schooling environment; and
iv. the human drive for identity congruence and integration is no less important than material well-being

...we asked: How can youths with a traditional African cultural heritage, who desire to succeed materially, maintain some sort of integrated sense of self in a working environment dominated by a Western style of operation which potentially undermines their Africanness?

This is not merely about individuals navigating transitions from home to workplace. It is also about human development. We assert that humanisation within economic and social development, in a situation of competing world-views, depends on the mediation of conflicting paradigmatic symbols in a manner which is not inconsistent with the economic imperatives. We asked: What strategies do African youths adopt and what evidence is there of the mediation of conflicting paradigmatic symbols? Do these strategies meet their economic and identity needs synergistically? What can interventionists learn from these strategies to facilitate development in (South) Africa that is humanising?

It is to this that we now turn.

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8.1 STRATEGIES FOR NEGOTIATING WORLD-VIEW AND IDENTITY

The school leavers are located in five profiles that represent ways of negotiating identity in an increasingly Western Industrial society.

We discovered that those located in the Affirm Profile try to embrace all, or almost all, the elements of both the African Traditional and Western Industrial paradigms and are potentially fragmented. Those located in the Unsure Profile are genuinely undecided and, with few exceptions, cannot commit themselves one way or the other. The other profiles represent strategies that tend towards integration.

8.1.1 The Affirm Profile

We said earlier that the Affirm Profile is not really a strategy. It represents an experience of competing world-views, where the respondents embrace both paradigms and find it difficult to opt for one or the other. The situation of competing world-views and potential identity fragmentation represented by this profile is complex. The question is: How do respondents in this profile hold together in their world-views the conflicting paradigmatic symbols without feeling pulled apart?

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The Spindlers (1993: 47) say that when people feel equally at home in both the traditional and modern mainstream Western cultures they manifest "bicultural adaptation". They go on to say with reference to the Menominee indigenous people of North America that "[t]his adaptation is extremely difficult to make because the distance between the two cultures is very great" (ibid.).

We found that a small number of extreme confrontational elements are set aside by some who endeavour to hold together, in their world-views, the majority of the conflicting elements from the two paradigms. While this is evidence of an attempt to deal with the most confrontational elements, the elaborate strategies adopted by some respondents suggests that this does not successfully reduce the tension between the majority of the elements that continue to co-exist in their world-views. Logically, of course, people do not adopt strategies to hold conflicting elements together if they do not feel the tension brought about by the coexistence of these elements. In the AF-SS, the Select, and the SF-

AS profiles the school leavers seemed to deal with the conflicting elements presumably having sensed the tension.

Our findings show that some respondents in the Affirm Profile seek congruence and the integration of some of the conflicting elements to protect themselves from potential identity fragmentation. The process of seeking some form of integration need not be as conscious as this suggests and it often takes place at the affective level.

Our findings point to two strategies, adopted to limit the potential fragmentation of self. One strategy resembles what Cumpsty calls "bridging" and the other is a form of what he calls "allocation".

The Bridging Strategy

There is evidence of numerous attempts at bridging.

Some of the respondents were at pains to interpret one paradigmatic element in terms of an element from the other paradigm. Previously we described this as the "softening" of one symbol to ease the accommodation of the contra-symbol (e.g. extreme forms of individualism were excluded by reference to a persisting communalism, by Christianising forms of African tradition or by Africanising forms of Christian tradition). This is one form of bridging in which the respondents appropriate from one tradition a symbol and reinterpret it to conform to the other tradition.

Individuals can generate their own bridging symbols to meaningfully hold together elements from the competing paradigms. This form of bridging is exemplified by PT's Christianising of African traditional beliefs[57]. What we have here is the beginnings of a transcendent divinity. PT's own After Death model is another example of the Christianising of traditional beliefs.

There is also evidence of individual charismatic leaders serving as bridging symbols. The best examples from our research are:

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[57] See "The Monism Mega Variable ... iii.) The ancestors are divine mediators in an hierarchical belief system with *Thixo* (God of the Bible) at the head." under 4.5.1.1

i. the clan elder using Christian ritual language and prayer while performing a traditional African ritual[58], and
ii. the high profile jetsetting politician who wears traditional attire and is known to affirm African traditions[59].

Arguably the wearing of traditional dress is superficial but in the affective realm the simplest symbols can be very powerful.

There are more complex examples of charismatic leaders functioning similarly as bridging symbols but our respondents did not mention them. These individuals link together in themselves values, beliefs and normative behaviour from both paradigms. In identifying with these bridging figures ordinary people feel the two worlds come together and co-exist meaningfully. A multi-faceted example of the archetypal bridging symbol is found in the faith healer Ma-Radebe of Cancele in the Eastern Province[60]. Ma-Radebe used in religious ritual everyday items like coloured woollen cords, candles and water as cleansing and healing agents; she wore all white clothes, and used traditional African singing, body movement and clapping in her services; she used preaching and prayers. In all these ways in herself she brought together Christian tradition and African tradition to address the cause of misfortune and to restore harmony (Hodgson, 1983:26). In herself she linked two worlds. Her followers are linked to her by the use of sacramental items. They are taught how to consecrate everyday items, e.g. new candles from the old, and new water from the old, to maintain the sacramental link with her. We shall see this dual need for leaders both to hold the two worlds together in themselves, and to link the potential followers to themselves. There is evidence of this in the responses of the managers.

Our results show that in much the same manner high profile politicians use political ritual, language such as talk of the "African Renaissance" or "black struggle", actions like "toyi-toyiing" and traditional dress in parliament (the seat of government in the modern democratic state) in order to, in themselves, link the two traditions. There is no reason

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[58] See "A Bridging Strategy" under 4.5.1.4
[59] See "Charismatic Leaders as Potential Bridging Symbols" at 5.4.1
[60] For the ordinary person Hodgson (1983: 26) says in her analysis of Ma-Radebe and her healing movement that she "...serves as a typical religious functionary of African tradition" as "...she acts to locate the cause of her follower's misfortune and to prescribe the procedure for the restoration of

why a charismatic leader in corporate business cannot serve in a similar fashion as a bridging symbol. The manager in the plant needs to serve as bridging symbol, holding the worlds together and allowing his/her employees to relate to him/her and in so doing giving people the opportunity to feel they belong in the business world and to identify with the workplace. There is some evidence of this in the statements made by managers like MZ, PC and ED[61] about being in a better position than white managers to motivate workers on the shopfloor. Lovemore Mbigi and Reuel Khosa[62] are two examples of prominent charismatic leaders in the South African business community who seem to serve as bridging symbols.

Allocation

There were those who did not attempt to hold together the conflicting paradigms. They did not seem to even be aware of any tensions between the contradictory elements of these two paradigms. They seemed rather to use what Cumpsty refers to as an *allocation strategy*. They confine the employment of a paradigm to its particular life-world. Phelan, Davidson and Yu (1993) describe this as "adapt[ing] situationally" to different cultural contexts. This they categorise as a situation where students move between different worlds, but their perceptions of borders between the worlds do not prevent them from managing the crossings or adapting to different settings. According to Phelan et al (ibid.: 17) some students tend to separate out their different worlds and operate within the values, norms and demands of the different socio-cultural settings. They rarely allow their different worlds to come together and interact because they want to belong to both these worlds, but perceive the worlds to have little in common.

In a similar fashion we saw earlier that ritual time and space were set aside by MC's family to periodically perform traditional rituals and customs, but their everyday lives resembled a Western way of living[63]. FS, one of the managers who located in the Affirm Profile,

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harmony". Ma-Radebe is also "a typical charismatic figure providing the link with God in what Cumpsty calls the 'indirect cosmic mode' of belonging."

[61] See "Managers' Perceptions of Their Working Environments by Profile" at 5.3

[62] Mbigi was a director of NAMPAC in the 1990's. He is author of "Ubuntu - the spirit of African transformation management", 1995, and "Ubuntu - The African Dream in Management", 1997. Khoza is author of "Towards Afrocentric Management", 1994.

[63] See "Allocation" under 4.5.1.4

graphically illustrates the enormous amount of emotional work that goes into keeping the worlds apart. He said, "I find myself taking off the traditional me and leaving it behind whenever I entered the gates, and picking it up and putting it on whenever I walk out through the gates after work. I go home and I'm myself" .

Then there are those who supported the African traditional elements at an ideal level, but in practice they followed the demands of Western industrial society. They show a sophisticated use of the allocation process by emphasising the need to keep the boundaries in place and the danger that comes with not doing so.

This can best be described in terms of what the Spindlers have called "the Enduring and Situated, and Endangered Self".

"The enduring self is that sense of continuity one has with one's own past - a personal continuity of experience, meaning , and social identity" (Spindler and Spindler, 1993: 36). The Spindlers (ibid.) say of the Enduring Self that "it seems to have ... a romantic-ideal quality that may be quite lacking in the more pragmatic situated self."

The Situated Self is constructed to cope with the exigencies of everyday life (ibid.). The Situated Self is orientated to the present and the situations one finds oneself in. This Self is linked to the attainment of ends defined within the framework of a social environment.

In the context of the above-mentioned strategy the Enduring Self supports the Traditional African elements at an ideal level and the Situated Self supports the Western Industrial elements to cope with the demands of Western society. Those in the Affirm Profile want to keep their sense of the Enduring Self and yet they want to succeed materially in a Westo-centric world. It is to this end that a growing number of competencies, which are not required by the Enduring Self or their traditional African identity, have to be mastered.

The Spindlers (ibid.) warn that if the enduring self is violated too often and too strongly by the requirements of the Situated Self, the Enduring Self will be damaged or it may even become the Endangered Self. The Enduring Self needs to be ministered to, to avoid it being violated once too often.

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Problems and Prospects for those in the Affirm Profile

The bridging and allocation strategies seem to work synergistically in that they afford those within the Affirm Profile the opportunity to meet both their need for identity and their need for material well-being without feeling pulled apart. This is a temporary measure. We are not dealing with Redfield's "big tradition, little tradition" scenario here. Rather we have a situation of two "big traditions" competing for authority over the whole of life. In the end the managers in the Affirm Profile are correct when they say one needs some continuity between the home and work Self,[64] one cannot keep the worlds separate.

The majority of the school leavers from this profile try to belong to all the aggregations. We suspect that they land up not belonging intensely to any. Equally they try to live in two different worlds. Many may land up not belonging to either of them and be left in a state of confusion. There are emotional costs involved when one leaves the traditional Self outside the workplace or school. Being put in the position of changing one's character every morning and afternoon to adapt to two different worlds endangers one's identity, but if one does not it affects one's ability to make swift decisions.

The move by the managers in this profile away from what they considered to be outmoded traditional elements and closer to the Western Industrial Paradigm suggests that they incrementally invest more in Western ways. The worlds the managers are trying to hold together are more focused than those of the school leavers, i.e. fewer aggregations, and that demands sharper boundaries. The small number of identity-significant aggregations marks a major shift from the school leavers' attempt to belong to almost all the aggregations. The managers' self-image and their world revolves around family (including their extended family), career, and identifying with those who seek social justice. The focus on family and career is understandable, given that they are between 30 and 40 years old and managers in the corporate world. Identifying with those who struggle for justice is not personally demanding, but nevertheless links them to a by-gone era in which being involved in "The Struggle" indelibly formed part of most black South Africans' self-image. A decade later many black managers in big business and industry are, for the most part, politically inactive but they continue to identify with The Struggle story.

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[64] See "The Managers' Perceptions of Their Working Environments By Profile" at 5.3.

The drastic reduction in the number of aggregations significant in identity may also suggest that the conflicting world-views associated with some of the aggregations can be more easily kept separate when there are fewer to manage. Black urban professionals are spending more and more time away from the world of African traditions and rituals. The trend by black urban professionals to move into suburbia and to limit contact with their extended family to weekend functions means that their socio-cultural experience is changing. As the traditional Self is less frequently active there may come a time when they find it easier to move from a situation where they experience competing worlds (and the need for allocation) to a situation where they retain elements of the "diminishing" world in the dominant world (i.e. encapsulation or containment strategies). This, of course, raises questions about the ability, in the longer term, for managers in business and industry who are serious about upward mobility to remain in this profile.

The managers' remarks about the *ubuntu*-fication of corporate business culture indicate that allocation is a reactive strategy. It is reactive in that ideally they would like the dominant corporate culture of the workplace to accommodate their African identity. It would seem that they would prefer to abandon a strategy like allocation, in favour of one that integrates selected non-confrontational elements of an African tradition into the corporate culture. Once one moves away from temporary coping strategies like allocation and begins to imagine, in the longer term, "plugging in" elements of an African tradition into the dominant corporate culture, one is not far from the containment strategy represented by our SF-AS Profile.

Containment (or encapsulation) is one way of integrating in a single world-view Western Industrial and Traditional African traditions in situations where Redfield's "big tradition, little tradition" are applicable. Our results show that for the respondents who locate in the AF-SS Profile the "big tradition" is African Traditional (their African traditional cultural heritage) and the "little tradition" is Western Industrial. For those who locate in the SF-AS Profile the "big tradition" is Western Industrial and the "little tradition" is African Traditional. Then we have those in the Select Profile for whom effectively there are no big traditions as they are critical of both in an attempt to eclectically integrate what they value from each tradition.

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In their quest for greater integration those in the Affirm Profile could logically opt for either of the AF-SS, Select or SF-AS profiles. We consider these possible strategies in greater detail below and say something at the end about the Unsure Profile.

9.1.2 AF-SS Profile

The AF-SS Profile as a containment strategy entails plugging in elements of the Western tradition into particular elements of the African tradition. The Western elements include Linear Time, Grand Purpose, Goals, and the need to Seek Belonging. These can be seen as "instrumental competencies", to use the Spindlers' term, which are needed to cope at the lowest level in school or a business environment, but are not required in one's traditional identity. The respondents seem to recognise this in their choice of the Western Industrial elements they plug into their traditional world-view. This strategy consciously affirms the traditional way of life and only takes from Western culture the bare necessities to survive in a modern technological society. For example, Goals and Grand Purpose are subjected to communtiy interests. They are valued as long as they are in the service of the community.

The Spindlers' (1993: 46) notion of "reaffirmation adaptation" is in some respects similar to the strategy represented by the AF-SS Profile. The Spindlers encountered this strategy in their research among the Menominee. They say that "...the reaffirmative adaptation was represented by the native-orientated group ... composed of a few older people who were essentially cultural survivors from the traditional past and a large number of younger people who had met mainstream culture head on in schools and in the work world and who were trying to recreate and sustain a recognizable Menominee way of life - and escape from the mainstream" (ibid.).

Our findings show that the respondents, in our study, who located in the AF-SS Profile, do not opt out of the mainstream. They adopt a less extreme strategy than the one the Spindlers describe as reaffirmation adaptation. They emphasise being black and African more readily than others, they actively seek to reclaim their traditional past and they resist assimilating much of what they perceive to be Western, but this does not mean they do

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not want material success. The manager in this profile is even more decisive about locating his identity in black Africa - past and present.

Those in the AF-SS Profile value activities that are organised to encourage interdependence and to promote group solidarity. If the manager's remarks about the workplace are anything to go by, working in an environment where independence and individual achievement are rewarded and activities are organised to promote competition and encourage displays of individual competence, is filled with conflicts and difficult choices[65].

The problem for those in the AF-SS Profile is not that their world-view and identity is not integrated, but that acquiring and practising the minimum instrumental competencies to progress in Western technological society is insufficient if one is committed to upward mobility in the Westo-centric company. One confronts the very borders one creates to protect the Enduring Self. One is faced with limited choices. Either one removes the borders and renegotiates one's world-view and identity, or one jeopardises upward mobility, or one finds an environment to work in that acknowledges one's traditional world-view. The manager in the AF-SS Profile chose the last mentioned. To use Max-Neef's terminology this strategy for meeting the need for identity could become a inhibiting satisfier if it prevents material progress.

Phelan, Davidson and Yu's "Different Worlds: Transitions Difficult" typology comes closest to our AF-SS Profile. Phelan et al (1998:96f) describe people in this category as those wanting to succeed in Western technology society, but they are distracted by serious outside cultural and economic pulls on their lives.

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8.1.3 The SF-AS Profile

Extreme positions within the SF-AS Profile may resemble what the Spindlers (1993:47) call "the 150 percenters", and those who Phelan et al (1998:17) describe as experiencing "internalized oppression", those who are more Western than Westerners themselves. Our study has shown that the respondents in this profile generally disassociate themselves from the traditionalists and consciously exclude traditional cultural elements if these elements

are seen in any way to handicap their progress in mainstream Western society. They do not reject their African cultural heritage and identity completely, but adopt a containment strategy in which the most universal communal elements are plugged into the Western industrial paradigm (now the dominant paradigm) to make it more humane and African without being traditional. The containment strategy is a synergic satisfier because it promotes upward socio-economic mobility and a modern African identity.

Where people in this profile devalue or disparage their traditional African heritage or, in extreme cases, reject their own enduring self, they have adopted what Max-Neef would call a destructive satisfier. There is evidence of self-hate in statements like "I am fat, lazy, ugly" and "I am childish, immature". Some within this profile who invest much of their identity in Western ways of seeing, being and doing may, on discovering that they are excluded from this world, turn in on themselves[66].

The prominence of born-again type Christians in the SF-AS Profile could serve to compensate for the absence of a hierarchy of aggregations among the respondents to provide them with a sense of belonging to reality. Born-again Christians are provided with an alternative hierarchy of aggregations, which links them to reality, although it may take the form of what Cumpsty (1991: 130) calls "reduced reality belonging". Cumpsty (ibid.) says of reduced reality belonging that "...the sense of belonging is gained at the cost of breadth and, one supposes, of the possible richness and meaningfulness of experience." Furthermore, born-again Christians sometimes belong to fundamentalist Christian denominations that are known to devalue African traditions and customs. This could become a destructive satisfier as their Self could be endangered.

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[65] See "The AF-SS Profile" under 5.3 Managers' Perceptions of Their Working Environments by Profile.

[66] Stevens and Lockhat (1997: 252) say, in this regard, "Black adolescents have been exposed to the imagery, symbols, and values that encouraged individual achievement and social mobility, but simultaneously have been refused access to any significant material resources that allowed for this. In our view, these contradictions have impeded the development of healthy self-concepts ... and healthy levels of independent judgement among black South African society. In fact, the highly 'racialised' nature of South African society, resulted in the negative 'racialisation of black identity itself."

8.1.4 The Select Profile

Our results show that in this profile the school leavers and the managers alike are, of all the respondents, the most critical of a substantial number of the elements from both paradigms while retaining limited elements from these paradigms in the ongoing quest for integrated identity. Looking at the elements they retain from the African Traditional Paradigm and the Western Industrial Paradigm one notices the following:

i.) all the outmoded traditional elements are put aside;

ii.) the "eco-feminine" character of the remaining elements from the African Traditional Paradigm (which include Communalism, Grand Pattern, Cyclical Time, Fit Into, and Vital Force); and

iii.) the "militant masculine" character of the remaining elements from Western Industrial Paradigm (which include Linear Time, Goals, Seek Belonging, and Grand Purpose).

The combination of the "eco-feminine" and "militant masculine" elements could be a source of tension. However, our knowledge of the respondents suggests that these elements complement each other in the same way the environmental scientists are sensitive to social and natural eco-systems in their quest for new ways of interacting with the world-out-there that are not nihilistic. If modernity is the culture of separation and fragmentation, there is a need for a grand pattern and a vital force to hold the pieces to together.

Those in the Select profile leave out a lot of content in the quest for integration. However, their careful mixing and matching of a small number of elements from both paradigms and their particular combination of elements, raises possibilities for the "inculturation" of goal orientation and pushing the frontiers within a communalism that involves people and nature. Perhaps the "eco-feminine" African elements can successfully redefine the "militant masculine" competencies in such a way as to give people the creative edge in the global sci-tech village. Were the right mix of traditions to be found we would have the African Renaissance and a powerful synergic satisfier.

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There are two characteristic features of the respondents in this profile. They seem relatively confident and are conscious of their choices as they select elements from each of the paradigms to create an identity that transcends conventional categories. Statements like "I believe in ancestors, but not in traditional healers" demonstrate the cognitive nature of the strategy adopted by the respondents in this profile. Phelan et al. (1998:17) talk about a transcultural identity where young people both value and criticise aspects of their multiple worlds. Similarly, the Spindlers (1993) describe as constructive marginality a situation where people cannot identify with either the traditional or mainstream cultural symbols or groups. Phelan et al. (1998) observe that this strategy "can bring with it emotional costs as well as benefits, for in not succumbing to the normative press to 'fit in' ...these youths open themselves up to criticism from actors in their various worlds who expect adherence to social rules and expectations." This explains why they are more conscious of their strategy than the others are.

Both the school leavers and the managers in this profile were very selective in their aggregations significant in identity. They identify with a range of successive hierarchical aggregations up to the national level and then with a broad inclusive interpretation of being Christian. Belonging to the universal Christian family could serve as the Group Beyond the Nation which coherently links the respondents in this profile through a series of hierarchical aggregations to the world-out-there.

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8.1.5 The Unsure Profile

The lack of decisive choice among the school leavers and the managers within the Unsure Profile suggests at best the postponement of a strategy for negotiating world-view and identity, and at worst, continuing anomie. They lack commitment to aggregations other than the contextually determined ones they have by virtue of growing up black in South Africa. There is evidence to suggest that the uncertainty of some of the respondents is merely a passing phase. Others genuinely lack decisiveness. The self-descriptive statement, "I hate leadership roles", by one of the school leavers speaks of difficulty making decisions. The managers in this profile, however, tend to be more committed to taking individual initiative. One would expect this of managers, but it also suggests that their uncertainty is a passing phase.

8.2 THE STRATEGIES AS ADAPTATIONS TO DIFFERENT SOCIO-CULTURAL EXPERIENCES

We observed earlier that certain profiles were prominent in specific schools and that this corresponded with different socio-culture contexts[67]. We draw on Cumpsty's theory that socio-cultural experience has an effect on the tradition and that "there must be a fit in the longer run between the felt sense of reality and the tradition, or the sense of belonging will be lost" (Cumpsty, 1991:229). This we do to help us understand the strategies school leavers adopt to negotiate identity and world-view in the context of changing socio-cultural experience[68]. Cumpsty developed his theory with a tradition and a tradition community in mind, but when we talk about the individual member of this community we talk about changes in world-view.

I. Rural, Traditional Socio-cultural Environment

Our findings show that those from one of the most rural areas of the former Transkei (i.e. those from Xolilizwe and Nondwe High Schools in the Willowvale district), home in the not so distant past to the *Abantu Babomvu* traditionalists (or "Red Blanket People"),[69] tend to adopt two responses to the increasing encroachment of Western society in their world. The AF-SS and the Affirm profiles represent those who continue to affirm their African Traditional world-views. The powerful presence of the enduring Self is understandable given the history of militant resistance to Western and Christian influences which in contemporary society has weakened considerably but which remains active in living memory. However, since the middle of the 1990's traditionalism in the former Transkei has been revitalised by the likes of ANC MP Advocate Pathekile Holomisa, who

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[67] See "The Matrics in Each School By Profile" at 4.4

[68] Bulhan (1997: 251), in his theory of identity development and the impact of prolonged oppression on the psyche of the oppressed, talks about three stages or modes of psychological defences. Stage one is "capitulation" which "involves increased assimilation of the dominant [Western industrial] culture, whilst simultaneously rejecting one's own culture" (ibid.). Stage two he calls revitalisation. This is "characterised by a reactive disavowal of the dominant culture and concurrent romanticism of the indigenous culture" (ibid.). Stage three he calls "radicalisation". This is characterised by a commitment to radical change and by reclaiming of identity and preventing "the system" from determining the parameters within which identity is defined (ibid.). While the idea of three stages does not really apply in our situation we find his contribution useful.

[69] See "The existence of the *Babomvu* world-view in a particular social milieu" in De Wet (1994: 138-139)

is also head of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) and Major General Bantu Holomisa, head of the United Democratic Movement (UDM).

II. An Urban Centre in a Rural Environment

School leavers living in Umtata seem to experience added pressure to assimilate an urban life-style, to be "more modern than modern", hence, the location of many respondents from Umtata in the SF-AS Profile. This too can be understood in terms socio-cultural experience.

As we said earlier, Umtata is a small urban enclave surrounded by rural villages. There is an ever-present pressing reminder of traditional life all around those living in Umtata. To feel they are in the city and upwardly mobile they create cultural distance to compensate for the lack of geographical distance between the city and rural villages.

III. Newcomers in an Unsettled Urban Environment

There is tendency among the school leavers who have recently moved to Cape Town to locate in the Affirm Profile. Living in the unsettled township of Khayalitsha, as many do, their identities continue to be firmly rooted in their traditional village culture but this does not diminish the attraction of an imagined better life associated with the big city and the promise of material well-being. They embrace the Western industrial ways of the sci-tech city while retaining strong links with their ancestral homes in the far off villages of the Eastern Province to which many return annually during the Christmas season.

IV. Seasoned Urban dwellers in a Settled Environment

We have those born in settled communities like Langa in Cape Town who are second and third generation urban dwellers, and who have become disillusioned with Western values and gone in search of a romanticised African past. They consciously affirm their traditional African ways and are critical of Western culture. Hence the prominence of the AF-SS Profile among school leavers from Langa township.

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V. Across All Environments

Those who are critical of both African traditional ways and Western culture, while selecting from both traditions what they consider to be the best, do not dominate in any one socio-cultural environment, but substantial numbers are from each of the contexts. The evidence suggests that this strategy is the most cognitive, and those who adopt it are more confident. It is also possible that this strategy is adopted by a personality type that is sufficiently individualistic not to depend on group conformity, and quite aggressively self-confident.

VI. The English University Environment

In this study we focused on school leavers and managers with an African cultural heritage. We were curious, however, to know something of the strategies for negotiating world-view and identity adopted by African students at an English language university. The university students, of course, lie between the school leavers and the managers. We had the opportunity in 1998 to use the questionnaire in an assignment the author gave the students taking a course offered at third year level. The assignment involved a survey of a sample[70] of 67 African undergraduate students (first to fourth year) at the University of Cape Town.

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We found that the majority (72%) of the African students in the sample came from either the townships or the suburbs.

The most prominent profiles were SF-AS (22%), Select (20%) and AF-SS (17%) with substantial numbers in the Affirm Profile (11%) and, a not-met-to-date profile, UF-AS (Unsure Faku-Affirm Sipho) Profile (11%).

Furthermore, we discovered that the UF-AS Profile was most prominent among first year students, the Select and SF-AS among second and third years and AF-SS Profile among fourth years.

During their first year at university those who probably previously located in the Affirm Profile find their traditional values seriously challenged and they become uncertain about

their values. By the second and third years black students become more critical of their traditional cultural heritage: some may have become what the Spindlers call 150 percenters, while others have grown in confidence and become critical not only of their traditional cultural heritage but also of the Western way of life. By the fourth year a small number are found reclaiming a romanticised African traditional past.

Clearly the university deliberately sets out to encourage criticism of both the old and the new. It is, however, interesting to note how swiftly a different level of socio-cultural experience can lead to a shift of profile.

8.3 IDENTITY AND DEVELOPMENT

In this final section we round up our thinking until now by briefly relating our findings to a number of current debates that deal with the link between identity and development. The first issue deals with the question of when it would be appropriate to intervene in the education of young people to sensitise them to their identity choices and to the consequences of the decision to be successful in our increasingly industrialised sci-tech society. The second focuses on the connection between identity, motivation and productivity. The third, and last, looks at the connection between development, identity and transcendence.

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8.3.1 Intervention

Remarks by Matric students, and subsequently their teachers, indicate that they appreciated the exercise which gave them, as youths with a traditional African cultural heritage, opportunity to think and talk about their values and the strategies they adopt as they spend more and more time in a world dominated by Western ways. However, this was their matric year and perhaps it was too late and somewhat inconvenient to draw attention to fundamental issues for the first and, perhaps, last time. This raises the question of the timing of appropriate intervention.

AM, one of the managers we interviewed, put it succinctly when he said:

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[70] The students used a non-probability sampling technique known as Convenience Sampling.

> **You may live in a traditional way, but you have at some stage in your life to enter the business world and if you do not find the mix early enough, you will find yourself struggling when you enter the business world.**
>
> (File EC Text Unit 1145)

AM is right when he says, "...if you do not find the mix *early enough*, you will find yourself struggling when you enter the business world"[our italics]. But when is "early enough"? When does one raise the issues that the questionnaire prompted the respondents to think about?

Educators better equipped than ourselves should be considering how early students could conceptualise the issues we raised. Issues of identity and world-view cannot be tackled too early. It would not be sensible to raise the issues before adolescents themselves begin to feel the pressure to clarify issues of identity. So we are probably talking about sometime during the latter part of the students high school career.

It may be worthwhile making issues of cultural identity, world-view and material progress part of a school subject on life skills called, say, "civics" which would be compulsory during the last three years of schooling. Any such course would raise the issues and help young people to think through and debate the consequences of their choices, drawing attention to the calculus of costs and gains.

Furthermore, all teachers must be made aware of the underlying world-view implicit in the subjects they teach and the way the subjects are taught. Subjects like Mathematics and Physics obviously can be a serious challenge to traditional values but so can Domestic Science or Home Economics and, of course, English. Teachers must make it their responsibility to explain the value of these courses and help young people to be aware of the challenge to their traditional values and how to deal with this without devaluing either. Mudimbe (1997: 111-112) says with reference to what he calls the "Pedagogical Experiment" of a Belgian Jesuit priest working in education in the then Belgian Congo: "The master in primary schools makes a major difference since, in the long term, he does work on the focus for the transformation of both the symbolic and the imaginary of the entire population. The children he faces every day have a perception of the real and the symbolic marked by the tradition of their parents, and, equally, the capacity of a new world ... On an everyday basis, he [the school master] determines how, from the child's

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experience of a tension between two sets of symbolic and real paradigms (the ancient, incarnated by the family), and the new (actualized by the school), to 'select' the sense in which to specialize and diversify the imaginary of one's identity as well as the symbolic dimensions in a culture and human vocation."

8.3.2 Identity, Motivation and Productivity

In an article in the Sunday Times Business Times, May 17 1998, Stephen Asbury noted in his assessment of where South Africa featured in the International Institute for Management Development's World Competitiveness Yearbook that, while "we don't fare too poorly on entrepreneurship ... when it comes to global competitiveness, however, the list of our lowest ranking factors is altogether more meaty". According to the World Competitiveness Yearbook South Africa ranked 41st out of 46 countries for productivity growth and 37th for total productivity. Asbury also notes that South Africa's ranking was near the bottom of the list for relations between managers and their employees (45th) and worker motivation (44th).

While Asbury does not explain how the rankings were calculated, what the report tells us is not something we did not know already. South Africa's ability to compete globally is hampered by relatively low levels of productivity. Low levels of motivation and poor management-worker relations are also part of the equation.

It is commonly accepted that production and, hence, the economic success of a business depends, in part at least, on the level of motivation of its employees. Thomas and Schonken (1998) make the point that given that motivation is said to be expressed in work effort, and the probable relationship between job satisfaction and values, values have a key role to play in management. It is this that concerns us. Thomas and Schonken (ibid.) also say that organisational culture is a factor in any business's performance and it must be suited to its context to be effective. The context includes the expectations and values of the employees (ibid.).

Clearly Western business practices, global technologies and markets shape the organisational culture of big business in South Africa, but so also ought the value preferences of the managers and workers.

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The link between values, motivation and productivity surfaced during our discussions with the managers about their perceptions of their workplaces.

Whether it is FS, in the Affirm Profile, leaving his traditional Self outside the gates each morning, or ET, in the AF-SS Profile, sitting at work from 8 to 4 demotivated because he finds the European multi-national company's culture goes against his values, or PC, in the Select Profile, feeling angry because she is expected to implement what she knows to be a counterproductive policy when there are more productive ways of working with people on the shopfloor, or ED, in the SF-AS Profile, sitting with a "very demotivated team" of workers who have no sense of belonging in the company and the production process, the message is similar.

What the managers we interviewed said about values and productivity boiled down to the following three points:

i. The Western values and expectations of the white middle and senior management dominate the organisational culture.
ii. The accomplishment of tasks and the achievement of production targets are hampered by conflict between the highly individualistic Western world-view of management and the communalistic world-view of many black employees.
iii. Black employees, workers and managers (junior) alike, experience alienation and therefore, demotivation.

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Even ZN who, of all the managers in our study, probably had moved the furthest away from his traditional African cultural roots was concerned about the dehumanising way in which the corporate world tended to reduce employees to one of a number of resources used in the production process. ZN also pointed out that the highly individualistic character of Western business practices in South Africa remains problematic for anyone who regards him/herself as African. ZN thought that the corporate world could learn from Asian collectivism and the African notion of *ubuntu*.

Notwithstanding the fact that employees may become alienated because of personal issues, it would appear from what the managers in our study had to say, that the dominant values and orientation of management was a major cause of alienation for black

employees who value their African identity. De Bruyn (1992: 23) confirms this. He says, "Godsell found senior black employees to be high on the value of 'ubuntu' or humanness. This suggests that they may perceive or experience the organisational environment as hostile." One can understand this given that Boshoff has found that the values of white South African managers are high on "pragmatic values" and low on "humane values". (ibid.)

Professor Faull of the University of Cape Town's Business School said in seminar in 1996 that South African industry is one of the highest investors in training and one of the lowest in its evaluation of the effectiveness of this investment. This may well be because investment is directed mainly to skills training and little to motivation.

Our findings show that, with the exception of the managers located in the SF-AS Profile who were uncertain, the majority of the respondents across all the profiles supported communalism, and the remarks made during the interviews suggest that even those who supported individualism did not support extreme forms thereof. This has serious implications for business and industry in South Africa, which by all accounts has a highly individualistic corporate culture.

We agree, along with Mbigi (1996) and Lessem (1993, 1996) and others in the "African management movement", that South African business cannot ignore African values and culture. The problem with Mbigi and Lessem is that they seem to think that small-scale traditional village culture should be incorporated into South African business practice. Some spokepersons for big business have questioned this idea saying practically that it is not possible to incorporate traditional African values in the modern workplace (Mittner, 1995: 24 and Thomas & Schonken, 1998: 56). Not one of the managers we interviewed suggested the reproduction of traditional African village culture in the corporate world. Three themes dominated their remarks. One was the desire to see symbolic references to Africa in the business world, e.g. African dress, imagery and forms of reward. Another, was their strong feeling that they should be involved in policy level decision-making because they understand the workforce better than white management. The third was the belief that the *ubuntu*-fication of the corporate culture ought to replace Western individualism and lead to better productivity.

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The first two would go a long way in helping black employees, who are proud of their Africanness, identify with their companies and indirectly with the production process. The third is more challenging. Although much has been said about *ubuntu* in recent years very little, if any, empirical investigation has been done. As we have said previously, black managers can talk about notions like *ubuntu* in broad philosophical terms, if it is a long-range goal. But once black managers begin to occupy policy-making positions and they begin to take the hard decisions of business life, broad terms like *ubuntu* will have to be operationalised. Yet, with the exception of radical conversions, world-views do not change rapidly. Management remains on the whole white and male, and their highly individualistic Western world-views continue to dominate the organisational culture of the workplace. Soon after the collapse of the USSR Joe Slovo is reported to have said in reply to a question about the failure of communism that it would take five generations for people to become communists. What he was saying was that people's world-views change slowly. Sachs (1996:153-154) says that the quicker the hard-decision makers in management are representative of the demographics of South Africa the better for business. Certainly communalism or even collectivism stands a better chance of replacing individualism in the workplace if managers have a communal orientation.

Until this happens our findings suggest many of the present generation of black managers, are probably not going to be motivated by a strong sense of patriotic duty to contribute to the rebuilding of the South African economy. After all, we observed earlier that South Africa is not a significant aggregation in most of their identities[71]. South Africa remains in memory an anti-symbol.

We need to consider other sources of motivation.

We found that black managers were career orientated. So although they may not be committed to the Company or to South Africa they may be motivated by a drive to further their careers, although, at times, this may conflict with the other aggregations significant in their identity, namely their commitment to extended family. On the other hand, our population of school leavers, from whom, one day, the same management positions will be filled, strongly identified with South Africa.

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[71] See "The Managers' Responses to the Triggered Aggregations by Profile" at 6.2.1.

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Development economists tell us that one of the basic requirements for industrialisation is an investable surplus. Ordinarily an entrepreneurial class would tend to curb consumption and invest its savings in productive investments. Translated into our terms this means sacrificing present texture for future goals. Is there evidence among the emerging black middle class that they are committed to sacrificing present texture for future goals?

Among the managers we interviewed, all but one, who was uncertain, was goal orientated and more specifically all but one supported the statement "I am prepared to sacrifice something now for a better quality of life in the future" (this is variable S7). This suggests a propensity to curb consumption and save. What of the next generation? With the exception of those in the Unsure Profile the school leavers were also goal orientated and, again with the exception of the respondents in the Unsure Profile, they tended to be committed to sacrificing present texture for future goals. We noticed, however, that a number in the Affirm and AF-SS profiles were not prepared to support goals that did not somehow benefit the community.

It is said that in the early part of the 1990's Old Mutual and a number of other large businesses were enthusiastic about investing in housing with electrification. They reasoned that such an investment in the housing industry would not only create jobs and income but new home owners would soon want to own and enjoy consumer durables, which in turn would stimulate the manufacturing industry. In addition within each home there would be evidence of rewards for effort made. This would motivate people to go to work. This process they concluded would kick-start the economy. While this is said to have been the source of motivation in Western industrial expansion (found in Roosevelt's New Deal and in the phrase "two cars in every garage"), it assumes a situation where the focus is the nuclear family. It is by African standards a highly individualistic model.

Our findings show that, in spite of the pressures on black families to become individualistic and nuclear family orientated, the majority of our respondents remain committed to their extended family network. However, those who located in the Select and SF-AS Profile qualified their commitment to extended family. They felt that their poor relatives "held them back and stifled their ambitions", and that they had to restrict their sense of obligation to helping only one or two in order for them to be given a chance to

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move out of poverty. This attitude is probably central to the creation of a black middle class in South Africa and the freeing-up of an investable surplus. As people become upwardly mobile they will need to be willing to sacrifice present texture as the government taxes their income to invest in infra-structure like transport networks and electrification. In many instances with, perhaps, the exception of the investment in public education, individuals will not see the benefits of paying tax in the short-term and they will have to take it as an investment in the future - a future that perhaps only their children or their grandchildren will participate in.

9.3.3. Development, Identity and Transcendence

Many of the South African government's policy decisions in recent years have been geared to rapidly industrialise South Africa with the intention of making it globally competitive. The African National Congress-led government had no real choice in the matter. The alternative would leave South Africa neglected, or worse still, exploited as the East and the West compete for greater shares of world markets. This does not only apply to South Africa, of course, but to all of Africa.

The West and the East are driven by the quest for progress. South Africa could now look to the East to learn about progress but it has chosen to continue modelling itself on the West. The question is: Will this forced imitation of the West's mode of engagement with reality be sufficient to achieve a competitive edge in the global market place? It seems unlikely.

Maria Jahoda (1981), drawing on Freud, indicates how deeply the sense of a progressing reality has entered the identity of the Western working person. Work says Freud (1930) is "a person's strongest tie to reality". This power of work to relate the individual to reality Jahoda (ibid.: 189) speaks of as "its compelling manifest function".

Cumpsty in his writings on work and identity in the modern West (1997a, 1997b and 1999) takes as a contemporary symbolic indicator a recent event in which Welsh miners used their pension funds to buy their mine when it was threatened with closure. They did this because it would seem they could not conceive of themselves other than as miners. Cumpsty's concern has been with Western identity in the growing absence of work. Our

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concern is with how much a sense of "progressing" reality needs to become a part of the identity of Africa if she is, as it were, going to buy her own mine.

This brings us to transcendence, to a sense of a dualistic reality which in turn generates a sense of a progressing immediate reality, a sense of not-yet-ness.

A commitment to progress is demonstrated in a village in Africa each time the villagers decide they want a clinic. Our findings show that overall there was a high level of support for goals by school leavers and managers, which suggests that they are committed to participating in a progressing reality.

However, this commitment to participating in a progressing reality is compromised by a monistic world-view in which there is no room for transcendence.

Our findings show that while the school leavers and managers in the Select and SF-AS have abandoned a monistic world-view and those in the Unsure Profile no longer support it, those in the Affirm Profile try to embrace both a monism and dualism in their world-view and those in the AF-SS Profile adopt a monistic world-view. What are their options given their desire to participate in progress?

One option may be for them to move into the monism found in secular science with its closed system of cause and effect. Secular science adopts a methodological assumption that is monistic, but even it is motivated by a belief in progress towards a better future. The alternative for those who do not want to become secularised is to embrace dualism and move away from monism. Earlier in our presentation of the responses of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile we observed evidence of what we called a "growing transcendence", although on the whole we found that transcendence is not a feature of most of the respondents world-views. It is an area that, perhaps, church pastors could address.

We ask: How far must this transcendence grow if we are to compete with those who have operated within a dualistic reality for generations, and how can this be done without letting go of an African world-view?

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Transcendence does not seem to be negotiable if economic progress is sought. What may be negotiable is how one participates in the progressing reality it generates. This can be done either, in the Western style, individually, or communally.

The West, having gone the individualistic route, is now in crisis. It has for generations socialised people to accept that for them to participate in progress they need to do so individually and through work. The advancement of technological society has resulted in the diminution of work. This has created a serious problem of belonging in the West. If South Africa does not want to go this route it needs to be encouraged not to give up communalism. We ask: Can people move from being communal to being communally motivated in the workplace, or does South Africa have to go the long way round only to discover the present crisis of an individual belonging to a progressing reality?

The West has taught Africa about progress: Can Africa now teach the West about communal participation in a progressing reality?

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APPENDIX 1

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Faku and Sipho's Stories in isiXhosa

IBALI LIKAFAKU

Umnombo wam usukela koo bawo uqhube ke uye koobawomkhulu, ookhoko nabo babe phambi koo-khokhoko uqhubeleke ngam, oonyana bam, abazukulwana, izizukulwana njalo-njalo. Umntu akanakho ukuziphilela yedwa, umntu ngumntu ngabantu. Mna ndixhomekeke kwizizalwane nabamelwane nabo baxhomekeke kum, abakhoyo abangasekhoyo nabo abasezakubakho. Sonke sixhomekeke omnye komnye.

Abantu abangasekhoyo bakulo mama nakulo tata bayandolusa bandikhathalele. Xa ndibahloniphile, ndibenzela namasiko afanelekileyo bayandikhusela kwiingozi, ekuguleni, ezindleleni njalo-njalo. Kwangoncedo lwabo ndibanamandla, ndikwazi ukubanezinto zam, ndibenomfazi kunye nabantwana.

Noxa ndiyindoda nje ukuze ndikwazi ukuthatha inxaxheba kwimicimbi yekhaya kufuneka ndibenabantwana. Iintombi zam zizakwenda, oonyana bam bazeke bazale abantwana igama lakowethu ligcinakale. Indoda ezeleyo ayilibaleki kuba inzala yayo izohlala iyikhumbula ngokuyinqula. Kubalulekile ukubanabantwana kuba xa sele umdala ungasenakuzenzela nto bayakugcina, bakondle, bakusebenzele. Abantwana babubutyebi ngoko ke indoda engazelanga iyafana nehlwempu. Xa ndifuna umfazi, ndifuna umfazi ozalayo, othobelayo nokhutheleyo ndize ke ndimkhathalele ndimphathe kakuhle.

NguQamata owenze umhlaba nayo yonke into esemhlabeni. Wenze umntu nezilwanyana ukuba ziphile kunye apha emhlabeni. UQamata uchasele ukude kuthi akasebenzisani nathi ngqo. uQamata akadli ngokuse benzisana nathi ngqo, akasohlwayi, ngokwakhe. Kodwa maxa wambi asithumele ngezulu neembalela. Kuye ke kufuneke ukuba sithandaze senze idini. Maxa wambi uQamata uye azikhethele omnye umntu, adlalwe yinkosi. Lowo ke odlalwe yinkosi kufuneka singazili sikhalaze kuba umonyulile. Kuyinyaniso ukuthi siyamthandaza size simdumise uQamata. NguQamata nezinyanya abalawula ukukhula kwezityalo. Xa silimile siyathandaza ukuze sibenesivuno esihle, sinqule ukuze umhlaba uchume. Akukho nto sinakho ukuyenza singancedwanga zizinyanya noQamata.

Kukho nezinye izinto ezikhoyo apha emhlabeni eziyimimoya yeentaba, yemilambo namahlathi. Singabuva ubukho bayo nangona singenakuyibona. Ngamanye amaxesha kufuneka senze ukungxengxeza nabantu bomlambo xa sizakuwela ukuze singonzakali. Abantu abanolwazi bathi ngabo abantu bomlambo abababizela emilanjeni babafundise iimfihlelo batsho babe ngamagqirha.

Izinyanya zibalulekile ebomini bam azinankohlakalo, ziyafana nabantu kuba ngamanye amaxesha zibanomsindo zibe nobukhwele zive ngokungathi asizikhathalelelanga. Ndiyazi xa zingonwabanga ukuba ziyavela emaphupheni okanye kugule noba ngubani apha ekhaya. Ngamanye amaxesha izinyanya ziyazonakalisa izityalo xa zisohlwaya ngento esiyenzileyo okanye esiyilibeleyo. Ngamanye amaxesha ndiyazi ukuba bendingazikhathalelanga ndize ndiyilungise lonto ngokwenza idini lokungxengxeza. Ngamanye amaxesha sikhe singazi ukuba izinyanya ziqumbele ntoni na ukuba asiqondi.

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Maxa wambi siyababuza, bayasixelele. Azikhe zenze nto iyingozi kodwa zenza njemgomzali ebantwaneni bakhe, zisohlwaye xa kufanelekile.

Akukho nto isuka izenzekele nje, kungaqhuma kubasiwe. Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle siye sazi ukuba ukhona umntu okanye into ebangele lo nto. Xa kunjalo ke siyazi ukuba izinto azihambi ngendlela yazo. Xa usazi unobangela kulula ukuyilungisa lo nto. Xa singazi ukuba kutheni sisehlelwa bububi siye siyekuvumisa emagqirheni ukuze sifumane uncedo. Xa kulungiswe loo nto izinto ziphinde zihambe kakuhle. Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle emva kokusuka emagqireni siyenze yonke asixelele ukuthi siyenze isenokuba ngamagqwirha nemimoya emibi eyenze loo nto.

Amashwa akalunganga kuba umntu amtheza amandla. Ukuze ube yindoda eyomeleleyo kufuneka ungaguli ungabinezifo. Kwakhona umsindo nobushushu abufuneki kuba ngumntu onoxolo, olulamileyo oyena ulungileyo, onamandla nowomeleleyo.

Ebudaleni bam kufuneka ndibenoxolo ndingabinakungaziva mnandi ndingabinanzondo ndikwazi ukuhlala ndibukele abantwana xa besebenza, ukukhula kwezityalo nokuxoxa imicimbi ebalulekileyo namanye amadoda amadala. Abadala belindeleke ukuhlonitshwa lulutsha kuba banobulumko, bayawazi amasiko nezithethe kunye nembali kwaye bona banoqhakamshelwano nezinyanya ngoko banamandla angaphezulu kwawabanye abantu. Inkonde zilindeleke ukuba zizidlulisele kwabanye abantu nakwindlalifa izithethe zamandulo.

Xa ndisifa andiyikubakude nabo baphilayo ndiyakuqhubekeka ndiyinxalenye yelizwe, nabantwana bam, nabazukulwana. Ndiyayazi lonto injalo kuba ndiyeva ukuba izinyanya zam zikufuphi nam.

Wonke umntu unendawo yakhe eluntwini, uyayazi indawo yakhe. Zonke into zinendawo zazo zinobaluleko. Ukuphatha into ngokungenambeko ubom boluntu jikelele buba bhetye-bhetye. Kungcono okokuba zonke izinto nabantu ngokunjalo basebenzisane ngaphandle kokusebenzela iziqu zabo (hlohlesakhe).

Kubalulekile kakhulu okokuba wonke ubani aziphathe kakuhle kuba izinyanya ziyakholwa koko. Izinyanya zimjonga ngochulumanco umntu ongabanqweneleli ububi abanye abantu nalomntu uyakuziva onwabile kuba esazi okokuba wenze ngokufanelekileyo. Xa izinto zingahambi ngendlela eyiyo ebantwini nezinye izinto ziyaqalisa ngokunjalo izityalo zinokufa okanye kubekho imbalela. Kubalulekile ukusebenza ngokuncedisana nangemvisiswano ngaphandle kwesikhalazo.

Yonke into inamandla ukusukela kwizinyanya endodeni, emfazini, emntwaneni, kwizilwanyana, emithini, nemisinga kodwa ke ezinye zinamandla kakhulu kunezinye. Ukuba ndithi ndijongele phantsi enye yezi zilapha ngasentla ndethisa amandla angaphakathi kum. Ukuze umntu ahlale omelele, ekhuselekile kufuneka aye egqirheni lakhe limqinise.

Ukomelela kwendoda enye kwenza ukuba bonke abantu bomelele, baphumelele babenemfuyo eninzi, abantwana, nesivuno. Xa izinyanya zabo zomelele ziyabanceda nabantu ukuba bomelele.

Ixesha endilaziyo lelo elingqinelana nendalo kunye nokuphinda phindana kobomi - ukuzalwa, ukukhula nokufa. Yonke into inexesha layo. iXesha lokulima, likhona ixesha lokuhlwayela nelokuvuna. Bonke ubomi bunjalo. Zonke ezizingqi zobom zilawulwa zizingqi zendalo. Umntu uyazalwa, akhule, azale, afe, abesisinyanya. Abekunye kwelemimoya, nezinyanya. Kodwa ukuzalwa ukukhula ukufa nokubasisinyanya kuqhubekeka kude kube ngunaphakade. Kufuneka ubomi bam bungqinelane nezingqi zendalo ukuze ndibenobom obulungileyo.

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Wonke umntu nezinto zinenjongo zokuphumelela ngethuba lazo. Kodwa ixesha ngokunokwalo alinanjongo yanto. Likwakho ixesha emva kokufa. Ubom, ixesha nayo yonke into uQamata ayidalileyo iyaqhubeka kude kube ngunaphakade.

IBALI LIKASIPHO

Ndiyavuya kakhulu xa ndisazi okokuba ndisendleleni yempumelelo. Kukho umthwalo onzima phezu kwam wokokuba ndiphumelele. Olucinezelo lusuka ngenxenye yeminqweno yam yokubandiphumelele nangenxenye yezinto ezilindelweyo ngabantu ngam. Lonke ixesha soloko abantu bebuza okokuba uzakuba yintoni kwaye uzakwenza ntoni. Xa ndizibuza mna "ndingubani" ndicinga kakhulu ngento endiza kubayiyo kunokucinga ngento endiyiyo ngoku.

Ukuze ndiphumelele kufuneka ndibengumntu onenjongo. Ndikholelwa ekubeni umntu ufanele ukuzimisela. Kufanele ulandele ngobutsha-ntliziyo bakho kuba bubo obokuqhubela ekuzimiseleni. Kukhona intswelo yokokuba umntu acinge ngendlela yakhe yedwa kuba exhome amehlo akhe kwimivuzo yobom. Zinjongo ezinika ubom bam intsingiselo nendlela. Ngaphandle kwenjongo ubom abunantsingiselo. Ndiyabancoma abantu abasezela abanye abantu ekuphumezeni ixesha elizayo elibhetele kunabantu abajongene nentlalontle yabantu ngelixesha. Ndizakunikezela ngezinto ezininzi ebomini ukwenzelaokokuba mna nabantwana bam sixhamle ubomi obumnandi kwixesha elizayo.

Ndifuna okokuba ndibenakho ukuziphumeza injongo zam. Iyandifrastreyitha kakhulu into endivalele indlela ukulandela iinjongo zam. Akukho nto kungekho nomntu ofuneka endivalele indlela ukulandela iinjongo zam.

Abo banganamdla ekuxhaseni icommunity kufanele bakhuthazwe kakwazi okokuba bakuvuzwa ngofanelekileyo xa bethe benza njalo, kunokohlwaywa ngokungenzi njengoko belindelwe.

Xa izinto zihamba kakubi ebomini bam andimoshi xesha elininzi ndiphanda imbangi yoko. Ndiyaqhubekeka ndiqale ekuqaleni andimi.

Ekufuneni kwam impumelelo ndiye ndanakana okokuba ndinokhuphiswano nabanye abantu. Ngumnqweno wam okokuba ndibengaphezulu kunabo. Kufanelekile kubekho ukuphiswano phakathi koluntu jikelele ukuze siphumelele ebomini. Ndiyawethula umnqwazi wam kubantu abaphumelele phantsi kwengxingo babangaphezulu kwinkqubela phambili yobom. Amazwi entengiso "Ukuba wena ungumntu uyabona phakathi kwenginginya. Unebango lokwenza izinto ebomini..."

Ndizimisele ukuphumelela ngokwam ebomini. Ukuzimela yinto endiyixabisileyo. Usapho lwakho lulo olukubambezelayo ekuphumezeni iminqweno yakhe. Imizekelo emibini:
- *Abadala bacinga okokuba lilungelo labo ukwenza izigqibo ezichaphazela ubom bam ngaphandle kokulumana indlebe nam.*
- *Izalamane zicinga zinelungelo lokuxhamla kumvuzo endiwufumene nzima.*

Ndicinga okokuba izalamane zam kufanele zizenzele ezazo indlela ebomini. Iyandifrastreyitha into yokuba abanakwethu nodade wethu baxhomekeke kumvuzo wam. Ngamanye amaxesha ndiye ndive ingathi ndiyinkomo esengwa amabele ade aphume igazi. Indeza umsindo xa izalamane zixhomekeke kum. Abantu kufuneka bekhuthaziwe okokuba baziphandele ngekamva labo kuba akukho nkwali iphandela enye.

Nangona ndithanda okwenza okuthandwa ndim kuyimfuneko ukusebenzisana nabanye abantu. Ndizakuyenza lento xa injongo zethu zifana. Ukusebenzisana kunye nabanye abantu kuyimfuneko ukuzisa inguqulelo apha ekukfanele sibenayo.

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Ndinenkanuko enkulu yokuguqula izinto ezindingqongileyo ukuze ndixhamle ubomi obumnandi. Okokuba umhlaba endiphila kuwo ngokwasentlalweni nangokomhlaba azivumelani nombono wam ndiyakuvuyiswa kukubona umhlaba utshintsha ukuze ufane nalento ndifuna ukuba ubeyiyo.

Ndinovuyo nochulumanco ukuba ngomnye wabantu abenza inguqulela zokuthintsha ikamva labantwana bonke ukuze baxhamle. Kuyavuyisa ukuba ngumntu wokuqala ukwenza into nokufumana izinto nokuqamba izinto ezintsha.Ukuzaliswa kwexesha nemali ekuqambeni nasekufumaneni izinto ezintsha nemfundo yobugcisa yinkqubela phambili yimali esetyenziswe ngobugcisa.

Apho ndihlala khona kukho izikolo ezibini. Esinye sifundisa umtwana abone ukubaluleka koluntu gqibelele. Esinye sesocoselelo lwezifundo zobugcisa, nezifundo zenzulu lwazi, indlela yobom buyijonge ngendlela yenzululwazi. Ndizakuthumela owam unyana kwisikolo esifundisa ezenzululwazi nesibonisa indlela yobom elandela ezizifundo.

Kufanelekile ukuba abantu baqeqesheke. Kubalulekile kakhulu okokuba intlanganiso iqale ngexesha nabantu bangafiki emva kwexesha.

Every new scientific discovery yenza kubelula eluntwini okokuba kwenziwe izinto ngendlela ezintsha. Izibe imbali ihambela phambili. Indlela yokuziphatha kwabantu kufanele beshiye izithethe namasiko ngasemva bajongane nento ekufanele ibaphumeze. Kufanelekile okokuba kuqashwe umntu onokwenza umsebenzi ngendlela eyiyo kunomntu ocinga okokuba mawumncede.

Ilizwe okanye ihlabathi lifana nenjini enkulu. Elihlabathi silibononayo lohlukile kwelimimoya, apho uThixo akhoyo. Umhlaba ayibubo ubom obugqibeleleyo. UThixo usezulwini, izulu kukuba lapho uThixo akhoyo. Izulu kulapho ndithemba ukuya khona xa ndiswelekile. Ndiyacinga kulungile xa ndisithi ndinamava ngoThixo. Ithi intetha "UThixo unceda abo bazincedayo".

Ubom bam buqale mhlana ndashiya isikolo buya kuphela xa ndifumana umhla phantsi kodwa not ncam. Ubom ngokwaSesilungwini ngabatsha abangamatsha-ntliziyo abakhangeleka kakuhle ngabona abathandwayo.

A Translation of FAKU'S STORY (an ideal type)

My line is my father's and it goes through his fathers, his father's father and those before him, and it carries on through me, my sons, my grandsons, the sons of my grandsons and so on. A person alone is not strong - it is a "togetherness" of many people of my line other relatives and neighbours, whom I belong to and who belong to me - members both past and present, and those yet to come. We all depend on one another.

The people who have died of both my father's and mother's lines look after and care for me. It is my Ancestors who are the most concerned about me. If I remember them, they will keep me from harm, from sickness, hunger and poverty; but I must perform the necessary rituals and provide them with sustenance. With their help I can have more strength or power and I can gain possessions which will enable me to take a wife and have children.

Although I am a man, it is only when I have children that I will really be able to take part in the affairs of my home. My daughters will bring wealth to the family, and so my sons

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will take wives and have children and so my line will continue. A man with children will never be forgotten for they will offer him sacrifices and recall his name when he has gone to the place of the Ancestors. Children are also important because they care for us when we are old and weak, and can no longer work and cultivate our own food. Our children are our wealth for without them a man is poor indeed.

Fertility, obedience and hard-work are what I look for in a wife, and in return I will care for her and never mistreat her.

The God of our Ancestors made the earth and everything in it. He made people and the animals to live together in this world. The God of our Ancestors is far away and not very active in our lives. God does not normally deal with us directly nor does he normally punish us. But sometimes the God of our Ancestors brings lightning or drought and then we have to pray and make sacrifices to him. He sometimes wants one of us to join him and so he sends lightening to fetch that person. When this happens we cannot complain or mourn that person for God has chosen him/her. It is true to say that we pray to and praise the God of our Ancestors. God along with the Ancestors controls the way the crops grow. When we have cultivated our fields, praise is offered so that we will have a good harvest. We rely on the help of God and the Ancestors.

There are others who are also working and living in the world. They are called ancestral spirits and live in rivers, mountains and forests. We can feel they are there even though we can not see them. We need to appease the "people of the river" before we cross the river so that we will come to no harm. Some wise people say that these spirits call people into the river to teach them the secrets of being a diviner.

The Ancestors are important in my life. They are not cruel to me. They behave like people in that they get angry, and sometimes feel neglected. I know when they are unhappy because they come to me in my dreams or they bring sickness to me or my household. On occasion the Ancestors destroy crops to punish us for something we have done or forgotten to do.

Sometimes I know that I have been neglecting them and will correct this by performing a ritual to honour them. Other times I do not know why they are upset. On such occasions we ask them and they tell us. They do not harm us but they treat us as a parent would, punishing us when it is appropriate.

There is nothing that just happens. Where there is smoke there is fire. When things are not going well we know that the balance has been upset. Someone or something has caused this. If this is so we know that things are not going the way they are supposed to. If we know the reason for this it is very easy to correct it. It is when we do not know the reason that we go to the traditional healer/diviner. It is when you correct this that things go back to going well again. If things still do not go well when one has been to the traditional healer then it may be witches or bad spirits that have caused the misfortune.

Bad luck is not good for it makes a person lose strength. I want to have strength (spiritual power or force) and so I must stay free of sickness and diseases, for these weaken a person. Anger and heat are also bad for they weaken a person. It is the cool, the peaceful who is good, strong and powerful.

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In my old age I look forward to peace, to having no bad feelings and holdings no grudges, to sitting and watching my children work and the crops grow and discuss matters of importance with the other elders. It is expected of the youth that they respect older people because they have wisdom, they know the customs and traditional things, they know the history and are very close to the Ancestors thereby increasing their power. The old are expected to pass on the ancient traditions and rich heritage.

When I die I will not be far from the living. I will continue to be part of the world in which my children and grand children live. I know this is so because I am aware of the closeness of my Ancestors. Each man, woman, and child has a place in society and each knows his/her place. Likewise all things have their place and give importance to each other. To treat something with disrespect is to weaken the life of the community. It is important that all things and people work together rather than people working only for themselves.

It is very important that everyone acts and behaves in the right way. This is the way of the Ancestors. The Ancestors will look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings for anyone and that person will feel happy because he knows that he/she has acted in the right way. When things go wrong between people then other things begin to go wrong, crops might die or drought might come. It is best if everyone works willingly together and they don't complain all the time.

Everything has power starting with Ancestors, then men, then women, children, animals, trees and river currents. But some are more powerful than others. However, if I despise any of them I weaken the power within me. When I am seeking strength and protection I go to the traditional healer.

A man must be strong, for then the whole group will be strong, and will prosper, with cattle, children and crops. If I do not neglect my Ancestors, they will help me to be strong.

My understanding of time is that it corresponds with nature and its cycle of birth, growth and death. There is a time for tilling the soil, a time for sowing and a time for reaping and so on. All life is like that. All of life is governed by the rhythms of nature. A person is born, grows, reproduces, dies and goes to be an ancestor. But birth, growth, death and becoming an ancestor goes on for forever. I need to fit into these rhythms of nature to have a good life.

Every person and thing has a purpose to work out its own time. Time goes on beyond death. Life, time and all that the God of our Ancestors has made goes on forever.

A Translation of SIPHO'S STORY (an ideal type)

Sipho tells a story.

I am most happy when I know that I am in process of "achieving" or "becoming" something. It is more important for me to succeed than to be popular. There is a great deal of pressure on me to achieve. This comes partly from my own desire to succeed and partly from other people's expectations of me. People keep asking me: "What are you going to do and be?" Even when I ask myself "Who am I?" I think more about what I am to become rather than simply what I am now.

To achieve I need to be a goal orientated person. I believe that you must know your purpose. You also need to follow your passion as it drives you to achieve your purpose. There is a need to be single minded, to keep your eye on the main prize. It is goals that give my life purpose and direction. Without a goal life is meaningless. I have greater admiration for people who work towards achieving a better future for all than I do for people who are concerned with other's well-being in the here and now. I will go without something now in order to attain something later. I am prepared to sacrifice something now for a better quality of life in the future.

I want to be able to achieve my goals. I am very frustrated when I am prevented from pursuing my goals. Nothing must prevent me from pursuing my goals.

Those who are reluctant to support the community should be motivated by the knowledge that they will be rewarded rather than by being disciplined for not doing what is expected of them.

When things go wrong in life I don't waste too much time finding out why. I just get on with starting again.

In my quest for individual achievement I recognise that I am up against other people. I wish to be better than them. It is necessary that people compete with each other in a society if the society is to achieve the best it can. I really admire people who, against all odds, have succeeded in reaching the top in their chosen field. The words of an advertisement capture this idea "If you're an individual, you stand out from the crowd. You demand performance in life..."

I am determined to make it on my own. Independence is something I treasure. Family however, often holds one back. Family can stifle my ambition. For example:

- elders feel it is their prerogative to make decisions that affect my life without consulting me;
- relatives feel they have the right to enjoy my hard earned income.

I feel that my relatives should make their own way in life. It is frustrating for me to have brothers and sisters dependent on my earnings. I feel at times that they're "milking the cow so dry that the nipples bleed." It makes me angry when relatives depend on me. People should be encouraged to provide for their own future.

Although I enjoy my individual freedom I recognise that it is necessary to work with other people. I am happy to do that if working with other people helps me achieve my goals. Team work is needed to bring about the sort of change I think we should have.

I have a strong desire to change things around me so that I can enjoy a better life. If the world I live in does not conform to my vision I will be happy to see the world changed so that it does.

I am excited about being part of the process of reshaping the future for all our children to enjoy. It is exciting to be the first to do something and to discover things and to invent things. The investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement is money well spent.

There are two schools in my area. One is known to bring out the best in each child and develop a well-rounded human being. The other is known for teaching science and a

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scientific approach to life. I am going to send my child to the school known for teaching science and a scientific approach to life.

I think people should be self-disciplined. It is important for a meeting to start on time and for people not to arrive late.

Every new scientific discovery makes it possible for a human being to do things in new ways. History is moving forward. Human behaviour must now leave behind traditional ways of doing things and it must concentrate on what is to be achieved. It is more sensible, for example, to appoint the person who can do the job best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help.

The physical world around us is just mechanical. The physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is. God is in heaven and heaven is where God is. Heaven is where I hope to go when I die. I think it would be right to say that I experience God personally. There is a saying: "God helps those who help themselves."

My life really started when I left school and it will be as good as over when I retire. In this world it is the young, go-getter who always looks good who is most admired.

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Instructions for Administering the Questionnaire in Each School

Step ONE: Preparing the Questionnaires

1. Make copies of the questionnaire. Ensure that there are sufficient questionnaires i.e. one questionnaire per Matric student
2. Check the questionnaires to ensure that all the pages are in the correct order and that the questionnaires are stapled properly.
3. Place the questionnaires in boxes. The boxes should be marked with the name of the school. Once the questionnaires have been completed they must be returned to the very same boxes.

Step TWO: Administering the Questionnaire

1. Arrive about 15 minutes before the scheduled time to meet the Matrics. Give yourself plenty of time to travel to the school.
2. If there are two questionnaire administrators then you can administer the questionnaire in two separate classrooms. Try to fit all the Matric students into these two classrooms.
3. Record on the box containing the questionnaires the class with which you are working e.g. Std. 10B or Grade 12B
4. The Matric students MUST answer the questionnaire at the same time and in one sitting i.e. start and finish it in the classroom under the supervision of the questionnaire administrator.
5. Before you do anything else make sure that each scholar has his or her own pen to answer the questionnaire.
6. Read "The Introduction to the Research Project" to the Matric students. Try to answer any questions the Matric students might have, but do not take more than 10 minutes. Indicate to the Matric students that if they have any questions they can raise these in a short discussion session after the questionnaire has been completed by everyone.
7. Hand out a copy of "The Stories" to each scholar. They are NOT allowed to make any marks or fold the Stories as these will be re-used in the second school.
8. Read Faku's Story in the mother tongue and the Sipho Story in English.
9. Collect the stories from the Matric students.
10. Hand out the Questionnaire.
11. Read the instructions on the first page very carefully.
12. Explain to the Matric students that they should NOT write their names on the questionnaires. They must use a CODE NAME. Only they will know their code name. So that if we want to meet them again in the future they would have to remember their code names otherwise we would not be able to contact them.

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13. Ask the Matric students to write down in the right hand corner at the top of the first page the class in which they are. Underneath their class they are to write their mothers first name (or any name other than their own that they will easily recall) and underneath that the month in which they are born.
It should look like this:

EXAMPLE:

	std. 10 A *Nokuzola*
QUESTIONNAIRE	*September*

This is their CODE NAME. They must not forget it.

14. Complete the "Personal Data" section with the Matric students. Instruct them to fill in their answers immediately. They must follow the instructions carefully. Once they have all filled the section marked "Personal Data" you can move on to the questions.

15. Explain to them how they should answer the questions.

16. They MUST answer every question.
They are to tick only ONE answer. This reflects the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statement in the question. If they make a mistake they can cross it out and put the tick in the correct box. Please repeat that there should only be ONE tick in One box and one tick per answer.
17. Ask the Matric students whether they have any questions.
18. Explain that they should raise their hand if they have a problem. You will then go to them and quietly respond to their concern.

19. Mention that after they have all completed the questionnaire you will give those who are interested an opportunity discuss anything related to the questionnaire and their values.
20. Instruct them to proceed on their own as quickly as possible. They must always read the full quotation from the story then read the question carefully and answer it as best they can.
21. When everyone has finished you can collect their questionnaires and put them immediately in the appropriate boxes.
22. Listen attentively to the Matrics. Immediately after the discussion session write up a detailed record of all the issues raised during the discussion.
23. Before you leave check that you have ALL the questionnaires and that they are in the correct boxes.

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Cover page of the Questionnaire administered to the Matrics

Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to complete this questionnaire.
Please DO NOT put your name on it. The questionniare should be anonymous.
The use of a code name will be explained to you.

PERSONAL DATA

Please complete the following by placing a ☑ in the block next to the answer that you feel is correct or answering the question.

Gender	**Age**	**Do you have children?**	**Present Subject Choice**
Male ☐ Female ☐	15 16 17 18 19 20 21 ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ 22 23 24 25 over 25 ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐	yes ☐ no ☐ ages of your children:	Languages & Humanities ☐ Sciences ☐ Commercial ☐ Technical ☐

Education			**Religion**			**Who lived or lives in an urban area:**	**Family's Economic Status**
Where did you attend school?	rural	urban		Yours	Parents	grandparents ☐	breadline ☐
Sub A - Std.1	☐	☐	None	☐	☐	parents ☐	doing okay ☐
Std.2	☐	☐	Protestant	☐	☐	you ☐	prospering ☐
Std.3	☐	☐	Pentecostal	☐	☐		
Std. 4	☐	☐	Independent	☐	☐	If you or your parents live in an urban area answer the following:	
Std.5	☐	☐	Catholic	☐	☐		
Std.6	☐	☐	Traditional	☐	☐	How long have your parents lived in an urban area?	
Std. 7	☐	☐				.....	
Std.8	☐	☐	Not included in the above:			How long have you lived in an urban area?	
Std.9	☐	☐	.....			.....	

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READ THIS CAREFULLY!

Different people value things differently. What is of great value for one person may not necessarily be so for another. On the other hand, there are values people share.

In this survey two stories will be read to you. The one is told by Faku and the other by Sipho. Each of the story-tellers tells us what he considers important in life. First, each story will be read to you. You will then proceed to look closely at each part of the two stories. We begin with Faku's story.

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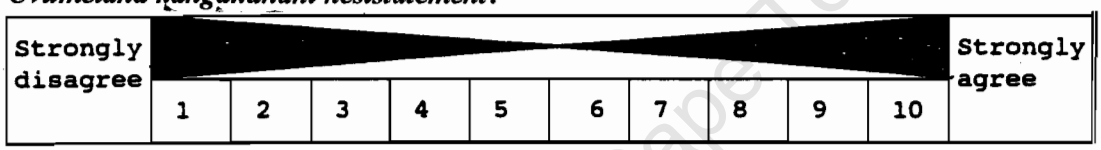
FAKU'S STORY

Faku tells a story. ***uFaku ubalisa ibali lakhe.***

1. **Faku says:**
My line is my father's and it goes through his father, his father's father and those before him, and it carries on through me, my sons, my grandsons, the sons of my grandsons and so on. A person alone is not strong - it is a togetherness of many people that has the strength to survive. A person is a person through other people. It is these people of my line other relatives and neighbours, whom I belong to and who belong to me - members both past and present, and those yet to come. We all depend on one another

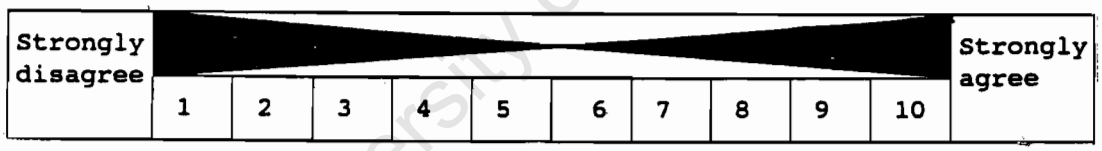
Umnombo wam usukela koo bawo uqhube ke uye koobawomkhulu, okhoko nabo babe phambi koo-khokhoko uqhubeleke ngam, oonyana bam, abazukulwana, izizukulwana njalo-njalo. Umntu akanakho ukuziphilela yedwa, umntu ngumntu ngabantu. Mna ndixhomekeke kwizizalwane nabamelwane nabo baxhomekeke kum, abakhoyo abangasekhoyo nabo abasezakubakho. Sonke sixhomekeke omnye komnye.

1.1 How much do you agree with the above statement?
1.1 Uvumelana kangakanani nesistatement?



F1

1.2 How much do you agree or disagree with the statement a person is a person through other people?
1.2 Uvumelana kangakanani ukuba umntu ngumntu ngabantu?

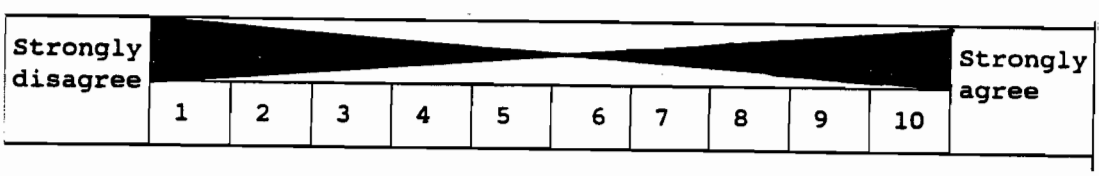


F2

2. **Faku says:**
The people who have died of both my father's and mother's lines look after and care for me. It is my Ancestors who are the most concerned about me. If I remember them, they will keep me from harm, from sickness, hunger and poverty; but I must perform the necessary rituals and provide them with sustenance. With their help I can have more strength or power and I can gain possessions which will enable me to take a wife and have children.

Abantu abangasekhoyo bakulo mama nakulo tata bayandolusa bandikhathalele. Xa ndibahloniphile, ndibenzela namasiko afanelekileyo bayandikhusela kwiingozi, ekuguleni, ezindleleni njalo-njalo. Kwangoncedo lwabo ndibanamandla, ndikwazi ukubanezinto zam, ndibenomfazi kunye nabantwana.

2.1 I believe that my Ancestors ensure the health and general well-being of my family.
2.1 Ndiyakholelwa okokuba izinyanya zakuthi zizo ezijongene nempilo nentlolo yosapho lwam.



F3

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2.2 I believe that my Ancestors oversee the things that I and my family have.
2.2 Ndiyakholwa okokuba izinyana zam zijong zonke izinto esinazo nenisapho yam.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ F4

3.**Faku says:**
Although I am a man, it is only when I have children that I will really be able to take part in the affairs of my home. My daughters will bring wealth to the family, and so my sons will take wives and have children and so my line will continue. A man with children will never be forgotten for they will offer him sacrifices and recall his name when he has gone to the place of the Ancestors. Children are also important because they care for us when we are old and weak, and can no longer work and cultivate our own food. Our children are our wealth for without them a man is poor indeed.

Fertility, obedience and hard-work is what I look for in a wife, and in return I will care for her and never mistreat her.

Noxa ndiyindoda nje ukuze ndikwazi ukuthatha inxaxheba kwimicimbi yekhaya kufuneka ndibenabantwana. Iintombi zam zizakwenda, oonyana bam bazeke bazale abantwana igama lakowethu ligcinakale. Indoda ezeleyo ayilibaleki kuba inzala yayo izohlala iyikhumbula ngokuyinqula. Kubalulekile ukubanabantwana kuba xa sele umdala ungasenakuzenzela nto bayakugcina, bakondle, bakusebenzele. Abantwana babubutyebi ngoko ke indoda engazelanga iyafana nehlwempu. Xa ndifuna umfazi, ndifuna umfazi ozalayo, othobelayo nokhutheleyo ndize ke ndimkhathalele ndimphathe kakuhle.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements.
Xa ucinga ngepassage ufundilayo apha, uvumelana kangakanani nezistatements zilandelayo?

3.1 Our children are our wealth for without them a man is poor indeed.
3.1 Abantwana babubutyebi ngoko ke indoda engazelanga iyafana nehlwempu.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ F5

3.2 Fertility, obedience and hard work is what I look for in a wife, and in return I will care for her and never mistreat her.
3.2 Xa ndifuna umfazi, ndifuna umfazi ozalayo, othobelayo nokhutheleyo ndize ke ndimkhathalele ndingaze ndimphathe kakubi.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ F6

3.3 How much do you agree that women think they should be fertile, obedient and hardworking?
3.3 Abafazi bavumelana kongakanani nokuba babengonozola, bathobele bakuthale emzini?

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ F7

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4. **Faku says:**

Qamata made the earth and everything in it. He made people and the animals to live together in this world. Qamata is far away and not very active in our lives. Qamata does not normally deal with us directly nor does he normally punish us. But sometimes Qamata brings lightning or drought and **then** we have to pray and make sacrifices to him. He sometimes wants one of us to join him and so he sends lightening to fetch that person. When this happens we cannot complain or mourn that person for God has chosen him/her. It is true to say that we pray to and praise Qamata. Qamata along with the Ancestors control the way the crops grow. When we have cultivated our fields, praise is offered so that we will have a good harvest. We rely on the help of Qamata and the Ancestors.

NguQamata owenze umhlaba nayo yonke into esemhlabeni. Wenze umntu nezilwanyana ukuba ziphile kunye apha emhlabeni. UQamata uchasele ukude kuthi akasebenzisani nathi ngqo. uQamata akadli ngokuse benzisana nathi ngqo, akasohlwayi, ngokwakhe. Kodwa maxa wambi asithumele ngezulu neembalela. Kuye ke kufuneke ukuba sithandaze senze idini. Maxa wambi uQamata uye azikhethele omnye umntu, adlalwe yinkosi. Lowo ke odlalwe yinkosi kufuneka singazili sikhalaze kuba umonyulile. Kuyinyaniso ukuthi siyamthandaza size simdumise uQamata. NguQamata nezinyanya abalawula ukukhula kwezityalo. Xa silimile siyathandaza ukuze sibenesivuno esihle, sinqule ukuze umhlaba uchume. Akukho nto sinakho ukuyenza singancedwanga zizinyanya noQamata.

4.1 Qamata made the earth and everything in it.

Q.4.1 NguQamata owenze umhlaba nayo yonke into esemhlabeni.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F8

4.2 Qamata is far away and not very active in our lives,...

4.2 UQamata uchasele kude kuthi akasebenzisani nathi ngqo.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F9

4.3 It is true to say that we pray to and praise Qamata.

4.3 Kuyinyaniso ukuthi siyamthandaza size simdumise uQamata.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F10

4.4 Qamata along with the Ancestors controls the way the crops grow.

4.4 NguQamata nezinyanya abalawula ukukhula kwezityalo.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F11

4.5 It is ONLY during times of crisis that people communicate directly with Qamata.

4.5 Kungamaxesha engxaki enkulu nje isibetho apo abantu nggo noQamata.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F12

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4.6 Can a person talk directly and regularly with Qamata as they would with an elder?
4.6 Umntu uyakwazi ukuthetha nqqo, rhoqo noQamata njengokuthetha nomntu omdala?

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F13 CANCELLED

5.**Faku says:**
There are others who are also working and living in the world. They are called ancestral spirits which live in rivers, mountains and forests. We can feel they are there even though we can not see them. We need to appease the people of the river before we cross the river so that we will come to no harm. Some wise men say that these spirits call people into the river to teach them the secrets of being a diviner.

Kukho nezinye izinto ezikhoyo apha emhlabeni eziyimimoya yeentaba, yemilambo namahlathi. Singabuva ubukho bayo nangona singenakuyibona. Ngamanye amaxesha kufuneka senze ukungxengxeza nabantu bomlambo xa sizakuwela ukuze singonzakali. Abantu abanolwazi bathi ngabo abantu bomlambo abababizela emilanjeni babafundise iimfihlelo batsho babe ngamamagqirha.

5.1 There are others who are also working and living in the world. They are called ancestral spirits which live in rivers, mountains and forests.
5.1 Kukho nezinye izinto ezikhoyo apha emhlabeni eziyimimoya yeentaba, yemilambo namahlathi.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐F14

6. **Faku says:**
The Ancestors are important in my life. They are not cruel to me. They behave like people in that they get angry, and sometimes feel neglected. I know when they are unhappy because they come to me in my dreams or they bring sickness to me or my household. On occasion the Ancestors destroy crops to punish us for something we have done or forgotten to do. Sometimes I know that I have been neglecting them and will correct this by performing a ritual to honour them. Other times I do not know why they are upset. On such occasions we ask them and they tell us. They do not harm us but they treat us as a parent would, punishing us when it is appropriate.

Izinyanya zibalulekile ebomini bam azinankohlakalo, ziyafana nabantu kuba ngamanye amaxesha zibanomsindo zibe nobukhwele zive ngokungathi asizikhathalelelanga. Ndiyazi xa zingonwabanga ukuba ziyavela emaphupheni okanye kugule noba ngubani apha ekhaya. Ngamanye amaxesha izinyanya ziyazonakalisa izityalo xa zisohlwaya ngento esiyenzileyo okanye esiyilibeleyo. Ngamanye amaxesha ndiyazi ukuba bendingazikhathalelanga ndize ndiyilungise lonto ngokwenza idini lokungxengxeza. Ngamanye amaxesha sikhe singazi ukuba izinyanya ziqumbele ntoni na ukuba asiqondi. Maxa wambi siyababuza, bayasixelele. Azikhe zenze nto iyingozi kodwa zenza njemgomzali ebantwaneni bakhe, zisohlwaye xa kufanelekile.

6.1 The Ancestors are important in my life. They are not cruel to me. They behave like people in that they get angry and sometimes feel neglected ... punishing us when it is appropriate.
6.1 Izinyanya zibalulekile ebomini bam azinankohlakalo, ziyafana nabantu kuba ngamanye amaxesha zibanomsindo zibe nobukhwele zive ngokungathi asizikhathalelanga ... zisohlwaye xa kufanelekile.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

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6.2 Sometimes I know that I have been neglecting them and will correct this by performing a ritual to honour them.

6.2 Ngamanye amaxesha ndiyazi ukuba bendingazikhathalelanga ndize ndiyilungise lonto ngokwenza idini lokungxengxeza.

Strongly disagree										Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

☐ F16

7. Faku says:

There is nothing that just happens. Where there is smoke there is fire. When things are not going well we know that the balance has been upset. Something has caused this. If this is so we know that things are not going the way they are supposed to. If we know the reason for this it is very easy to correct it. It is when we do not know the reason that we go to igqira (sangoma). It is when you correct this that things go back to going well again. If things still do not go well when one has been to igqira (sangoma) then it may be witches or bad spirits that have caused the misfortune.

Bad luck is not good for it makes a person lose strength. I want to have strength (spiritual power or force) and so I must stay free of sickness and disease, for these too weaken a person. Anger and heat are also bad for they weaken a person. It is the cool, the peaceful who is good, strong and powerful.

Akukho nto isuka izenzekele nje, kungaqhuma kubasiwe. Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle siye sazi ukuba ukhona umntu okanye into ebangele lo nto. Xa kunjalo ke siyazi ukuba izinto azihambi ngendlela yazo. Xa usazi unobangela kulula ukuyilungisa lo nto. Xa singazi ukuba kutheni sisehlelwa bububi siye siyekuvumisa emagqirheni ukuze sifumane uncedo. Xa kulungiswe loo nto izinto ziphinde zihambe kakuhle. Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle emva kokusuka emagqireni siyenze yonke asixelele ukuthi siyenze isenokuba ngamagqwirha nemimoya emibi eyenze loo nto.

Amashwa akalunganga kuba umntu amtheza amandla. Ukuze ube yindoda eyomeleleyo kufuneka ungaguli ungabinezifo. Kwakhona umsindo nobushushu abufuneki kuba ngumntu onoxolo, olulamileyo oyena ulungileyo, onamandla nowomeleleyo.

7.1 When things are not going well we know that the balance has been upset. Something has caused this.

7.1 Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle siye sazi ukuba ukhona umntu okanye into ebangele lo nto.

Strongly disagree										Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

☐ F17

7.2 If the ritual you perform to address your illness does not heal you then it is because someone else is performing a more powerful ritual?

7.2 Uyakholelwa na okokuba isiko olenzayo okuncedeni impilo yakho ayikuphilisi kukho umntu okuthakathatayo.

Strongly disagree										Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

☐ F18

7.3 Bad luck is not good for it makes a person lose strength.

7.3 Amashwa akalunganga kuba umntu amtheza amandla.

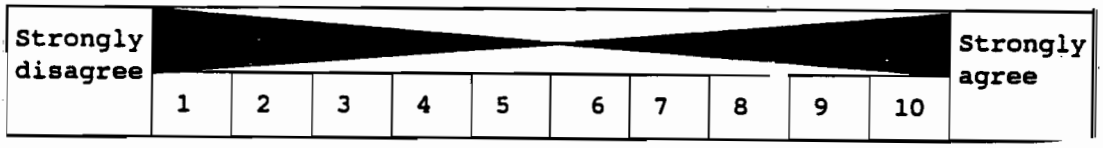
Strongly disagree										Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

☐ F19

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7.4 If things still do not go well when one has been to the traditional healer and followed his/her instructions then it may be witches or bad spirits that have caused the misfortune.
7.4 Xa izinto zingahambi kakuhle emva kokusuka emagqireni siyenze yonke into asixelele ukuthi siyenze isenokuba ngamagqwirha nemimoya emibi eyenze loo nto.

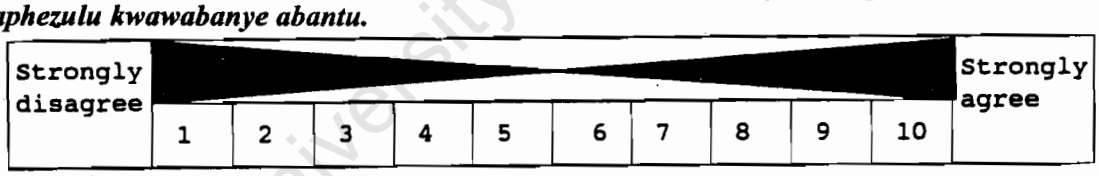


F20

8. **Faku says:**
In my old age I look forward to peace, to having no bad feelings and holding no grudges, to sitting and watching my children work and the crops grow and discuss matters of importance with the other elders. The older people are expected to be respected by the youth because they have wisdom, they know the customs and traditional things, they know the history and are very close to the Ancestors thereby increasing their power. The old are expected to pass on the ancient traditions and rich heritage.

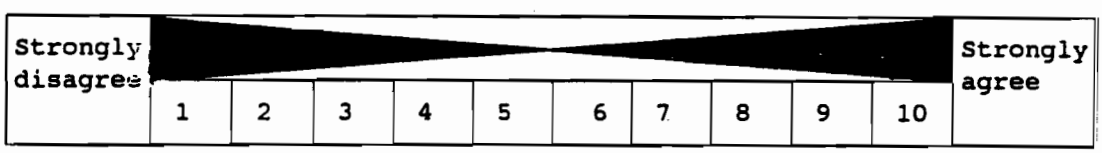
Ebudaleni bam kufuneka ndibenoxolo ndingabinakungaziva mnandi ndingabinanzondo ndikwazi ukuhlala ndibukele abantwana xa besebenza, ukukhula kwezityalo nokuxoxa imicimbi ebalulekileyo namanye amadoda amadala. Abadala belindeleke ukuhlonitshwa lulutsha kuba banobulumko, bayawazi amasiko nezithethe kunye nembali kwaye bona banoqhakamshelwano nezinyanya ngoko banamandla angaphezulu kwawabanye abantu. Inkonde zilindeleke ukuba zizidlulisele kwabanye abantu nakwindlalifa izithethe zamandulo.

8.1 Older people are expected to be respected by the youth because they have wisdom, they know the customs and traditional things, they know the history and are very close to the Ancestors thereby increasing their power.
8.1 Abadala belindeleke ukuhlonitshwa lulutsha kuba banobulumko, bayawazi amasiko nezithethe kunye nembali kwaye bona banoqhakamshelwano nezinyanya ngoko banamandla angaphezulu kwawabanye abantu.



F21

8.2 The old are expected to pass on the ancient traditions and rich heritage.
8.2 Inkonde zilindeleke ukuba zizidlulisele kwabanye abantu nakwindlalifa izithethe zamandulo.



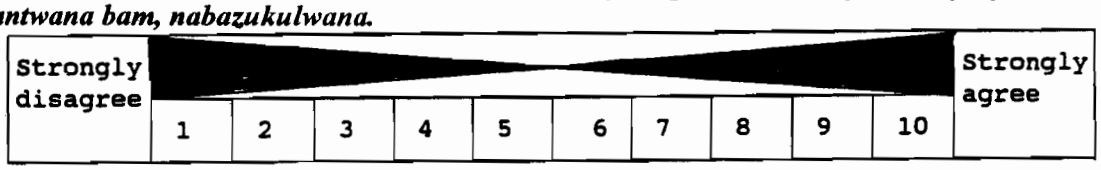
F22

9. **Faku says:**
When I die I will not be far from the living. I will continue to be part of the world my children and grand children live in. I know this is so because I am aware of the closeness of my Ancestors.

Xa ndisifa andiyikubakude nabo baphilayo ndiyakuqhubekeka ndiyinxalenye yelizwe, nabantwana bam, nabazukulwana. Ndiyayazi lonto injalo kuba ndiyeva ukuba izinyanya zam zikufuphi nam.

9.1 When I die I will not be far from the living. I will continue to be part the world my children and grandchildren live in.
9.1 Xa ndisifa andiyikubakude nabo baphilayo ndiyakuqhubeleka ndiyinxalenye yelizwe, nabantwana bam, nabazukulwana.

F23



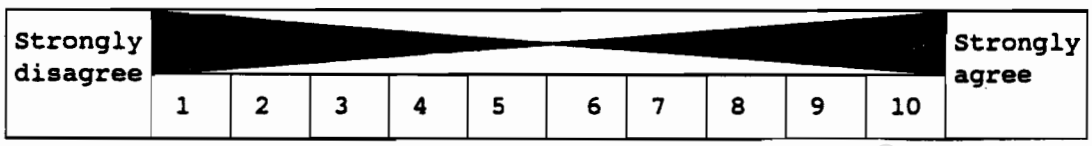
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10. **Faku says:**
Each man, woman, and child has a place in society and each knows his/her place. Likewise all things have their place and give importance to each other. To treat something with disrespect is to weaken the life of the community. It is important that all things and people work together rather than people working only for themselves.

Wonke umntu unendawo yakhe eluntwini, uyayazi indawo yakhe. Zonke into zinendawo zazo zinobaluleko. Ukuphatha into ngokungenambeko ubom boluntu jikelele buba bhetye-bhetye. Kungcono okokuba zonke izinto nabantu ngokunjalo basebenzisane ngaphandle kokusebenzela iziqu zabo (hlohlesakhe).

10.1 Every person and thing has its place and they give importance to each other.
10.1 Wonke umntu nezinto zinendawo zazo zinobaluleko.

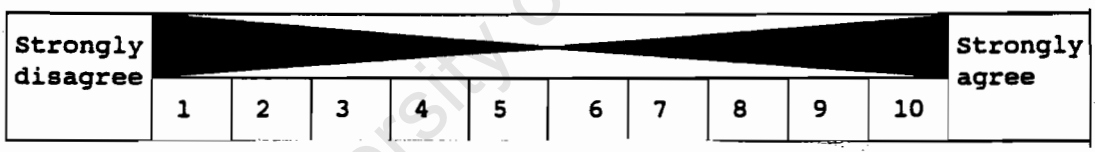


F24

10.2 To treat something or someone with disrespect is to weaken all things.
10.2 Ukuphatha into ngokungenambeko ubom boluntu jikelele buba bhetye-bhetye.

F25

10.3 It is better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves.
10.3 Kungcono okokuba zonke izinto nabantu ngokunjalo basebenzisane ngaphandle kokusebenzela iziqu zabo.

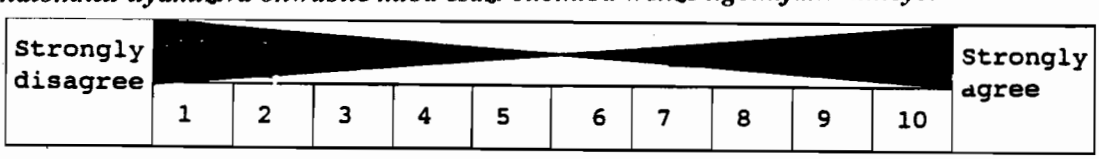


F26

11. **Faku says:**
It is very important that everyone acts and behaves in the right way. This is the way of the Ancestors. The Ancestors will look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings for anyone and that person will feel happy because he knows that he/she has acted in the right way. When things go wrong between people then other things begin to go wrong: crops might die or drought might come. It is best if everyone works willingly together and they don't complain all the time.

Kubalulekile kakhulu okokuba wonke ubani aziphathe kakuhle kuba izinyanya ziyakholwa koko. Izinyanya zimjonga ngochulumanco umntu ongabanqweneleli ububi abanye abantu nalomntu uyakuziva onwabile kuba esazi okokuba wenze ngokufanelekileyo. Xa izinto zingahambi ngendlela eyiyo ebantwini nezinye izinto ziyaqalisa ngokunjalo izityalo zinokufa okanye kebekho imbalela. Kubalulekile ukusebenza ngokuncedisana nangemvisiswano ngaphandle kwesikhalazo.

11.1 The Ancestors will look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings for anyone and that person will feel happy because he knows that he/she has acted in the right way.
11.1 Izinyanya zimjonga ngochulumanco umntu ongabanqweneleli ububi abanye abantu nalomntu uyakuziva onwabile kuba esazi okokuba wenze ngokufanelekileyo.



F27

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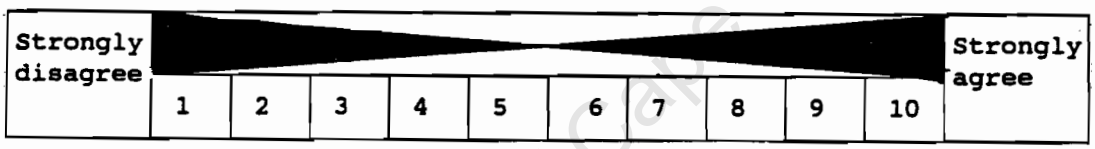
12. **Faku says:**
Everything has power starting with Ancestors, then men, then women, children, animals, trees and river currents. But some are more powerful than others. However, if I despise any I weaken the power within me. When I am seeking strength and protection I go to the igqira (sangoma).

A man must be strong, for then the whole group will be strong, and will prosper, with cattle, children and crops. If I do not neglect my Ancestors, they will help me to be strong.

Yonke into inamandla ukusukela kwizinyanya endodeni, emfazini, emntwaneni, kwizilwanyana, emithini, nemisinga kodwa ke ezinye zinamandla kakhulu kunezinye. Ukuba ndithi ndijongele phantsi enye yezi zilapha ngasentla ndethisa amandla angaphakathi kum. Ukuze umntu ahlale omelele, ekhuselekile kufuneka aye egqirheni lakhe limqinise.

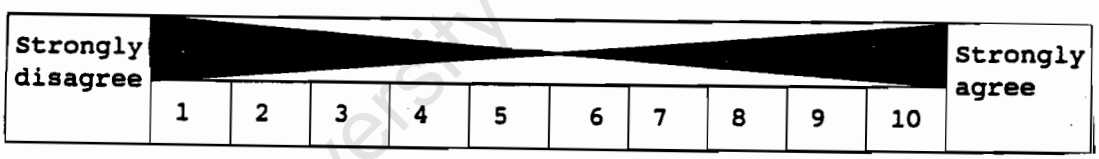
Ukomelela kwendoda enye kwenza ukuba bonke abantu bomelele, baphumelele babenemfuyo eninzi, abantwana, nesivuno. Xa izinyanya zabo zomelele ziyabanceda nabantu ukuba bomelele.

12.1 Everything has power starting with Ancestors, then men, then women, children, animals, trees and river currents. But some are more powerful than others. However, if I despise any I weaken the power within me.
12.1 Yonke into inamandla ukusukela kwizinyanya endodeni, emfazini, emntwaneni, kwizilwanyana, emithini, nemisinga kodwa ke ezinye zinamandla kakhulu kunezinye.



F28

12.2 When I am seeking strength and protection I go to the *igqira* (traditional diviner).
12.2 Ukuze umntu ahlale omelele, ekhuselekile kufuneka aye egqirheni lakhe limqinise.



F29

13. **Faku says:**
My understanding of time is that it corresponds with nature and its cycles of birth, growth and death. There is a time for tilling the soil, a time for sowing and a time for reaping and so on. All life is like that. All of life is governed by the rhythms of nature. A person is born, grows, reproduces, dies and goes to be an ancestor. But birth, growth, death and becoming an ancestor go on for forever. I need to fit into these rhythms of nature to have a good life.

Every person and thing has a purpose to work out in its own time. Time goes on beyond death. Life, time and all that Qamata has made goes on forever.

Ixesha endilaziyo lelo elingqinelana nendalo kunye nokuphinda phindana kobomi - ukuzalwa, ukukhula nokufa. Yonke into inexesha layo. iXesha lokulima, likhona ixesha lokuhlwayela nelokuvuna. Bonke ubomi bunjalo. Zonke ezizingqi zobom zilawulwa zizingqi zendalo. Umntu uyazalwa, akhule, azale, afe, abesisinyanya. Abaekunye kwelemimoya, nezinyanya. Kodwa ukuzalwa ukukhula ukufa nokubasisinyanya kuqhubekeka kude kube ngunaphakade. Kufuneka ubomi bam bungqinelane nezingqi zendalo ukuze ndibenobom obulungileyo.

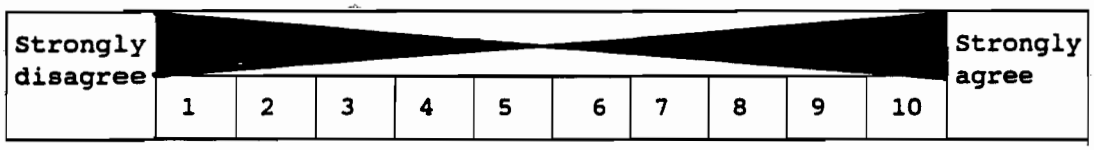
Wonke umntu nezinto zinenjongo zokuphumelela ngethuba lazo. Kodwa ixesha ngokunokwalo alinanjongo yanto. Likwakho ixesha emva kokufa. Ubom, ixesha nayo yonke into uQamata ayidalileyo iyaqhubeka kude kube ngunaphakade.

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13.1 A person is born, grows, reproduces, dies and goes to be an ancestor. But birth, growth, death and becoming an ancestor go on forever.

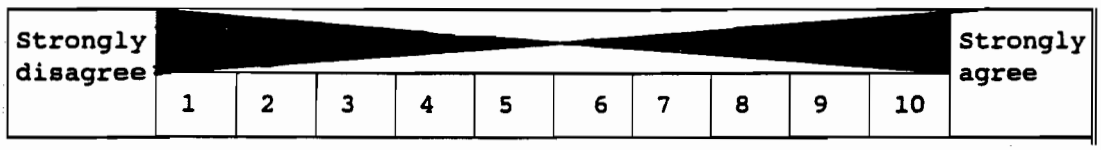
13.1 Umntu uyazalwa, akhule, azale, afe. Abakunye kwelemimoya, nezinyanya kodwa ukuzalwa ukukhula ukufa nokubasisinyanya kuqhubekeka kude kube ngunaphakade.



F30

13.2 I need to fit into these rhythms of nature to have a good life.

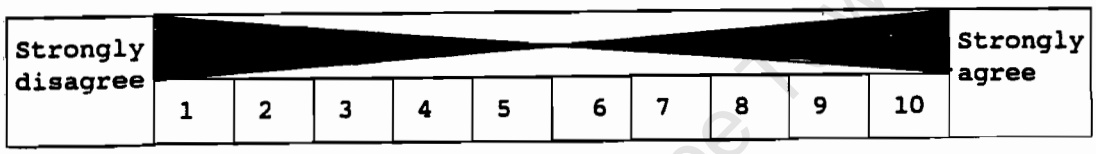
13.2 Kufuneka ubomi bam bungqinelane nezingqi zendalo ukuze ndibenobom



F31

13.3 Every person and thing has a purpose to work out in its own time.

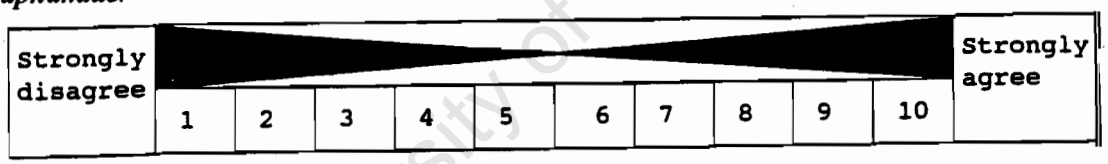
13.3. Wonke umntu nezinto zinenjongo zokuphumelela ngethuba lazo kodwa ixesha ngokunokwalo alinanjongo yanto.



F32

13.4 Life, time and all that Qamata has made goes on forever.

13.4 Ubom, ixesha nayo yonke into uQamata ayidalileyo iyaqhubeka kude kube ngunaphakade.



F33

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SIPHO'S STORY

Sipho tells a story. *uSipho ubalisa ibali lakhe.*

1. Sipho says:
I am most happy when I know that I am in process of "achieving" or "becoming" something. It is more important for me to succeed than to be popular. There is a great deal of pressure on me to achieve. This comes partly from my own desire to succeed and partly from other people's expectations of me. People keep asking me: "What are you going to do and be?" Even when I ask myself "Who am I?" I think more about what I am to become rather than simply what I am now.

Ndiyavuya kakhulu xa ndisazi okokuba ndisendleleni yempumelelo. Kukho umthwalo onzima phezu kwam wokokuba ndiphumelele. Olucinezelo lusuka ngenxenye yominqweno yam yokubandiphumelele nangenxenye yezinto ezilindelweyo ngabantu ngam. Lonke ixesha soloko abantu bebuza okokuba uzakuba yintoni kwaye uzakwenza ntoni. Xa ndizibuza mna "ndingubani" ndicinga kakhulu ngento endiza kubayiyo kunokucinga ngento endiyiyo ngoku.

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

1.1 I am most happy when I know that I am in the process of "achieving" or "becoming" something.
Ndiyavuya kakhulu xa ndisazi okokuba ndisendleleni yempumelelo.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S1

1.2 There is a great deal of pressure on me to achieve.
Kukho umthwalo onzima phezu kwakho wokokuba uphumelele.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S2

1.3 I think more about what I am to become rather than simply what I am now.
Ndicinga kakhulu ngento endiza kubayiyo kunokucinga ngento endiyiyo ngoku.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S3

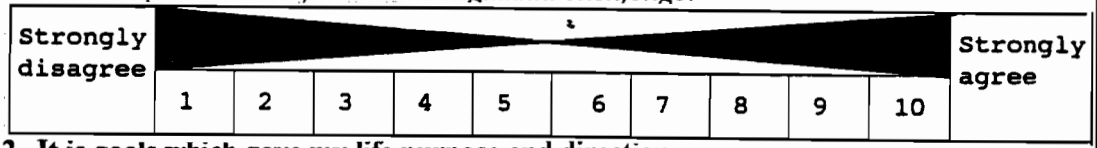
2. Sipho says:
To achieve I need to be a goal orientated person. I believe that you must know your purpose. You also need to follow your passion as it drives you to achieve your purpose. There is a need to be single minded, to keep your eye on the main prize. It is goals which give my life purpose and direction. Without a goal life is meaningless. I have greater admiration for people who work towards achieving a better future for all than I do people who are concerned with other s well-being in the here and now. I will go without something now in order to attain something later. I am prepared to sacrifice something now for a better quality of life in the future
Ukuze ndiphumelele kufuneka ndibengumntu onenjongo. Ndikholelwa ekubeni umntu ufanele ukuzimisela. Kufanele ulandele ngobutsha-ntliziyo bakho kuba bubo ebokuqhubela ekuzimiseleni. Kukhona intswelo yokokuba umntu acinge ngendlela yakhe yedwa kuba exhome amehlo akhe kwimivuzo yobom. Zinjongo ezinika ubom bam intsingiselo nendlela. Ngaphandle kwenjongo ubom abunantsingiselo. Ndiyabancoma abantu abasezela abanye abantu ekuphumezeni ixesha elizayo elibhete kunabantu abajongene nentlalontle yabantu ngelixesha. Ndizakunikezela ngezinto ezininzi ebomini ukwenzelaokokuba mna nabantwana bam sixhamle ubomi obumnandi kwixesha elizayo.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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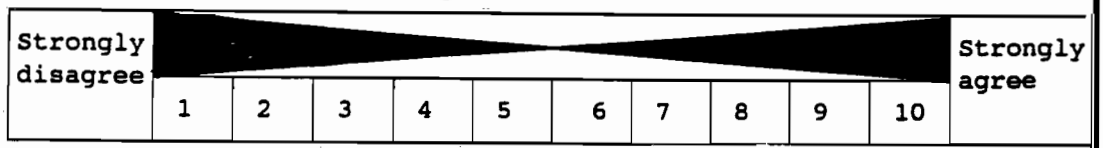
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2.1 I need to be a goal oriented person "to achieve".
Ukuze ndiphumelele kufuneka ndibengumntu onenjongo.



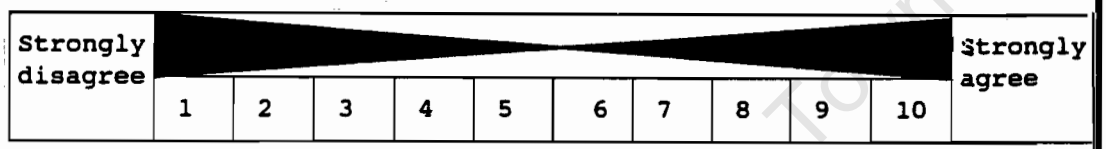
S4

2.2 It is goals which gave my life purpose and direction.
Zinjongo ezinika ubom bam intsingiselo nendlela



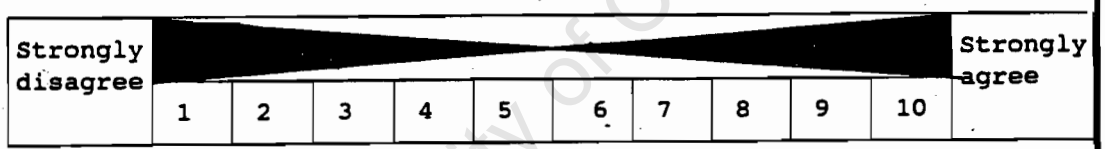
S5

2.3 I have greater admiration for people who work towards achieving a better future for all than I have for people who are concerned with other people's well being in the here and now.
Ndiyabancoma abantu abasebenzela abanye abantu ekuphumezeni ixesha elizayo elibhetele kunabantu abajongene nentlalontle yabantu ngelixesha.



S6

2.4 I am prepared to sacrifice something now for a better quality of life in the future.
Ndizakunikezela ngezinto ezininzi ebomini ukwenzela okokuba mna nabantwana bam sixhamle ubomi obumnandi kwixesha elizayo

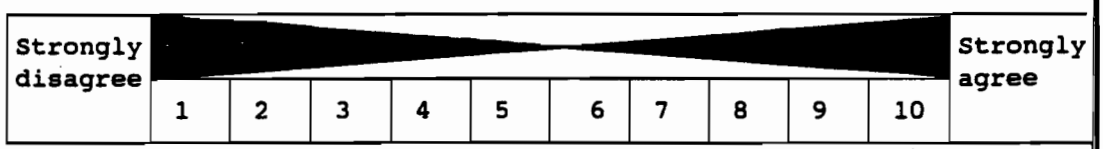


S7

3. Sipho says:
I want to be able to achieve my goals. I am very frustrated when I am prevented from pursuing my goals. Nothing must prevent me from pursuing my goals.
Ndifuna okokuba ndibenakho ukuziphumeza injongo zam. Iyandifrastreyitha kakhulu into endivalele indlela ukulandela iinjongo zam. Akukho nto kungekho nomntu ofuneka endivalele indlela ukulandela iinjongo zam.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

3.1 I am very frustrated when I am prevented from pursuing my goals.
Iyandifrastreyitha kakhulu into endivalele indlela ukulandela iinjongo zam.



S8

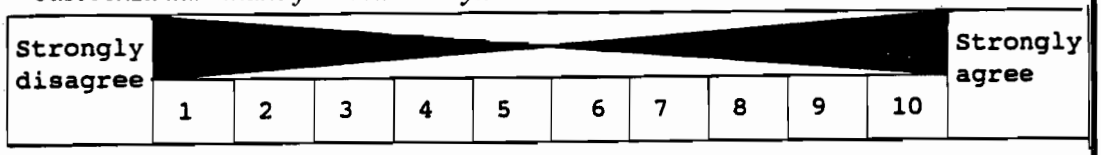
4. Sipho says:
Those who are reluctant to support the community should be motivated by the knowledge that they will be rewarded rather than by being disciplined for not doing what is expected of them.
Abo banganamdla ekuxhaseni icommunity kufanele bakhuthazwe kakwazi okokuba bakuvuzwa ngofanelekileyo xa bethe benza njalo, kunokohlwaywa ngokungenzi njengoko belindelwe.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

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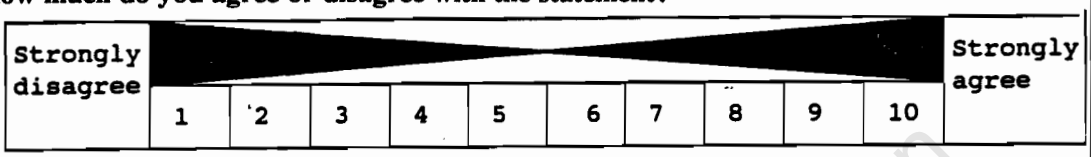
4.1 It is better to reward those who do much for their community than to punish those who do little!
Kungcono bavuzwe abo basebenzela kakhulu icommunity baze bohlwaywe abo basebenza kancinane for icommunity.!



S9

5. Sipho says:
When things go wrong in life I don't waste too much time finding out why, I just get on with starting again.
Xa izinto zihamba kakubi ebomini bam andimoshi xesha elininzi ndiphanda imbangi yoko. Ndiyaqhubekeka ndiqale ekuqaleni andimi.

How much do you agree or disagree with the statement?

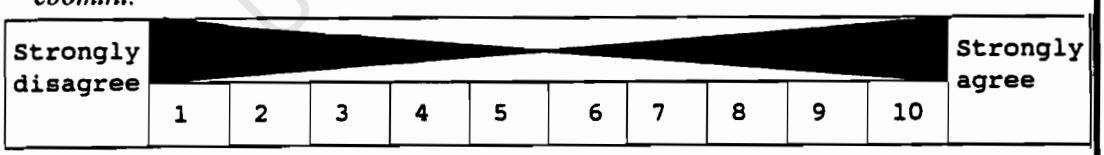


S10

6. Sipho says:
In my quest for individual achievement I recognise that I am up against other people. I wish to be better than them. It is necessary that people compete with each other in a society if the society is to achieve the best it can. I really admire people who, against all odds, have succeeded in reaching the top in their chosen field. The words of an advertisement capture this idea "If you're an individual, you stand out from the crowd. You demand performance in life..."
Ekufuneni kwam impumelelo ndiye ndanakana okokuba ndinokhuphiswano nabanye abantu. Ngumnqweno wam okokuba ndibengaphezulu kunabo. Kufanelekile kubekho ukuphiswano phakathi koluntu jikelele ukuze siphumelele ebomini. Ndiyawethula umnqwazi wam kubantu abaphumelele phantsi kwengxingo babangaphezulu kwinkqubela phambili yobom. Amazwi entengiso "Ukuba wena ungumntu uyabona phakathi kwenginginya. Unebango lokwenza izinto ebomini..."

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

6.1 The best sort of society is the one in which individuals compete with one another for the greatest rewards.
Kufanelekile kubekho ukuphiswano phakathi koluntu jikelele ukuze siphumelele ebomini.



S11

7. Sipho says:
I am determined to make it on my own. Independence is something I treasure. Family however, often holds one back. Family can stifle my ambition. For example:
- Elders feel it is their prerogative to make decisions which affect my life without consulting me;
- relatives feel they have the right to enjoy my hard earned income.
I feel that my relatives should make their own way in life. It is frustrating for me to have brothers and sisters dependent on my earnings. I feel at times that they're "milking the cow so dry that the nipples bleed." It makes me angry when relatives depend on me. People should be encouraged to provide for their own future!
Ndizimisele ukuphumelela ngokwam ebomini. Ukuzimela yinto endiyixabisileyo. Usapho lwakho lulo olukubambezelayo ekuphumezeni iminqweno yakhe. Imizekelo emibin
- Abadala bacinga okokuba lilungelo labo ukwenza izigqibo ezicaphazela ubom bam ngaphandle kokulumana indlebe nam.
- Izalamane zicinga zinelungelo lokuxhamla kumvuzo endiwufumene nzima.
Ndicinga okokuba izalamane zam kufanele zizenzele ezazo indlela ebomini. Iyandifrastreyitha into yokuba abanakwethu nodade wethu baxhomekeke kumvuzo wam.

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Ngamanye amaxesha ndiye ndive ingathi ndiyinkomo esengwa amabele ade aphume igazi. Indenza umsindo xa izalamane zixhomekeke kum. Abantu kufuneka bekhuthaziwe okokuba baziphandele ngekamva labo kuba akukho nkwali iphandela enye.

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Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

7.1 I am determined to make it on my own.
Ndizimisele ukuphumelela ngokwam ebomini.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S12

7.2 Independence is something I treasure.
Ukuzimela yinto endiyixabisileyo.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S13

7.3 Family often holds one back and can stifle ambition.
Usapho lwakho lulo olukubambezelayo ekuphumezeni iminqweno yakho.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S14

7.4 People should be encouraged to provide for their own future.
Abantu kufuneka bekhuthaziwe okokuba baziphandele ngekamva labo kuba akukho nkwali iphandela enye.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S15

Sipho says:

8. Although I enjoy my individual freedom, I recognise that it is necessary to work with other people. I am happy to do that if working with other people helps me achieve my goals. Team work is needed to bring about the sort of change I think we should have.

Nangona ndithanda okwenza okuthandwa ndim kuyimfuneko ukusebenzisana nabanye abantu. Ndizakuyenza lento xa injongo zethu zifana. Ukusebenzisana kunye nabanye abantu kuyimfuneko ukuzisa inguqulelo apha ekukfanele sibenayo.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

8.1 I will co-operate with people if it helps me to achieve my goals.
Ndiyakusebenzisana nabanye abantu xa injongo zethu zifana.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

☐ S16

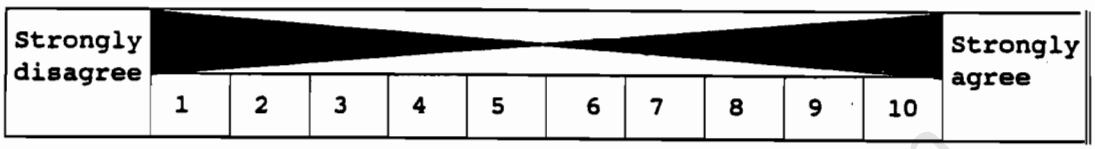
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9. Sipho says:
I have a strong desire to change things around me so that I can enjoy a better life. If the world I live in does not conform to my vision I will be happy to see the world changed so that it does.
Ndinenkanuko enkulu yokuguqula izinto ezindingqongileyo ukuze ndixhamle ubomi obumnandi. Okokuba umhlaba endiphila kuwo ngokwasentlalweni nangokomhlaba azivumelani nombono wam ndiyakuvuyiswa kukubona umhlaba utshintsha ukuze ufane nalento ndifuna ukuba ubeyiyo.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

9.1 People should try to reshape the world in which they find themselves.
Abantu kufuneke bazame ukujika umhlaba abezifumana behlala kuwo.

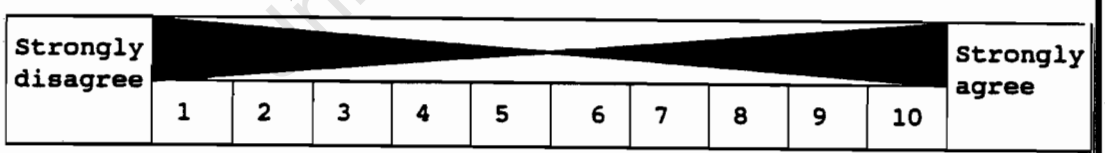


S17

10. Sipho says:
I am excited about being part of the process of reshaping the future for all our children to enjoy. It is exciting to be the first to do something and to discover things and to invent things. The investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement is money well spent.
Ndinovuyo nochulumanco ukuba ngomnye wabantu abenza inguqulela zokuthintsha ikamva labantwana bonke ukuze baxhamle. Kuyavuyisa ukuba ngumntu wokuqala ukwenza into nokufumana izinto nokuqamba izinto ezintsha. Ukuzaliswa kwexesha nemali ekuqambeni nasekufumaneni izinto ezintsha nemfundo yobugcisa yinkqubela phambili yimali esetyenziswe ngobugcisa.

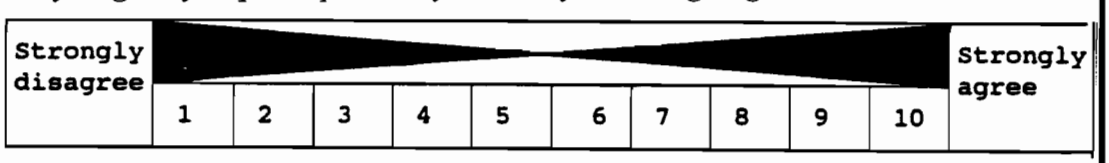
Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

10.1 It is exciting to be the first to do something and to discover things and to invent things.
Kuyavuyisa ukuba ngumntu wokuqala ukwenza into nokufumana izinto nokuqamba izinto ezintsha



S18

10.2 The investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement is money well spent.
Ukuzaliswa kwexesha nemali ekuqambeni nasekufumaneni izinto ezintsha nemfundo yobugcisa yinkqubela phambili yimali esetyenziswe ngobugcisa.

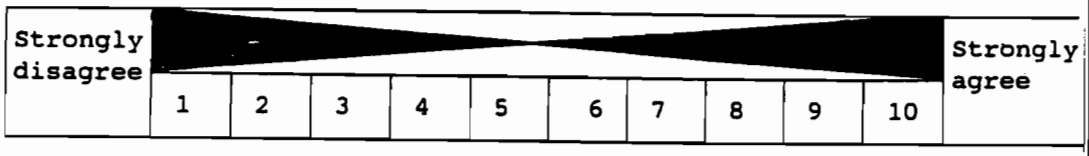


S19

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10.3 I am excited about being part of the process of reshaping the future for all our childrento enjoy.
Ndinovuyo nochulumanco ukuba ngomnye wabantu abenza inguqulela zokuthintsha ikamva labantwana bonke ukuze baxhamle.

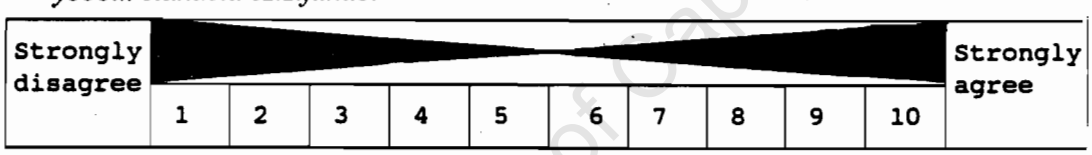


S10

11. Sipho says:
There are two schools in my area. One is known to bring out the best in each child and develop a well rounded human being. The other is known for teaching science and a scientific approach to life. I am going to send my son to the school known for teaching science and a scientific approach to life.
Apho ndihlala khona kukho izikolo ezibini. Esinye sifundisa umtwana abone ukubaluleka koluntu gqibelele. Esinye sesocselelo lwezifundo zobugcisa, nezifundo zenzulu lwazi, indlela yobom buyijonge ngendlela yenzululwazi. Ndizakuthumelo owam unyana kwisikolo esifundisa ezenzululwazi nesibonisa indlela yobom elandela ezizifundo.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

11.1 I would send a son of mine to the school known for teaching science and a scientific approach to life.
Ndizakuthumelo owam unyana kwisikolo esifundisa ezenzululwazi nesibonisa indlela yobom elandela ezizifundo.

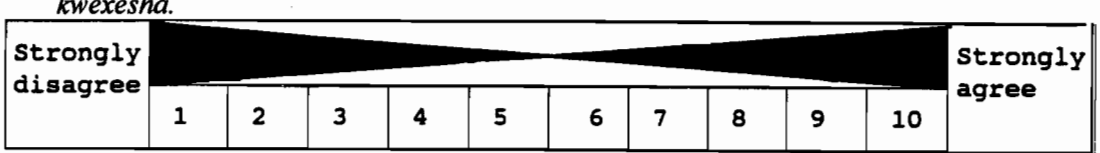


S21

12. Sipho says:
I think people should be self-disciplined. It is important for a meeting to start on time and for people not to arrive late.
Kufanelekile ukuba abantu baqeqesheke. Kubalulekile kakhulu okokuba intlanganiso iqale ngexesha nabantu bangafiki emva kwexesha.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

12.1 It is important for a meeting to start on time and for people not to arrive late.
Kubalulekile kakhulu okokuba intlanganiso iqale ngexesha nabantu bangafiki emva kwexesha.



S22

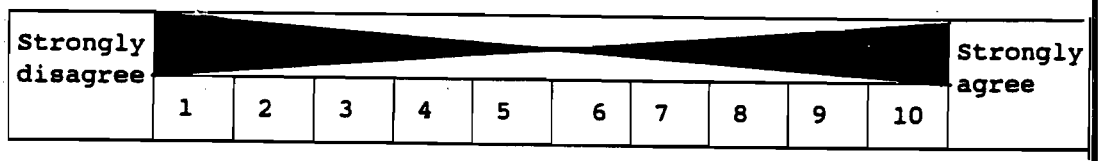
13. Sipho says:
Every new scientific discovery makes it possible for a human being to do things in new ways. History is moving forward. Human behaviour must now leave behind traditional ways of doing things and it must concentrate on what is to be achieved. It is more sensible, for example, to appoint the person who can do the job best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help.
Every new *scientific discovery yenza kubelula eluntwini okokuba kwenziwe izinto ngendlela ezintsha. Izibe imbali ihambela phambili. Indlela yokuziphatha kwabantu kufanele beshiye izithethe namasiko ngasemva bajongane nento ekufanele ibaphumeze. Kufanelekile okokuba kuqashwe umntu onokwenza umsebenzi ngendlela eyiyo kunomntu ocinga okokuba mawumncede.*

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Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

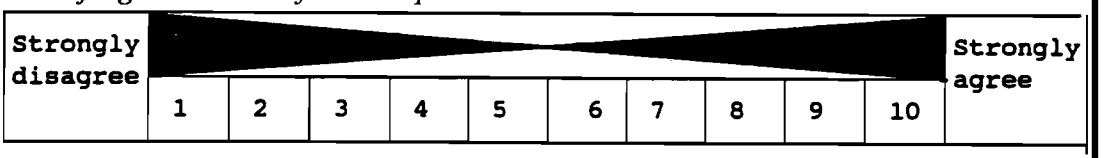
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13.1 History is moving forward
Izibe imbali ihambela phambili.



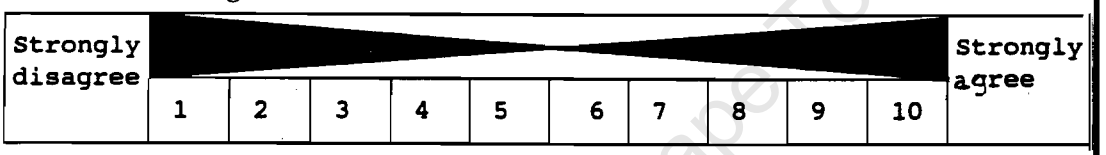
S23

13.2 Human behaviour must now leave behind traditional ways of doing things and it must concentrate on what is to be achieved.
Indlela yokuziphatha kwabantu kufanele beshiye izithethe namasiko ngasemva bajongane nento ekufanele ibaphumeze.



S24

13.3 It is sensible, to appoint the person who can do the job best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help.
Kufanelekile okokuba kuqashwe umntu onokwenza umsebenzi ngendlela eyiyo kunomntu ocinga okokuba mawumncede."

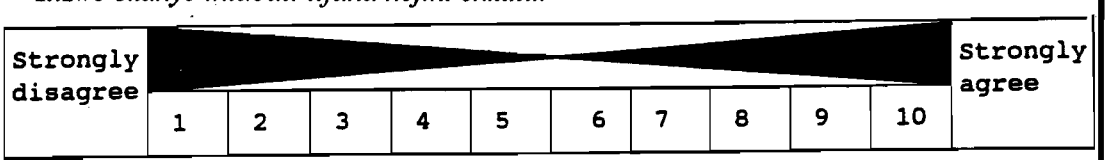


S25

14. Sipho says:
The physical world around us is just mechanical. The physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is. God is in heaven and heaven is where God is. Heaven is where I hope to go when I die. I think it would be right to say that I experience God personally. There is a saying: "God helps those who help themselves."
Ilizwe okanye ihlabathi lifana nenjini enkulu. Elihlabathi silibononayo lohlukile kwelemimoya, apho uThixo akhoyo. Umhlaba ayibubo ubom obugqibeleleyo. UThixo usezulwini, izulu kukuba lapho uThixo akhoyo. Izulu kulapho ndithemba ukuya khona xa ndiswelekile. Ndiyacinga kulungile xa ndisithi ndinamava ngoThixo. Ithi intetha "UThixo unceda abo bazincedayo".

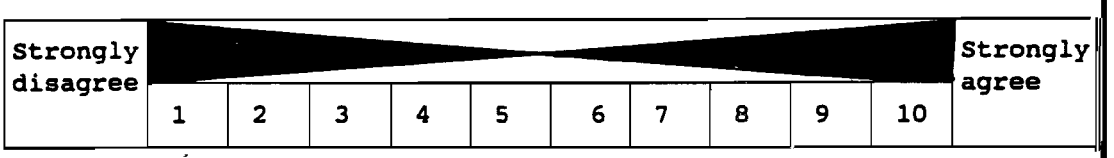
Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

14.1 The physical world around us is just mechanical.
Ilizwe okanye ihlabati lifana nejini enkulu.



S26

14.2 The physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is.
Elihlabati silibononayo lohlukile kwelemimoya, apho uThixo akhoyo.

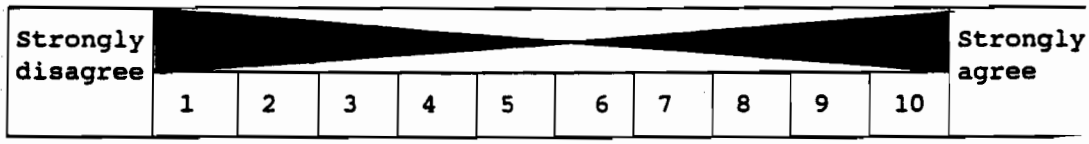


S27

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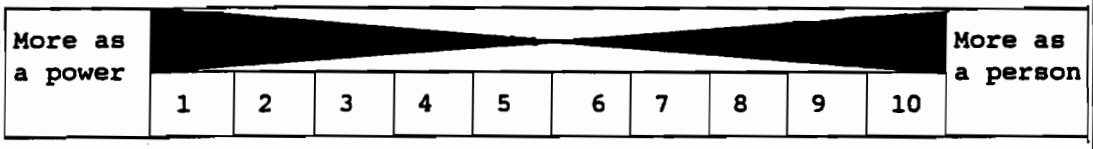
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14.3 **God is in heaven and heaven is where God is.**
uThixo usezulwini, izulu kukuba lapho uThixo akhoyo.



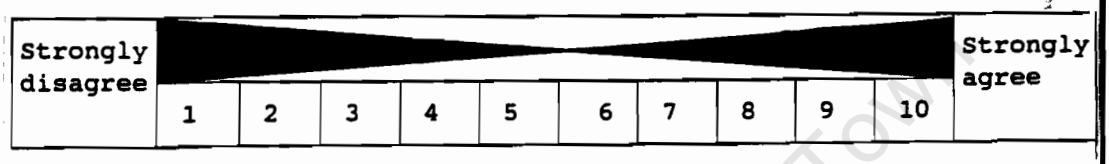
S28

14.4 **Do you think of God more as a power or more as a person?**
Ucinga okokuba uThixo ungokwamandla ogqibeleleyo okanye unjengomntu?



S29

14.5 **God is a power.**
uThixo ungokwamandla ogqibeleleyo.



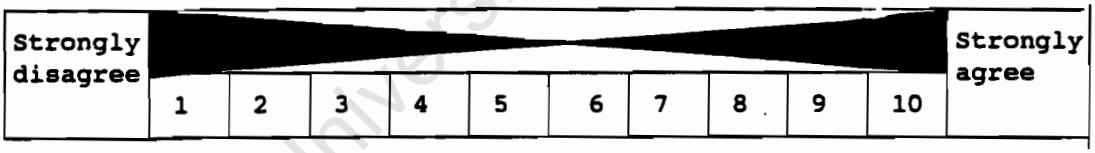
S30 CANCELLED

14.6 **God is like a person.**
uThixo unjengomntu.



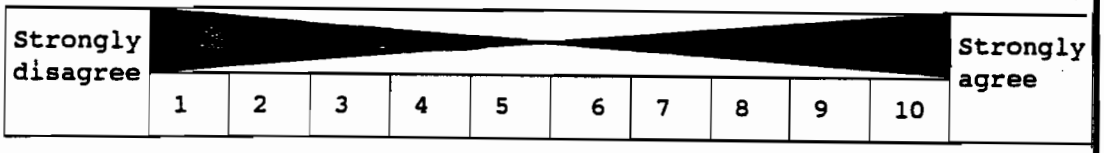
S31

14.7 **God has sought us but I must also seek him.**
uThixo wasifuna kodwa ke kufuneka nam ndimfune.



S32

14.8 **I hope to go away to Heaven after I die.**
Izulu kulapho ndithemba ukuya khona xa ndiswelekile.



S33

15. Sipho says:
My life really started when I left school and it will be as good as over when I retire. In this world it is the young, go-getter who always looks good who is most admired.
Ubom bam buqale mhlana ndashiya isikolo buya kuphela xa ndifumana umhla phantsi kodwa not ncam. Ubom ngokwaSesilungwini ngabatsha abangamatsha-ntliziyo abakhangeleka kakuhle ngabona abathandwayo.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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15.1 **A person's life really starts when he or she leaves school and is as good as over when he or she retire.**
Ubom bomntu buqala mhlana washiya isikolo buya kuphela xa ndifumana umhlala phantsi kodwa hayincam.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

S34

15.2 **In the Western world the people who are admired most are the young go-getters who always looks good.**
Ubom ngokwaSesilungwini ngabatsha abangamatsha-ntliziyo abakhangeleka kakuhle ngabona abathandwayo.

Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly agree

S35

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS

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Q. A.1 You are asked to describe yourself to a stranger. Describe who you are in 7 phrases.

PHRASES
1. .....
2. .....
3. .....
4. .....
5. .....
6. .....
7. .....

Q.A.2 How upset do you feel when an outsider criticises:

CRITICISM OF	Not at all Upset									Greatly Upset	
1. People who speak your home language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A1
2a. If you are male, man & boys as a group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A2
2b. If you are female, women & girls as a group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A3
3. Supporters of individual initiative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A4
4. Your family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A5
5. Your age group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A6
6. Workers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A7
7. People of South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A8
8. The group you feel you belong to beyond the national level.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A9
9. People who work for social justice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A10
10. People who do the same work as you (e.g. school students, business people, civil servants, teachers, social workers)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A11
11. Your local community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A12
12. Those who share your political position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A13
13. Those who share your religious position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	☐A14

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APPENDIX 2

Multiple Discriminant Analysis

Descriptive Analysis

The correlations between all the story variables were examined as part of the preparation for multiple discriminant analysis. The correlations were mostly weak but there were moderately strong correlations between F3 & F4, F15 & F16. F3 and F15 were therefore removed from the analysis and F4 and F16 were included.

Given that within discriminant analysis discriminator variables are selected on the basis of maximum separation between the group means proceeded to remove all story variables were the group means were similar. The remaining story variables were included in the multiple discriminant analysis. Table A1 below shows the group means of the selected variables.

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Table A1. Group Means for the Variables Included in the Multiple Discriminant Analysis

Profile	F4	F7	F9	F11	F12	F14	F16	F17	F18	F20	F21	F22	F23	F27	F28	F29	F30
AFFIRM	8.1	7.4	5.8	6.3	7.1	7.5	8.7	8.6	6.1	6.8	8.9	9.2	8.7	9.1	8.8	5.3	9.0
SF-AS	4.5	4.9	3.8	3.4	4.7	4.7	4.6	6.1	3.9	3.8	6.7	7.1	4.9	6.1	6.2	2.0	6.3
SELECT	6.1	5.0	4.4	4.0	5.0	5.3	6.4	6.7	3.8	4.5	7.1	7.9	6.2	7.5	7.0	2.9	6.8
AF-SS	8.6	7.2	5.4	6.8	6.5	7.5	9.3	8.5	6.4	7.0	8.8	9.4	8.7	9.2	8.4	6.3	8.8
All Grps	7.0	6.3	5.0	5.3	6.0	6.4	7.4	7.7	5.2	5.7	8.0	8.5	7.3	8.1	7.8	4.3	7.9

Profile	S7	S8	S9	S10	S11	S12	S13	S14	S15	S16	S17	S18	S21	S24	S25	S26	S27	S28
AFFIRM	9.0	9.1	7.2	7.7	8.8	9.4	8.8	6.0	8.9	8.7	7.8	9.1	8.3	4.5	8.1	8.3	8.4	8.4
SF-AS	8.8	9.1	7.3	7.3	8.6	9.2	9.1	6.2	8.9	8.7	7.7	9.1	7.5	6.6	8.3	7.8	8.3	8.0
SELECT	7.8	7.9	5.6	6.1	7.0	8.4	7.2	3.4	7.2	6.7	5.8	7.6	6.3	4.0	6.8	6.1	6.7	6.7
AF-SS	7.9	8.2	5.3	5.6	7.2	7.8	7.1	3.0	6.6	6.1	5.6	8.2	6.8	2.3	7.1	6.4	6.9	6.5
All Grps	8.5	8.7	6.5	6.9	8.1	8.9	8.2	4.9	8.1	7.8	7.0	8.6	7.4	4.5	7.7	7.4	7.7	7.6

Profile	S29	S31	S34	S35
AFFIRM	6.6	6.9	6.1	7.5
SF-AS	5.9	6.7	6.1	7.6
SELECT	4.4	5.1	4.2	5.4
AF-SS	5.0	6.0	4.1	5.5
All Grps	5.7	6.3	5.3	6.7

Note: N = 658 (Casewise deletion of missing data)

We made sure that the underlying assumption of normal distribution was not violated for any of the variables in the analysis. All the variables we selected had a normal distribution or a distribution that approached normality.

Summary of Multiple Discriminant Analysis

In testing the null hypothesis that $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4$ overall F value for the model was 21.226 (with a p-value of <0,0000) which indicates that the null hypothesis should be rejected; in other words, at least one group mean differs from the others. From discriminant function analysis summary shown in Table A2 below the variables selected as discriminator variables after the discriminant analysis was completed by Statistica include: F16, S14, S16, F29, F11, S35, F23, F7, S26, S29, S11, S28, F12, S15, F18, F28, S24, S18, S34, F4.

Table A2. Discriminant Function Analysis Summary (the F Matrix)

	Wilks' Lambda	Partial Lambda	F-remove (3,563)	p-level	Toler.	1-Toler.
F16	.199172	.932999	13.47673	.000000	.778655	.221345
S14	.203446	.913402	17.79237	.000000	.945614	.054386
S16	.192258	.966555	6.49361	.000252	.896818	.103182
F29	.195371	.951154	9.63756	.000003	.882249	.117751
F11	.194652	.954666	8.91164	.000009	.934846	.065154
S35	.191985	.967929	6.21812	.000369	.922770	.077230
F23	.193706	.959329	7.95626	.000033	.814096	.185904
F7	.192901	.963329	7.14381	.000103	.954981	.045019
S26	.191862	.968546	6.09450	.000438	.929347	.070653
S29	.193637	.959668	7.88709	.000037	.974821	.025179
S11	.192266	.966514	6.50184	.000249	.923675	.076325
S28	.191260	.971598	5.48585	.001014	.963206	.036794
F12	.193114	.962269	7.35858	.000076	.936148	.063852
S15	.191045	.972690	5.26901	.001368	.890125	.109875
F18	.190308	.976458	4.52466	.003802	.911672	.088328
F28	.189417	.981052	3.62463	.012979	.889530	.110470
S24	.188583	.985389	2.78269	.040308	.861869	.138131
S18	.189798	.979082	4.00944	.007690	.901413	.098587
S34	.189426	.981001	3.63458	.012804	.911600	.088400
F4	.189187	.982244	3.39245	.017772	.748324	.251676

Notes: 1.) Result after step 20; 2.) No. of variables in model: 20; 3.) Grouping Variable: PROFILE (4 groups); 4.) Wilks' *Lambda*: 0.18583 approx., F (60,1680) = 21.226, p<0.0000

The p-levels which test for statistically significant differences between the distances of the group centroids are shown in Table A3, below. The p-levels indicate that all four group centriods were effectively separated from each other in terms of the multiple discriminant analysis model.

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Table A3. P-Levels Testing The Difference between Group Centriods

	AFFIRM	SF-AS	SELECT	AF-SS
AFFIRM		0.00	0.00	0.00
SF-AS	0.00		0.00	0.00
SELECT	0.00	0.00		0.00
AF-SS	0.00	0.00	0.00	

The classification matrix (see Table A4) shows that 78% of all the valid cases were correctly classified by means of the model.

Table A4. Classification Matrix

Profile	Percent Correct	AFFIRM p=.39590	SF-AS p=.23038	SELECT p=.19625	AF-SS p=.17747
AFFIRM	**91**	217	4	9	8
SF-AS	**76**	16	107	16	1
SELECT	**66**	14	16	80	11
AF-SS	**67**	25	0	12	74
Total	**78**	272	127	117	94

Notes: 1.) Rows: Observed classifications; 2.) Columns: Predicted classifications

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APPENDIX 3

TABLES OF THE MATRICS' RESPONSES TO THE STORY VARIABLES

The Affirm Profile

Table A5, below, is a record of the percentage spread, across the three categories ("Disagree", "Uncertain" and "Agree"), of the responses to each of the Faku Story variables by the Matrics located in the Affirm Profile. Similarly, Table A6 is their responses to the Sipho Story variables. Also included in these tables is a record of the actual Likert Scale scores of each of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile who participated in the in-depth interviews. One can see how representative those who participated in the interviews are of the profile as a whole. The mega variables scores are also shown.

The AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS Profiles

Table A7, below, is a record of the percentage spread of the responses of the Matrics in the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS profiles to the Faku Story Variables their responses to Sipho Story variables is shown in Table A9. Table A8 records the actual Likert Scale scores to the Faku Story variables of each of the Matrics in these various profiles who participated in the in-depth interviews and their responses to the Sipho Story variables is shown in Table A10.

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Table A5. Responses (%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to the Faku Story Variables Together with the Actual Scores of those Who Participated in the In-depth Interviews

Faku Story Variables	Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols	Disagree %	Unsure %	Agree %	Missing %	MC 598	PZ 619	NK 626	PZA 644	UN 654	CT 720	NV 722	NZ 724	DM 733	TB 738	PE 755	PT 767	MB 768	KY 723
F1 Interdependence statement	COMMUNALISM	1	6	92	1	10	10	10	9	10	8	9	9	9	6	9	10	10	10
F2 *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*		1	3	96	-	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	8	10	10	10
F16 Ritual to correct my neglect of the ancestors		2	7	90	1	10	10	8	9	8	8	9	4	8	8	8	8	9	6
F26 People work together rather than for themselves		0	2	97	1	10	7	10	9	9	10	10	5	8	10	9	8	10	10
F27 Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings		0	7	92	1	10	10	10	7	9	10	10	10	8	8	8	10	10	10
Communalism MEGA Variable		**1**	**5**	**93**	**1**	10	9	10	8	9	9	10	8	9	8	8	9	10	9
F3 Ancestors ensure health/well-being	MONISM	4	14	81	1	9	8	1	9	6	7	10	6	6	8	8	10	8	10
F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have		5	15	79	1	9	8	5	9	9	6	10	10	7	7	8	10	8	9
F14 Ancestral spirits live in rivers		11	22	67	-	8	5	10	7	2	5	8	6	5	8	8	8	8	10
F15 Ancestors are important in my life		1	9	89	-	10	10	6	9	9	6	10	7	8	6	8	10	8	10
Monism MEGA Variable		**5**	**15**	**79**	**1**	9	8	6	9	7	6	10	7	7	7	8	10	8	10
F5 Children are our wealth	TRADITIONAL SOCIAL FEATURES	6	13	80	1	9	10	10	5	7	7	6	7	9	10	8	10	8	5
F6 Fertility, obedience & hard work		5	8	85	2	8	10	10	9	8	7	9	10	8	4	8	10	10	7
F7 Women agree they should be fertile ...		12	20	63	5	7	8	8	3	8	5	8	5	8	3	7	10	6	9
F21 Older people to be respected by the youth		2	7	91	-	10	5	10	7	5	7	10	7	8	9	6	10	8	10
F22 Old pass on traditions		1	5	93	1	10	9	10	9	8	9	10	10	8	7	9	10	10	10
Traditional Social Features MEGA Variable		**5**	**11**	**82**	**2**	9	8	10	7	7	7	9	8	8	7	8	10	8	8
F8 Qamata made earth & everything	GOD OF THE ANCESTORS	8	12	80	-	8	9	10	10	10	7	1	1	2	10	6	10	6	1
F9 Qamata is far away		32	23	44	1	2	8	10	6	8	8	7	3	5	3	6	1	6	4
F10 Pray to and praise Qamata		4	7	89	-	10	9	8	10	9	9	8	10	6	8	6	5	8	4
F12 Only communicate with Qamata during crisis		18	21	60	1	10	7	10	5	6	5	7	3	2	9	6	4	6	4
God of the Ancestors MEGA Variable		**15**	**16**	**68**	**1**	8	8	10	8	8	7	6	4	4	8	6	5	7	3
F17 Balance upset .someone/thing caused this	NO CHANCE	2	11	87	-	10	7	10	9	6	6	10	7	8	8	8	10	9	10
F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual		25	27	48	-	9	6	1	6	10	6	10	5	5	7	2	5	9	9
F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune		16	29	55	-	10	6	1	3	9	6	2	7	5	8	7	6	9	10
No Chance MEGA Variable		**15**	**22**	**63**	-	6	6	4	6	8	6	7	6	6	8	6	7	9	10
F23 When I die ...not far from the living	BECOMING AN ANCESTOR	2	10	88	-	10	9	10	8	7	7	10	10	5	7	8	9	8	9
F24 Person & thing has its place	GRAND PATTERN	1	4	95	1	9	10	10	9	9	10	9	10	9	7	9	7	10	10
F25 Teat something/one with disrespect weakens all		2	10	87	1	10	9	10	6	8	9	10	10	8	9	9	5	10	10
F32 Person & thing has a purpose to work out		1	11	88	-	10	8	10	7	9	10	8	7	6	9	10	6	8	9
Grand Pattern MEGA Variable		**1**	**8**	**90**	1	10	9	10	7	9	10	9	9	8	8	9	6	9	10
F30 Person is born ... goes on to be ancestor	CYCLICAL TIME	1	13	86	-	9	10	10	10	6	8	9	10	8	6	10	10	7	10
F33 Life, time all that Qamata made goes on forever		1	4	94	1	9	10	10	10	9	10	8	8	9	10	8	3	7	10
Cyclical Time MEGA Variable		**1**	**8**	**90**	1	9	10	10	10	7	9	9	9	9	8	9	7	7	10
F31 Fit into rhythms of nature	FIT INTO	1	8	91	-	10	8	10	8	8	10	9	10	8	8	8	8	8	9
F11 Qamata & Ancestors control the crops	TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL EXPLANATIONS	25	23	52	-	9	6	9	8	4	5	5	1	1	5	6	3	7	6
F29 I go to the *igqira*		38	21	41	-	4	6	1	5	7	5	1	10	8	5	6	10	9	4
Traditional Spiritual Explanations MEGA variable		**32**	**22**	**46**	-														5
F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength	VITAL FORCE	3	8	89	-	10	5	10	9	9	9	1	8	9	8	10	5	10	10
F28 Everything has power		1	8	90	1	10	7	10	9	8	10	8	10	7	9	9	7	10	10
Vital Force MEGA Variable		**2**	**8**	**89**	1	10	6	10	9	9	10	5	9	8	9	10	6	10	10

Note: Variables F23 and F31 are also mega variables

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Table A6. Responses (%) of the Matrics in the Affirm Profile to the Sipho Story Variables Together with the Actual Scores of those Who Participated in the In-depth Interviews

Sipho Story Variables	Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols	Disagree %	Unsure %	Agree %	Missing	MC 598	PZ 619	NK 626	PZA 644	UN 654	CT 720	NV 722	NZ 724	DM 733	TB 738	PE 755	PT 767	MB 768	KY 723
S12 make it on my own		1	4	95	-	10	10	10	9	10	8	10	10	9	10	8	10	10	10
S13 Independence ...I treasure		4	7	88	1	10	10	10	10	10	9	5	10	8	10	9	10	10	6
S14 family holds one back	INDIVIDUALISM	28	27	45	-	2	5	7	6	6	4	4	9	6	3	6	1	6	4
S15 provide for own future		4	7	89	-	9	10	10	10	9	10	9	7	9	10	7	10	6	10
S16 I co-operate only if it helps me		2	10	88	-	10	10	10	9	9	9	9	9	10	9	10	7	9	10
S25 best person for the job		6	15	79	1	6	10	10	7	8	5	4	2	9	9	9	6	10	8
Individualism MEGA Variable		**8**	**11**	**81**	-	8	9	9	9	9	8	7	9	8	8	8	8	8	8
S26 world is mechanical		5	14	80	1	10	8	8	7	8	7	1	6	8	4	9	4	8	9
S28 God is in heaven	DUALISM	4	18	77	1	1	9	10	9	9	7	10	10	9	7	8	10	7	10
S27 physical separate from spiritual		7	15	78	1	2	7	10	10	9	8	5	8	8	9	9	9	7	48
Dualism MEGA Variable		**4**	**16**	**79**	1	6	9	10	9	9	8	7	9	8	6	9	8	8	6
S9 better to reward than to punish	SOCIAL	13	23	63	-	9	10	10	4	10	5	6	7	9	10	7	7	10	8
S11 best society competitive	MOTIVATION	3	7	90	-	10	10	10	9	10	9	10	7	10	4	10	10	9	7
Social Motivation MEGA Variable		**8**	**15**	**77**	-	10	10	10	7	10	7	8	7	10	7	9	9	10	10
S29 God as power ... God as a person	PERSONAL	25	20	54	1	6	6	10	3	1	5	9	10	9	10	6	6	9	10
S31 God like a person	GOD	21	23	55	1	7	9	10	5	2	6	10	10	1	3	6	5	8	10
Personal God MEGA Variable		**23**	**22**	**54**	1	7	8	10	4	2	6	10	10	5	7	6	6	9	10
S10 don't waste too much time finding out	**CHANCE**	**11**	**14**	**75**		**8**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**10**	**5**	**8**	**5**	**9**	**5**	**8**	**8**	**8**	**10**
S33 go to heaven when I die	GOING TO HEAVEN	2	15	82	1	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	7	5	8	10	10	10
S18 exciting to be the first to do something		1	5	94	-	8	9	10	10	10	8	9	10	9	8	10	8	8	10
S19 time & money on inventions	GRAND PURPOSE	1	4	95	-	9	7	10	8	10	7	9	8	8	7	8	8	8	8
Grand Purpose MEGA Variables		**1**	**5**	**94**	-	9	8	10	9	10	8	9	9	9	8	9	8	8	9
S22 Meeting start on time	LINEAR	1	2	96	1	10	10	10	9	9	10	10	10	9	10	9	10	10	10
S23 History is moving forward	TIME	2	5	92	1	10	5	10	5	10	7	10	10	8	8	9	10	10	10
Linear Time MEGA Variables		**1**	**5**	**94**	1	10	8	10	7	10	9	10	10	9	9	9	10	10	10
S17 reshape the world		7	19	73	-	9	10	10	6	8	10	8	8	9	6	8	5	9	5
S20 part of reshaping the future	TAKE-	1	3	95	1	10	9	10	9	10	9		6	10	8	8	9	10	8
S21 school teaching science	HOLD-AND-SHAPE	6	16	77	1	10	10	8	5	7	8	10	10	9	8	9	10	8	9
S34 life starts ..leaves school ..over when retire		29	24	47	-	10	4	1	7	6	5	9	10	8	10	7	10	9	4
S35 young go-getters most admired		9	23	68	-	10	9	10	7	8	5	8	3	7	9	7	6	7	10
Take-Hold-And-Shape MEGA Variable		**10**	**17**	**72**	1	10	8	8	7	8	7	7	7	9	8	8	8	9	7
S24 leave behind traditions	**SECULARITY**	**49**	**20**	**30**	**1**	**5**	**7**	**10**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**6**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**9**	**9**
S1 Happy when achieving or becoming		1	3	95	-	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	9	10	10	8	8	10	10
S2 pressure to achieve		2	2	96	-	10	10	10	8	10	10	7	10	10	8	9	10	8	10
S3 think about what I am to become		1	3	96	-	4	9	8	7	10	8	10	10	9	9	9	10	9	10
S4 goal orientated to achieve	GOALS	-	-	100	-	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9
S5 goals give purpose & direction			2	98	-	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	9	10	10	10	8
S6 admire people work towards better future		4	13	82	-	9	9	6	7	10	8	6	9	7	8	8	10	7	10
S7 sacrifice now better future		2	6	91	-	10	10	10	7	10	10	8	9	9	10	10	10	8	10
S8 frustrated when prevented pursuing goals		2	5	93	-	10	10	1	9	10	10	8	10	10	9	10	9	7	10
Goals MEGA Variable		**3**	**4**	**93**	-	9	9	8	8	9	9	8	8	9	9	9	9	9	10
S32 seek God	**SEEK BELONGING**	**1**	**10**	**87**	**2**	**9**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**9**		**8**	**10**	**10**	**10**

Notes: Variables S10, S33, S24, and S32 are also mega variables.

Table A7 Responses (%) of the Matrics in the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS Profiles to the Faku Story Variables

Faku Story Variables	Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols	AF-SS Profile				Unsure Profile				Select Profile				SF-AS			
		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing
F1 Interdependence statement	COMMUNALISM	1	9	90	-	4	40	56	-	9	18	73	-	15	15	68	2
F2 Umntu ngumntu ngabantu		0	4	96	-	0	20	80	-	6	5	88	1	7	4	87	2
F16 Ritual to correct my neglect of the ancestors		1	4	94	1	4	40	56	-	30	14	56	-	46	17	36	1
F26 People work together rather than for themselves		0	2	98	-	0	32	68	-	6	6	88	-	6	7	86	1
F27 ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings		3	4	93	-	8	48	44	-	15	17	67	-	25	22	53	-
Communalism MEGA Variable		**1**	**5**	**94**	**0**	**3**	**36**	**61**	-	**13**	**12**	**75**	**0**	**20**	**13**	**66**	**1**
F3 Ancestors ensure health/well-being	MONISM	4	9	85	2	16	36	48	-	30	24	45	1	40	28	30	2
F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have		16	9	85	-	16	44	40	-	34	19	46	1	40	29	31	-
F14 Ancestral spirits live in rivers		15	18	67	-	16	52	32	-	43	17	40	-	45	23	31	1
F15 Ancestors are important in my life		1	4	95	-	12	32	56	-	29	13	56	-	47	18	34	1
Monism MEGA Variable		**7**	**10**	**83**	**0**	**15**	**41**	**44**	-	**34**	**18**	**47**	**1**	**43**	**25**	**31**	**1**
F5 Children are our wealth	TRADITIONAL SOCIAL FEATURES	9	14	75	2	12	48	40	-	30	14	55	1	33	17	50	-
F6 Fertility, obedience & hard work		4	11	82	3	8	32	60	-	30	4	65	3	28	13	59	-
F7 Women agree they should be fertile ...		12	22	56	10	28	56	16	-	43	18	33	6	42	21	34	3
F21 Older people to be respected by the youth		1	7	90	2	4	28	68	-	23	13	64	-	23	17	59	1
F22 Old pass on traditions		1	2	95	2	-	44	56	-	11	12	76	1	12	23	65	-
Social Features MEGA Variable		**5**	**11**	**80**	**4**	**10**	**42**	**48**	-	**27**	**12**	**59**	**2**	**28**	**18**	**53**	**1**
F8 Qamata made earth & everything	GOD OF THE ANCESTORS	8	10	81	1	20	24	56	-	31	6	63	1	33	9	57	1
F9 Qamata is far away		39	17	43	1	24	48	28	-	65	6	28	1	60	17	21	2
F10 Pray to and praise Qamata		5	7	87	1	12	40	48	-	24	12	64	-	33	7	58	2
F12 Only communicate with Qamata during crisis		23	15	59	2	32	36	28	4	48	17	33	2	47	21	31	1
God of the Ancestors MEGA Variable		**19**	**12**	**68**	**1**	**22**	**37**	**40**	**1**	**42**	**10**	**47**	**1**	**43**	**14**	**42**	**1**
F17 Balance upset .something caused this	NO CHANCE	3	11	82	4	4	36	60	-	26	14	60	4	29	23	48	-
F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual		31	20	48	1	24	64	12	-	65	15	20	-	60	23	16	1
F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune		16	19	65	1	12	68	20	-	54	16	30	-	58	22	19	1
No Chance MEGA Variable		**17**	**17**	**65**	-	**13**	**56**	**31**	-	**48**	**15**	**36**	**1**	**49**	**23**	**27**	**1**
F23 When I die ...not far from the living	BECOMING AN ANCESTOR	**4**	**9**	**86**	**1**	**12**	**56**	**32**	-	**32**	**16**	**52**	-	**39**	**21**	**39**	**1**
F24 Person & thing has its place	GRAND PATTERN	3	4	92	1	4	32	64	-	9	10	80	1	2	6	92	-
F25 Treat something/one with disrespect weakens all		7	12	79	2	4	56	40	-	17	11	72	2	17	13	69	1
F32 Person & thing has a purpose to work out		4	11	85	-	-	48	52	-	12	10	78	-	5	18	77	-
Grand Pattern MEGA Variable		**5**	**9**	**85**	**1**	**3**	**45**	**52**	-	**13**	**10**	**76**	**1**	**8**	**12**	**79**	**1**
F30 person is born ... goes on to be ancestor	CYCLICAL TIME	3	13	83	1	16	48	36	-	25	15	60	-	28	19	53	-
F33 Life, time all that Qamata made goes on forever		1	9	90	-	8	40	52	-	23	9	68	-	23	13	64	-
Cyclical Time MEGA Variable		**2**	**11**	**86**	**1**	**12**	**44**	**44**	-	**24**	**12**	**64**	-	**26**	**16**	**58**	-
F31 Fit into rhythms of nature	FIT INTO	**3**	**8**	**88**	**1**	-	**56**	**44**	-	**21**	**15**	**63**	**1**	**17**	**21**	**62**	-
F11 Qamata & Ancestors control the crops	TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL EXPLANATIONS	20	23	56	-	44	40	16	-	65	10	24	1	68	14	16	2
F29 I go to the *igqira*		26	26	48	-	48	48	4	-	78	7	14	1	87	9	4	0
Traditional Spiritual Explanations MEGA Variable		**23**	**25**	**52**	-	**46**	**44**	**10**	-	**72**	**8**	**19**	**1**	**78**	**11**	**10**	**1**
F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength	VITAL FORCE	5	9	84	2	4	32	64	-	23	9	68	-	15	12	73	-
F28 Everything has power		3	13	83	1	4	48	48	-	23	13	64	-	28	21	51	-
Vital Force MEGA Variable		**4**	**11**	**84**	**1**	**4**	**40**	**56**	-	**23**	**11**	**66**	-	**22**	**16**	**62**	-

Note: The constituent variables Becoming An Ancestor and Fit Into are also the mega variables

Table A8 Responses to the Faku Story Variables of the Matrics in the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS Profiles who Participated in the In-depth Interviews

Faku Story Variables	Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols	AF-SS Profile							Unsure Profile		Select Profile				SF-AS Profile		
		SZ 617	TK 618	SY 648	KS 682	JU 718	SH 736	TO 742	KN 628	KL 672	NX 712	MS 587	BW 586	LV 777	YD 600	SP 652	VK 751
F1 Interdependence statement	COMMUNALISM	5	10	10	10	10	10	10	6	7	10	10	10	10	10	8	5
F2 *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*		10	10	9	10	9	10	10	9	7	10	10	10	10	9	10	10
F16 Ritual to correct my neglect of the ancestors		10	10	10	10	10	10	10	7	10	10	5	1	9	2	5	10
F26 People work together rather than for themselves		10	10	7	10	9	10	10	7	5	10	10	10	9	10	5	8
F27 Ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings		10	10	10	5	8	10	10	6	1	10	5	6	9	10	7	9
Communalism MEGA Variable		**9**	**10**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**7**	**6**	**10**	**8**	**7**	**9**	**8**	**7**	**8**
F3 Ancestors ensure health/well-being	MONISM	10	10	9	7	2	10	10	9	8	9	10	4	8	1	2	8
F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have		10	10	10	7	8	10	10	7	8	10	10	3	8	1	5	9
F14 Ancestral spirits live in rivers		5	10	5	5	7	10	10	6	5	1	5	1	8	9	5	9
F15 Ancestors are important in my life		10	10	9	10	10	10	10	6	10	10	5	1	9	7	4	10
Monism MEGA Variable		**9**	**10**	**8**	**7**	**7**	**10**	**10**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**7**	**2**	**8**	**4**	**4**	**9**
F5 Children are our wealth	TRADITIONAL SOCIAL FEATURES	10	9	10	1	10	10	10	5	5	10	10	6	10	9	8	10
F6 Fertility, obedience & hard work		10	9	10	1	10	10	5	9	7	9	10	7	10	10	10	7
F7 Women agree they should be fertile ...		10	5	3	10	2	10	5	9	5	1	1	1	9	9	3	4
F21 Older people to be respected by the youth		10	5	8	9	9	10	10	6	10	9	5	5	6	5	4	9
F22 Old pass on traditions		10	10	9	7	10	10	10	7	10	10	10	5	8	9	6	8
Traditional Social Features MEGA Variable		**10**	**8**	**8**	**5**	**8**	**10**	**8**	**7**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**5**	**9**	**8**	**6**	**8**
F8 Qamata made earth & everything	GOD OF THE ANCESTORS	10	10	10	10	1	10	1	9	10	8	10	3	1	10	2	2
F9 Qamata is far away		10	1	5	10	9	10	1	10	10	2	1	6	1	1	5	3
F10 Pray to and praise Qamata		10	10	9	10	10	10	1	9	9	10	10	8	1	10	3	4
F12 Only communicate with Qamata during crisis		5	1	10	1	6	7	1	2	5	1	10	10	6	3	5	2
God of the Ancestors MEGA Variable		**9**	**5**	**8**	**8**	**6**	**9**	**1**	**7**	**8**	**5**	**7**	**7**	**2**	**6**	**4**	**3**
F17 Balance upset .someone/thing caused this	NO CHANCE	10	10	8	6	10	10	10	7	8	8	10	10	10	9	4	8
F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual		5	9	7	1	2	10	10	6	8	1	10	1	1	2	5	10
F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune		5	8	8	5	5	10	10	6	5	1	5	1	2	8	5	8
No Chance MEGA Variable		**7**	**9**	**8**	**4**	**6**	**10**	**10**	**6**	**7**	**3**	**8**	**4**	**4**	**6**	**5**	**9**
F23 When I die ...not far from the living	BECOMING AN ANCESTOR	**10**	**10**	**10**	**7**	**5**	**10**	**10**	**6**	**5**	**9**	**4**	**1**	**9**	**8**	**3**	**8**
F24 Person & thing has its place	GRAND PATTERN	10	10	5	10	10	10	10	7	8	10	10	10	10	10	9	9
F25 Treat something/one with disrespect weakens all		10	10	9	9	10	10	10	7	5	2	10	7	9	9	5	5
F32 Person & thing has a purpose to work out		10	10	8	7	9	10	10	6	10	10	10	10	10	8	7	7
Grand Pattern MEGA Variable		**10**	**10**	**7**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**7**	**7**	**7**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**9**	**7**	**7**
F30 Person is born ... goes on to be ancestor	CYCLICAL TIME	5	10	9	6	10	10	10	6	5	10	1	1	9	9	5	7
F33 Life, time all that Qamata made goes on forever		10	10	10	10	8	10	5	7	10	10	10	10	1	10	4	8
Cyclical Time MEGA Variable		**7**	**10**	**9**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**6**	**7**	**10**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**9**	**4**	**8**
F31 fit into rhythms of nature	FIT INTO	10	10	7	10	8	10	10	7	8	10	1	5	10	10	6	6
F11 Qamata & Ancestors control the crops	SPIRITUAL EXPLANATIONS	5	10	9	10	2	10	1	9	10	8	10	1	1	4	3	1
F29 I go to the *igqira*		5	5	6	1	7	10	10	6	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	5
Traditional Spiritual Explanations Mega Variable		**5**	**8**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**10**	**6**	**8**	**7**	**5**	**7**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**3**
F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength	VITAL FORCE	10	10	10	8	10	10	10	6	9	9	10	1	3	10	8	10
F28 Everything has power		5	10	5	5	5	10	10	10	10	10	10	1	7	10	3	10
Vital Force MEGA Variable		**7**	**10**	**7**	**6**	**7**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**1**	**5**	**10**	**5**	**10**

Table A9 Responses (%)of the Matrics in the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS Profiles to the Sipho Story Variables

Sipho Story Variables	Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols	AF-SS Profile				Unsure Profile				Select Profile				SF-AS			
		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Missing
S12 Make it on my own	INDIVIDUALISM	19	9	72	-	4	32	64	-	17	5	78	-	2	5	92	1
S13 Independence ...I treasure		28	8	64	-	8	36	56	-	24	7	69	-	2	5	92	1
S14 family holds one back		77	12	10	1	24	60	12	4	68	14	17	-	23	26	50	1
S15 provide for own future		29	11	60	-	14	56	28	2	22	10	68	-	3	9	87	1
S16 I co-operate only if it helps me		35	9	55	-	12	36	52	-	27	9	64	-	6	8	86	-
S25 best person for the job		18	15	67	-	12	52	36	-	28	13	58	-	5	16	78	1
Individualism Mega Variable		**34**	**11**	**55**	-	**12**	**46**	**41**	**1**	**31**	**10**	**59**	-	**7**	**12**	**80**	**1**
S26 world is mechanical	DUALISM	26	19	55	-	-	68	32	-	30	20	49	1	6	19	74	1
S27 physical separate from spiritual		23	18	58	1	-	48	52	-	27	14	57	2	3	20	77	-
S28 God is in heaven		30	15	54	1	-	40	60	-	26	16	58	-	11	13	75	1
Dualism Mega Variable		**26**	**17**	**56**	**1**	-	**52**	**48**	-	**28**	**17**	**54**	**1**	**7**	**17**	**75**	**1**
S9 better to reward than to punish	SOCIAL MOTIVATION	40	22	38	-	28	48	24	-	38	20	42	-	10	30	60	-
S11 best society competitive		23	11	66	-	12	36	52	-	23	8	69	-	4	10	86	-
Social Motivation Mega Variable		**32**	**16**	**52**	-	**20**	**42**	**38**	-	**31**	**14**	**55**	-	**7**	**20**	**73**	-
S29 God as power ... God as a person	PERSONAL GOD	46	18	35	1	24	48	28	-	50	19	28	3	34	23	42	1
S31 God like a person		37	13	49	1	20	64	16	-	45	20	35	-	24	19	56	1
Personal God Mega Variable		**42**	**15**	**42**	**1**	**22**	**56**	**22**	-	**47**	**20**	**32**	**1**	**29**	**21**	**49**	**1**
S10 don't waste much time finding out why	CHANCE	**36**	**17**	**47**	-	**12**	**56**	**32**	-	**36**	**13**	**49**	**2**	**13**	**13**	**73**	-
S33 go to heaven when I die	GOING TO HEAVEN	**29**	**11**	**59**	**1**	**8**	**36**	**56**	-	**15**	**14**	**71**	-	**3**	**9**	**87**	**1**
S18 exciting to be the first to do something	GRAND PURPOSE	9	11	79	1	-	52	48	-	16	14	70	-	2	7	91	-
S19 time & money on inventions		9	18	72	1	12	64	24	-	14	19	67	-	2	13	84	1
Grand Purpose Mega Variable		**9**	**15**	**75**	**1**	**6**	**58**	**36**	-	**15**	**16**	**69**	-	**2**	**10**	**87**	**1**
S22 Meeting start on time	LINEAR TIME	4	6	90	-	8	24	68	-	6	6	88	-	1	2	97	-
S23 History is moving forward		12	5	83	-	4	52	44	-	19	7	74	-	2	9	89	-
Linear Time Mega Variable		**8**	**5**	**87**	-	**6**	**38**	**56**	-	**13**	**6**	**81**	-	**1**	**6**	**93**	-
S17 reshape the world	TAKE-HOLD -AND- SHAPE	37	20	43	-	32	52	16	-	36	19	45	-	9	17	74	-
S20 part of the process of reshaping the future		10	6	83	1	4	36	60	-	4	13	82	1	2	6	92	-
S21 school teaching science		26	17	57	-	16	52	32	-	33	15	52	-	11	22	67	-
S34 life starts ..leave school, over when retire		59	17	24	-	36	36	28	-	62	15	23	-	28	24	48	-
S35 young go-getters most admired		35	23	42	-	24	60	16	-	40	21	38	1	9	21	70	-
Take-Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable		**33**	**17**	**50**	-	**23**	**47**	**30**	-	**35**	**17**	**48**	-	**12**	**18**	**70**	-
S24 leave behind traditions	SECULARITY	**85**	**6**	**8**	**1**	**44**	**36**	**20**	-	**65**	**12**	**22**	**1**	**23**	**25**	**51**	**1**
S1 happy when achieving or becoming	GOALS	10	3	87	-	0	36	60	4	5	5	90	-	2	3	94	1
S2 pressure to achieve		9	9	82	-	4	52	44	-	10	6	83	1	3	6	91	-
S3 think about what I am to become		13	9	78	-	4	48	48	-	11	4	85	-	4	3	93	-
S4 goal orientated to achieve		1	-	99	-	0	28	72	-	1	2	97	-	-	1	98	1
S5 goals give purpose & direction		5	2	92	-	8	32	60	-	6	8	86	-	-	2	98	-
S6 admire people work towards better future		21	13	65	1	4	72	24	-	13	16	70	1	3	10	86	1
S7 sacrifice now better future		11	13	75	1	0	52	48	-	14	11	75	-	2	6	92	-
S8 frustrated prevented from pursuing goals		11	6	83	-	4	36	60	-	13	10	77	-	2	4	94	-
Goals Mega Variable		**10**	**7**	**83**	-	**3**	**45**	**52**	-	**9**	**8**	**83**	-	**2**	**4**	**93**	**1**
S32 seek God	SEEK BELONGING	**14**	**15**	**71**	-	**4**	**48**	**48**	-	**11**	**12**	**76**	**1**	**3**	**13**	**83**	**1**

Note: The constituent variables Going To Heaven, Secularity and Seek Belonging are also the mega variables

Table A10 Responses to the Sipho Story Variables of the Matrics in the AF-SS, Unsure, Select and SF-AS Profiles who Participated in the In-depth Interviews

Sipho Story Variables	Non-negotiable Paradigmatic Symbols	AF-SS Profile							Unsure Profile		Selective Profile				SF-AS Profile		
		SZ 617	TK 618	SY 648	KS 682	JU 718	SH 736	TO 742	KN 628	KL 672	NX 712	MS 587	BW 586	LV 777	YD 600	SP 652	VK 751
S12 Make it on my own	INDIVIDUALISM	5	10	10	1	10	10	5	10	10	2	10	7	10	9	8	10
S13 Independence ...I treasure		10	10	10	1	8	10	1	10	2	10	10	5	1	7	7	9
S14 Family holds one back		1	1	3	1	2	4	1	6	1	1	1	4	1	8	4	2
S15 Provide for own future		10	1	9	3	10	10	5	10	5	9	1	6	1	9	8	8
S16 I co-operate only if it helps me		10	10	9	1	5	4	1	7	5	10	1	10	1	10	8	5
S25 Best person for the job		1	10	5	10	9	10	1	10	5		10	7	7	10	6	6
Individualism MEGA Variable		**6**	**7**	**8**	**3**	**7**	**8**	**2**	**9**	**5**	**6**	**6**	**7**	**3**	**9**	**7**	**7**
S26 World is mechanical	DUALISM	10	1	8	5	10	5	1	6	5	5	7	6	3	8	7	8
S27 Physical separate from spiritual		1	10	3	10	9	5	5	6	10	10	5	10	10	10	7	9
S28 God is in heaven		10	5	2	10	8	1	1	6	10	7	1	10	10	9	9	8
Dualism MEGA Variable		**7**	**5**	**4**	**8**	**9**	**4**	**2**	**6**	**8**	**9**	**4**	**5**	**8**	**9**	**8**	**8**
S9 Better to reward than to punish	SOCIAL MOTIVATION	5	10	9	1	8	10	1	1	5	2	1	7	1	10	5	8
S11 Best society competitive		10	5	8	10	2	10	1	10	3	9	10	1	8	9	5	9
Social Motivation MEGA Variable		**8**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**10**	**2**	**6**	**4**	**6**	**6**	**4**	**5**	**9**	**5**	**9**
S29 God as power ... God as a person	PERSONAL GOD	1	1	3	1	10	1	5	6	1	9	1	1	1	9	4	5
S31 God like a person		1	10	2	1	10	1	1	6	2	2	10	1	9	8	5	-
Personal God MEGA Variable		**1**	**6**	**3**	**1**	**10**	**1**	**3**	**6**	**2**	**6**	**6**	**1**	**5**	**8**	**5**	-
S10 Don't waste much time finding out why	CHANCE	10	10	4	5	10	10	1	10	5	1	8	6	10	9	8	7
S33 Go to heaven when I die	GOING TO HEAVEN	10	10	10	10	2	10	1	6	10	6	10	9	9	10	9	9
S18 Exciting to be the first to do something	GRAND PURPOSE	10	1	10	10	-	10	10	7	5	10	10	8	4	10	5	4
S19 Time & money on inventions		10	5	9	10	9	5	5	7	5	10	10	8	8	9	5	7
Grand Purpose MEGA Variable		**10**	**3**	**10**	**10**	-	**8**	**8**	**7**	**5**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**6**	**10**	**5**	**6**
S22 Meeting start on time	LINEAR TIME	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	10	10	4	10	10	9	9
S23 History is moving forward		10	10	9	10	10	10	5	10	5	1	10	8	9	9	7	9
Linear Time MEGAVariable		**10**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**7**	**6**	**10**	**6**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**9**
S17 Reshape the world	TAKE-HOLD-AND-SHAPE	10	1	5	1	8	10	1	6	1	9	1	5	10	9	5	4
S20 Part of the process of reshaping the future		10	5	10	10	9	10	1	7	8	10	10	4	8	10	7	8
S21 School teaching science		10	1	10	6	10	3	1	6	7	10	10	5	10	10	6	8
S34 Life starts ..leave school, over when retire		1	1	9	1	5	10	5	6	1	1	10	10	1	4	6	8
S35 Young go-getters most admired		1	10	10	1	7	1	10	6	1	2	10	1	7	8	3	3
Take -Hold-And-Shape Mega Variable		**6**	**3**	**9**	**4**	**8**	**7**	**3**	**6**	**4**	**6**	**8**	**5**	**7**	**8**	**5**	**6**
S24 Leave behind traditions	SECULARITY	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**5**	**10**	**6**	**10**	**4**	**2**
S1 Happy when achieving or becoming	GOALS	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	7	9
S2 Pressure to achieve		10	5	2	5	9	10	10	10	5	10	10	1	10	8	7	10
S3 Think about what I am to become		1	1	8	8	10	10	1	10	5	10	1	1	10	10	6	8
S4 Goal orientated to achieve		10	10	10	10	10	10	1	10	9	10	10	10	10	10	8	9
S5 Goals give purpose & direction		10	10	3	10	10	10	1	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	8	8
S6 Admire people work towards better future		10	10	5	5	9	10	10	6	7	10	1	10	9	10	7	5
S7 Sacrifice now better future		10	5	3	8	3	10	10	7	5	10	1	10	1	10	7	8
S8 Frustrated prevented from pursuing goals		10	10	8	9	9	10	1	10	5	10	10	10	10	9	7	9
Goals MEGA Variable		**9**	**8**	**6**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**6**	**9**	**6**	**10**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**8**
S32 Seek God	SEEK BELONGING	10	5	9	10	2	10	5	6	10	9	10	7	10	9	8	9

APPENDIX 4

TABLES OF THE MANAGERS' RESPONSES TO THE STORY VARIABLES

The actual Likert Scale responses of each of the managers to the story variables is included below in Tables A11 and A12. The managers are grouped according to the profile in which they located.

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Table A11. Likert Scale Responses of the Managers to the Faku Story Variables with Average Responses to the Mega Variables

Faku Story Variables	Paradigmatic Symbols	AFFIRM								AF-SS	UNSURE		SELECT							SF-AS		
		BN	Tef	CJ	TB	ST	HT	FS	STM	ET	SOM	WM	BK	GD	MZ	AM	ON	LM	PAC	ED	ZN	SN
F1 Interdependence statement	COMMUNALISM	10	10	8	10	10	10	9	9	10	5	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	6	7
F2 Umntu ngumntu ngabantu		10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	7
F16 ritual to correct my neglect of the ancestors		9	10	7	5	6	8	7	6	8	3	6	5	4	1	7	1	1	9	4	3	1
F26 people work together rather than for themselves		10	8	10	10	9	10	8	10	10	5	8	10	10	1	8	10	10	10	6	9	8
F27 ancestors look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings		7	9	8	9	8	10	9	8	10	4	10	8	10	1	3	1	1	8	2	3	6
Communalism MEGA Variable		**9**	**9**	**9**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**5**	**8**	**8**	**9**	**5**	**8**	**6**	**6**	**9**	**6**	**6**	**6**
F3 Ancestors ensure health/well-being	MONISM	10	10	9	7	9	10	7	7	8	1	6	4	3	1	2	1	1	8	4	4	1
F4 Ancestors oversee things I/family have		10	10	7	6	7	10	8	6	8	1	6	5	2	1	2	1	1		2	3	1
F14 ancestral spirits live in rivers		6	6	1	1	5	5	4	1	9	2	5	5	5	6	2	1	1	1	2	3	6
F15 ancestors are important in my life		9	10	9	9	6	10	6	6	9	1	6	5	5	1	5	1	1	8	3	2	3
Monism MEGA Variable		**9**	**9**	**7**	**6**	**7**	**9**	**6**	**5**	**9**	**1**	**6**	**5**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**6**	**3**	**3**	**3**
F5 Children are our wealth	TRADITIONAL	7	7	2	2	3	10	8	10	7	5	1	3	10	1	8	1	1	8	1	8	1
F6 Fertility, obedience & hard work	SOCIAL	8	7	6	10	8	6	6	8	1	3	1	7	5	1	1	1	7	1	1	6	1
F7 Women agree they should be fertile ...	FEATURES	6	7	1	9	4	5	5	6	1	5	5	6	2	6	1	5	4	4	3	7	3
F21 Older people to be respected by the youth		7	8	9	10	10	10	7	10	10	5	6	8	8	1	8	2	1	10	5	8	
F22 old pass on traditions		8	7	10	10	9	8	7	10	10	5	6	10	8	10	10	9	10	10	10	9	
Traditional Social Features MEGA Variable		**7**	**7**	**6**	**8**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**9**	**6**	**5**	**4**	**7**	**7**	**4**	**6**	**4**	**5**	**7**	**4**	**8**	**2**
F8 *Qamata* made earth & everything	GOD OF THE ANCESTORS	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	10	1	10	10	10	10	10	10	7	5
F9 *Qamata* is far away		1	5	2	1	4	1	1	1	6	3	5	1	9	1	1	1	1	2	1	5	7
F10 pray to and praise *Qamata*		8	10	9	10	10	10	7	10	10	9	6	10	1	10	10	10	10	10	10	7	9
F12 only communicate with *Qamata* during crisis		10	5	8	10	3	7	5	10	9	5	6	1	3	1	1	10	1	1	10	6	9
God of the Ancestors MEGA Variable		**7**	**8**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**7**	**6**	**8**	**9**	**7**	**6**	**6**	**4**	**6**	**6**	**8**	**6**	**6**	**8**	**6**	**8**
F17 Balance upset .someone/thing caused this	NO CHANCE	8	8	5	10	6	10	9	7	10	5	10	5	5	1	4	10	1	7	3	4	1
F18 Someone else performing more powerful ritual		6	6	7	7	5	5	4	8	5	1	5	5	2	1	1	1	1	4	3	2	1
F20 Witches or bad spirits caused misfortune		6	6	7	10	5	1	4	6	2	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	
No Chance MEGA Variable		**7**	**7**	**6**	**9**	**5**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**6**	**2**	**5**	**6***	**3**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**1**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**1**
F23 When I die ...not far from the living	AFTER DEATH	**6**	**10**	**6**	**9**	**6**	**10**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**5**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**9**	**4**	**2**	
F24 Person & thing has its place	GRAND PATTERN	9	8	7	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	8	7	10	10	10	10	10	10	6	9	8
F25 treat something/one with disrespect weakens all		7	7	9	10	10	10	7	9	10	7	8	7	10	5	7	10	8	8	3	9	8
F32 person & thing has a purpose to work out		10	9	7	10	10	10	10	9	10	6	6	8	10	10	4	10	8	8	8	6	9
Grand Pattern MEGA Variable		**9**	**8**	**8**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**7**	**7**	**10**	**8**	**7**	**10**	**9**	**9**	**6**	**8**	**8**
F30 person is born ... goes on to be ancestor	CYCLICAL TIME	7	9	8	10	8	10	7	9	9	5	6	7	10	5	9	1	1	9	7	7	1
F33 Life, time all that Qamata-made goes on forever		10	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	5	6	9	1	10	9	1	9	9	10	7	6
Cyclical Time MEGA Variable		**9**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**5**	**6**	**8**	**6**	**8**	**9**	**1**	**5**	**9**	**9**	**7**	**4**
F31 Fit into the rhythms of nature	FIT INTO	**9**	**9**	**6**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**8**	**4**	**10**	**5**	**6**	**6**	**10**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**8**	**2**	**5**	**1**
F11 Qamata & Ancestors control the crops	TRADITIONAL	10	10	3	7	5	10	5	7	8	1	3	7	1	1	3	1	1	3	1	5	1
F29 I go to the *igqira*	SPIRITUAL EXPLANATIONS	6	1	6	2	8	1	3	1	5	1	5	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1
Traditional Spiritual Explanations MEGA Variable		**8**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**7**	**6**	**4**	**4**	**7**	**1**	**4**	**4***	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**1**
F19 Bad luck makes a person lose strength	VITAL FORCE	8	7	8	10	9	10	8	9	10	5	5	7	2	1	9	10	10	3	10	5	9
F28 Everything has power		8	8	6	10	8	10	6	10	10	3	8	6	10	10	3	1	1	9	4	3	8
Vital Force MEGA Variable		**8**	**8**	**7**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**10**	**10**	**4**	**7**	**6***	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**	**7**	**4**	**9**

Note: Scores marked with * were rounded down

Table A12 Likert Scale Responses of the Managers to the Sipho Story Variables and the Calculated Responses to the Mega Variables

Sipho Story Variables	Paradigmatic Symbols	AFFIRM								AF-SS	UNSURE		SELECT							SF-AS		
		BN	Tef	CJ	TB	ST	HT	FS	STM	ET	SOM	WM	BK	GD	MZ	AM	ON	LM	PC	ED	ZN	SN
S12 Make it on my own	INDIVIDUALISM	7	9	2	1	10	1	7	5	9	9	5	4	9	10	2	8	3	6	6	9	9
S13 Independence ...I treasure		6	9	8	5	10	10	5	5	9	9	5	6	7	5	2	8	2	9	6	9	9
S14 Family holds one back		8	8	9	10	9	5	5	5	9	2	5	6	1	1	2	9	1	5	10	5	10
S15 Provide for own future		9	9	10	10	10	10	8	9	9	8	6		10	10	9	10	10	9	10	9	9
S16 I co-operate only if it helps me		8	10	8	6	10	10	5	10	1	5	6	5	2	10	1	1	1	5	9	9	9
S25 Best person for the job		10	10	9	7	6	10	9	8	8	8	6	6	10	10	10	7	10	7	10	9	8
Individualism Mega Variable		**8**	**9**	**8**	**7**	**9**	**8**	**7**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**7**	**8**	**4**	**7**	**5**	**9**	**9**	**8**	**9**
S26 World is mechanical	DUALISM	7	7	8	8	8	5	8	8	1	5	6	4	8	1	1	1	7	2	10	8	9
S27 Physical separate from spiritual		5		6	10		5	7	9	1	5	6	3	4	1	1	1	6		10	8	10
S28 God is in heaven		6	9	9	10	10	5	5	10	1	8	6	8	1	1	10	1	10	3	10	7	6
Dualism Mega Variable		**6**	**8**	**8**	**9**	**9**	**5**	**7**	**9**	**1**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**8**	**3**	**10**	**8**	**8**
S9 Better to reward than to punish	SOCIAL MOTIVATION	9	10	4	10	7	10	9	10	8	5	10	8	10	1	10	10	10	9	8	9	9
S11 Best society competitive		6	10	8	10	10	10	5	1	2	5	6	4	10	10	3	8	10	2	9	7	8
Social Motivation Mega Variable		**8**	**10**	**6**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**8**	**6**	**10**	**6**	**7**	**9**	**10**	**6**	**9**	**8**	**9**
S29 God as power ... God as a person	PERSONAL GOD	10	1	10	10	10	5	2	10	1	5	5	1	5	1	10	6	10	2	1	8	5
S31 God like a person		10	10	10	10	10	10	4	10	10	5	5	3	10	1	10	10	10	2	1	8	6
Personal God Mega Variable		**10**	**6**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**3**	**10**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**8**	**1**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**6**
S10 don't waste much time finding out why	CHANCE	7	7	10	10	10	5	4	10	7	6	6	5	4	5	9	3	2	1	7	7	6
S33 go to heaven when I die	GOING TO HEAVEN	9	10	10	10	10	5	8	10	5	7	6	9	10	10	10	10	9	5	10	7	6
S18 exciting to be the first to do something	GRAND PURPOSE	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	8	9	8	10	5	10	10	10	10	9	4	10	10	8
S19 time & money on inventions		7	10	6	10	10	10	8	8	5	9	8	7	10	10	8	10	9	7	10	10	10
Grand Purpose Mega Variable		**9**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**8**	**7**	**9**	**9**	**6**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**9**	**6**	**10**	**10**	**9**
S22 Meeting start on time	LINEAR TIME	10	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	10	10	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	7	10
S23 History is moving forward		8	10	9	10	3	8	8	9	10	7	10	6	10	10	1	10	1	8	10	9	10
Linear Time Mega Variable		**9**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**7**	**9**	**8**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**7**	**10**	**10**	**6**	**10**	**6**	**8**	**10**	**8**	**10**
S17 Reshape the world	TAKE-HOLD-AND SHAPE	8	10	10	6	10	10	8	10	8	7	10	7	9	10	9	10	9	8	7	9	8
S20 Part of the process of reshaping the future		10	10	9	10	10	10	8	10	10	8	8	8	10	10	8	10	1	7	10	9	9
S21 School teaching science		7	10	10	10	4	1	7	10	8	7	5	5	10	10	1	10	9	4	10	9	9
S34 Life starts ..leave school, over when retire		7	7	10	8	1	10	5	8	1	5	5	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	10	6	1
S35 Young go-getters most admired		5	7	9	10	3	10	5	7	10	5	6	1	1	1	1	10	3	3	10	9	6
Fit Into Mega Variable		**7**	**9**	**10**	**9**	**6**	**8**	**7**	**9**	**7**	**6**	**7**	**5**	**6**	**6**	**4**	**8**	**5**	**5**	**9**	**8**	**7**
S24 leave behind traditions	SECULARITY	9	10	10	10	9	7	5	5	1	5	7	3	10	10	3	10	9	5	10	6	10
S1 Happy when achieving or becoming	GOALS	10	10	7	10	10	10	9	10	10	9	10	7	10	10	9	9	9	7	10	9	10
S2 Pressure to achieve		10	10	6	10	10	10	7	10	7	5	6	9	8	10	9	10	9	3	10	8	10
S3 Think about what I am to become		9	10	7	10	10	6	8	10	7	5	8	4	9	7	8	10	10	4	7	9	10
S4 Goal orientated to achieve		9	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	7	5	10	6	10	10	9	10	10	7	10	9	10
S5 Goals give purpose & direction		10	10	8	10	10	10	9	10	8	8	10	7	10	7	9	10	10	4	8	8	10
S6 Admire people work towards better future		10	10	9	10	10	7	8	9	2	8	6	9	6	5	10	6	10	2	9	9	7
S7 Sacrifice now better future		10	10	7	10	10	10	8	10	9	9	10	8	10	10	10	10	10	5	7	9	10
S8 Frustrated prevented from pursuing goals		10	10	9	10	9	10	8	10	9	5	7	9	8	1	9	6	10	7	10	9	10
Goal Mega Variable		**10**	**10**	**8**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**8**	**10**	**7**	**7**	**8**	**7**	**9**	**8**	**9**	**9**	**10**	**5**	**9**	**9**	**10**
S32 Seek God	SEEK BELONGING	7	10	10	10	10	10	7	10	10	7	6	2	10	10	10	10	10	8	10	8	5

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APPENDIX 5

Matrics' Self-Descriptions by Profile

In addition to the matrix tables, the tables included below list and classify the range of phrases used by the respondents located in the five profiles to describe themselves.

1. THE AFFIRM PROFILE

The Hierarchy of Aggregations

Table A13. Matrix Showing Common Membership in theHierarchy of Aggregations of Matrics in the Affirm Profile

	Family	School	Community	Region	Nation	Africa	Humanity
Family	**24**	6	2	3	4	1	0
School	6	**19**	6	4	3	2	0
Community	2	6	**18**	5	5	1	0
Region	3	4	5	**17**	4	5	1
Nation	4	3	5	4	**19**	3	2
Africa	1	2	1	5	3	**9**	0
Humanity	0	0	0	1	2	0	**3**

Table A14. Lists of the Range of Phrases that Refer to Aggregations in the Hierarchy of Aggregations

Family (24, 22%)	**School** (19,18%)
• I am from a nice Family (37) • I am from a happy Family (43) • I love my family (221, 234, 270) • I am from a disciplined Family (45) • I am from a poor Family (153) • I belong to the Miya clan (73) • *Ndingu Mamtshilibe* (translation: I am a women/girl and of the Mtshilibe clan) (105) • I care about things that affect my traditional home (364) • I don't get on well with my family (268)	• I am a Zingisa student (10, 72, 89, 91,92) • I am in matric at Zingisa High (91, 270, 272, 298) • I am a student at Nondwe High (162, 170) • I like my school (241, 181, 201) • I enjoy debating at my school (354)
Community/Town/District (18,17%)	**Region** (17, 16%)
• I was born in Umtata (10, 20) • I am from Willowvale (110) • I am from the village of Gatyana (113) • I am from the town of Idutywa (129) • I live at Teleni (146) • I was born at Hlobo location in the district of Nqamakwe (121) • I love my Community (321) • I like participating in Community life (342) • I go to our Community forums to discuss problems (354) • I am involved in Community development (23)	• I am an African from the Transkei (9) • I am Transkeian (11) • I am half Xhosa and half Hlubi (94) • I am Xhosa (108, 119, 220) • *Ndithetha isiXhosa* (translation: I am *isi*Xhosa speaking) (113, 173, 181, 266, 282, 353) • My own language is Xhosa (277).

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Nation (19,18%)	**Africa** (9, 8%)
• I am a member of the PAC [Pan African Congress] (10) • I belong to the ANC (23) • I like politics (74) • I am a patriot ...I belong to the PAC (129) • I am an ANC member (171) • *Ndiyinzalelwana yalapha eSA* (translation: I am a citizen of South Africa) (183) • I am South African (277) • I am proud of my country South Africa (303) • I like the new South Africa, I want peace in SA (324) • I want South Africa to develop, I believe I can play a part in the improvement of SA (734)	• I am an African (29) • I like ... African culture ... (175) • I admire people from Africa (9).
Humanity (3, 3%)	
• I embrace all humans created in the image of God (353) • human being (23, 243) • I want to make the world and the future a place for all. (338)	

Note: 1.) The actual number and percentage who refer to the aggregation is indicated in brackets (this applies to all similar tables in successing profiles, 2.) The text units indicated in brackets after each self-description are from NUDSELF text source file located in the QSRNUDIST (this applies to all self-decsriptions found in the tables below)

The Non-hierarchical Aggregations

Table A15. List of the Range of Phrases that Refer to Non-Hierarchical Aggregations

Sport (46%)	**Music** (29%)	**School Student** (25%)
• I support Iwisa Kaiser Chiefs [football club] (28) • I support Umtata Bucks (5) • Orlando Pirate soccer club (9) • I play soccer for the first team (10) • I play soccer/football (51, 90, 147, 237, 238, 268, 292, 317) • I play rugby (23, 58, 136, 144) • I'm a tennis player (12, 150, 229, 236) • I play netball (35, 180, 332, 345, 361) • I enjoy swimming (34) • I take part in athletics (149, 193) • volleyball player (20) • I like all ball sports (364, 139) • I play softball (167) • I play table tennis (270, 275)	• I like listening to music (5, 34, 35, 38, 43, 72, 118, 139, 150, 160, 170, 201, 211, 214, 220, 221, 251, 342) • reggae (9) • classical (167) • ballads (20, 236) • choral (180) • gospel (332) • rhythm and blues (237, 238) • traditional (362)	• I am a school student (144, 210) • matric student (45, 72, 89, 90, 92, 105, 138, 139, 181, 180, 167, 220, 234, 270, 282) • student (10, 91, 127, 160, 162, 149, 170, 298)

Christian (21%)	**Age** (16%)	**Gender** (15%)	**Black** (4%)
• Catholic (28) • Methodist (24) • Pentecostal (118) • Zionist [African Independent Church] • child of God (169) • trust in God (20) • believe in God (173, 210) • attend church (46,91,136, 149, 67, 211, 229, 352, 353) • Christian (12, 170, 332) • I am a born again/saved (53, 229) • religious person (180)	• I am 17 years (55) • I am 16 years old (94) • I am a guy of 18 (64) • I am 20 years old (172)	• I am a man (266, 297) • I am a girl (173, 201, 243, 251, 309) • I am an unselfish woman (109) • I am an honest man (147) • traditional man (153)	• I am black (292, 294, 243, 270)

Note: 1.) The percentage of respondents that refer to the aggregation is indicated in brackets (this applies to all similar tables found below)

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Values and Personal Qualities

Table A16. List of the Range of Individualistic and Pro-modernity Type Phrases

Personal Qualities (42%)	
• I am patient and lenient (23) • I am sensitive (39) • I am beautiful (43, 89, 325) • I am very confident (73) • I am a romantic (71, 73) • I am serious about life (113, 224) • I am hardworking (28, 139, 14, 150, 320) • I am generous person (171)	• I am honest (147, 309, 74, 152) • I am shy (90, 102, 204, 214, 263) • I have a short temper (53, 258, 264, 268, 273) • I am a caring person (28, 39, 51, 294, 320, 321) • I have a positive attitude (346) • I am friendly (258) • I am talkative (24, 181, 258, 270, 274, 297, 309, 310, 325)
Self-Direction (31%)	
• I would like to achieve my goals in life (9) • I like being creative (23) • I am one who has self-determination • I am interested in becoming a nurse (120) • I want to be a doctor (151) • I'd like to be a politician (155) • I want to be a teacher (149) • I want to be a TV or radio announcer (112) • I want to be an accountant (294) • I'm going to be a social worker (133) • I would like to be a musician (339) • My goal is to help people (164)	• I am enthusiastic about my future (162) • I believe in myself, I don't believe in others (216) • I am who I am (227) • I am satisfied with myself (275) • I am willing to work hard for a better future • I believe I can play a part in the improvement of South Africa (334) • *Ndihlale nolutsha olunenjongo* (translation: I like spending time with youths who are goal orientated) (376) • *Ndinqwenela ukulandela ezomthetho* (translation: I'm keen to follow a career in law) (164) • I know what is right and wrong (283)
Hedonism (21%)	
• I like watching movies (46) • watching videos (353) • I like going to parties (24) • I'm a fun loving loud person (5) • I like to feel joy and happiness (39)	• I love sex and being happy (91) • I love watching TV (146) • I love the comforts of life (241, 46) • I like wearing tight jeans and big T-shirts (309) • driving fast cars (354)
Formal Education (21%)	
• I love education(40) • I like to read books (57) • My favourite subjects are Biology and English (120)	• I enjoy reading history books (155) • I really like learning (164)
Achievement (5%)	
• I always strive for the best (12) • I like to succeed rather than be popular (39) • I like those who help me progress (312)	• *Ndithanda ukufunda ndiphumelele* (translation: I'm keen to study to be successful) (107) • I want to see myself prosperous (334)
Modernity (3%)	
• I am realist (151) • My favourite subjects are Biology and English (120)	• I like ...Western civilisation (175)

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Table A17. List of the Range of Communalistic and Traditional Type Phrases

Prosocial (Interpersonal) (34%)	
• I care about others (40) • friends (193, 229) • I have a good attitude to other people (308) • I love communicating it gives me time to get to know other people (150) • I like to be among people (12)	• I like helping other people solve their problems (46) • I love being with people (94) • I like to work with other people i.e. co-operation (175) • We need to be helping other (324) • I like meeting different people (360) • I am a generous sand unselfish person (171)
Restrictive Conformity (8%)	
• I come from a disciplined family(46) • I am disciplined (53)	• I'm obedient (305)
Traditional Values (17%)	
• I respect the elders (44) • I respect others (104) • I dislike people who criticise my [traditional] culture (317) • I believe in the ancestors and *Qamata* (120)	• I will not leave my [traditional] culture (305) • We should obey our parents (321) • respect the young (339) • I am a traditionalist (155) • I have a traditional way of life (138)
Social Harmony (24%)	
• Accommodating other's views for the sake of peace (23) • I like people to be united and to belong to the church which brings peace • I want peace in South Africa (324)	• I don't like people to be afraid of others (138) • I like living in a peaceful environment (286) • I wish for an end to violence, our leaders should stop fighting (320)
Nature (4%)	
• I'm a nature lover (73) • love the environment (334)	• I am an animal lover (358) • I want to make South Africa the most beautiful place in the world (338)

2. AF-SS PROFILE

The Hierarchy of Aggregations

Table A18. Matrix Showing Common Membership in the Hierarchy of Aggregations of Matrics in the AF-SS Profile

	Family	School	Community	Region	Nation	Africa	Humanity
Family	**16**	1	2	3	4	1	0
School	1	**10**	4	1	3	2	0
Community	2	4	**14**	2	1	2	0
Region	3	1	2	**15**	5	0	1
Nation	4	3	1	5	**17**	2	1
Africa	1	2	2	0	2	**8**	0
Humanity	0	0	0	1	1	1	**1**

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Table A19. The Range of Phrases that Refer to Aggregations in the Hierarchy of Aggregations

Family (16, 24%)	**School** (10, 15%)
• I love my Family, I love to do good things for my Family (61) • I am from a poor family (126) • My clan name is Togu (114) • I love all my relatives (194) • I belong to my family (124) • It is very important to have children in life. If you don't have children you're someone who is poor. (318) • I am from the Ngwane family (218) • My family doesn't always believe in me (342)	• I am a matric student at Zingisa (77, 96, 196, 228, 296) • I am in matric at Nondwe High (157) • I am Schooling at Zingisa (307) • Xolilizwe High (133) • My school (175, 182)
Community/Town/District (14, 21%)	**Region** (15, 23%)
• I am from Umtata (17) • I am a Umtata Bucks supporter(113) • I am from the district of Willowvale (114) • I want to help my Community progress (316) • I sing in my community choir (123)	• I was brought up in the Transkei my original background (6) • I am a Xhosa guy (148) • I am Xhosa speaking (163) • I am Transkeian (174) • I am a Thembu girl (218) • I am Nguni
Nation (17, 26%)	**Africa** (8, 12%)
• I am a member of the African National Congress(98) • I am a PAC member (139) • I am one of the poor people of South Africa (277) • *Mna ndimhlali walapha eSA* (translation: I am a resident of SA) (159) • I like peace among South Africans (159) • I take pride in my country (166) • We are supposed to build our country (326) • I watch political debates on TV (348) • I'm a South African (220) • One person said: I am a member of AZAPO (348) • One person said: I support liberation organisations (127)	• I am an African, a great one (17) • I am an African, a real one, I have to be identified as an African (201) • I love African songs (741)
Humanity (1, 2%)	
• human being (276)	

The Non-hierarchical Aggregations

Table A20. List of the Range of References to Non-Hierarchical Aggregations

Sport (53%)	**Music** (29%)
• I support Iwisa Kaiser Chiefs [football club] • soccer/football (17,101, 125, 137, 140, 152, 182, 190, 196, 246, 328) • rugby (128, 143, 239) • netball (159, 165, 172, 175) • watching/ playing sport (124, 135, 165, 176, 178, 228, 235) • athletics (189) • cricket (175) • tennis (77) • ballroom dancing (77)	• I like listening to music (59, 129, 143, 159, 172) • reggae (128, 246) • Black American ballad singers e.g. Baby Face, Boyz II Men (6, 360) • choral (167) • gospel (120, 372) • rhythm and blues (215, 220, 228,) • *umbagqanga* [mix of traditional & township music] (296) • traditional music (307)

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Christian (27%)	**School Student** (29%)
• Catholic (6) • Methodist (165) • Shembe (133) • I believe in God (172) • I am a child of God (212, 276) • religious (271) • I trust in God (327) • I go to church (112, 124, 182, 161) • christian (120, 137, 133, 196, 189, 165)	• I am a school student (142) • matric student (96, 128, 130, 157, 174, 175, 182, 196, 239, 296, 313) • student (77, 133) • I am a hardworking student (143)

Age (24%)	**Gender** (17%)	**Black** (12%)
• I am 17 years old (79) • I am a teenager (126) • 19 years old (127) • Iminyaka iyi 24 yobudala (translation: My age is 24 years) (184)) • I am 23 years old (170) • I am 18 years old (148)	• I am a man (128, 318, 143) • I am a girl (157, 164, 174, 271, 313) • female (112, 122) • boy (101),	• black (212, 213, 228, 271, 318) • black person (111) • black people (335)

Values and Personal Qualities

Table A21. List of the Range of Individualistic and Pro-modernity Type Phrases

Self-direction (36%)	
• I like to be free (168) • I want to be a mechanical engineer (6) • I going to be a beauty technologist (61) • I am a person who likes achieving my goals (96, 31, 80) • I'm prepared to make sacrifices for a better future (122) • I'm proud of who I am (342) • I want to be a lawyer (130)	• I am very concerned about my future (31, 129, 135, 137, 178, 358) • I want to be a nurse or a scientist (132) • I want to be a land surveyor (145) • I want a better future (139) • I want to be a teacher • education is a passport to a brighter future (180) • I going to be a social worker (326) • I am learning to be a praise singer (182)
Personal Qualities (24%)	
• I am an introvert (32, 113, 220) • I am polite (51), I am charming and bold (61) • kind person () • I am hardworking industrious person (131, 135, 145, 170, 193) • I am disciplined (153)	• I am moody (199) • I am an intelligent person (114, 194) • I'm easily irritated (199) • I am talkative (67) • I am sensitive (98) • shy in public (113)
Hedonism (18%)	
• I like partying (51) • I'm a playboy and I like joking around (103) • I watch TV (114)	• I like watching videos (124) • fun loving (193) • I love fashion (374)
Formal Education (24%)	
• Next year I shall be at university (180) • I like reading library books (220)	• I enjoy reading about the history of black people (348)
Achievement (3%)	
• I want to be a somebody (318)	• I want to have a high status in the future (135)
Stimulation (3%)	
• I like discovering news things (131)	• I like visiting different places during the holidays (307)

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Table A22. List of the Range of Communalistic and Traditional Type Phrases

Prosocial (interpersonal) (33%)	
• I like helping people in need (32) • I have high regard for people (51) • I am a friendly person • I am a person who likes to be with other good people (82) • I like to co-operate with other people (132)	• friends (235) • I believe we can only succeed if we help each other (98) • I like to work with others, work in groups (346) • I like meeting different people (316) • Helping illiterate people (122)
• **Restrictive Conformity** (5%)	
• I like disciplined people (154)	
• **Social Harmony** (14%)	
• I like peace among South Africans (159) • I like peace wherever I am (132)	• I don't like fighting with people (142)
Traditional Values (18%)	
• I want to be able to read about our traditions, I feel close to those who love their traditions, I listen to African songs, I enjoy being involved in all types of [traditional] rituals(341) • *ukugcina amasiko nezithethe* (translation: uphold our traditions and customs) (340) • I believe in the ancestors (340)	• I like church but I don't want to leave my traditions behind (126) • I am one who respect the elders (113, 220) • I like my traditionalism • I am against modernism (133) • I respect/obey older people (111, 215, 313) • I like traditional stories (328)

3. UNSURE PROFILE

The Hierarchy of Aggregations

Table A23. Matrix Showing Common Membership in the Hierarchy of Aggregations of Matrics in the Unsure Profile

	Family	**School**	**Community**	**Region**	**Nation**	**Africa**	**Humanity**
Family	**3**	1	1	0	0	0	0
School	1	**3**	1	1	0	0	0
Community	1	1	**2**	0	0	0	0
Region	0	1	0	**1**	0	0	0
Nation	0	0	0	0	**2**	0	0
Africa	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	0
Humanity	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**

Table A24. List of Phrases that Refer to Aggregations in the Hierarchy of Aggregations

Family (3, 27%)	**School** (3, 27%)
• I like to stay with my Family (56) • I am close to my parents (272) • I like my Family (306)	• I am a student at Zingisa (54) • I am in matric at Zingisa High (64)
Community/Town/District (3, 18%)	**Region** (1,10%)
• I am from Umtata (228) • I live in Ngangelizwe township (272)	• I live in the rural areas (66)
Nation (1,10%)	
• I am not against politics, I like the ANC (223) • I'm a South African, I do not belong to a political party (678)	

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Table A25. List of the Range of References to Non-Hierarchical Aggregations

Sport (55%)	**Music** (36%)
• soccer (278) • netball (66) • I like to play sport/I enjoy sport (56, 228, 357)	• rhythm and blues [Black American] (227) • South African music (278) • American ballad singers like Tony Braxton, Tevin Campbell, Boyz II Men (227)
Gender (36%)	**Student** (36%)
• girl (289)	• I am a high school student (288) • I'm a commercial student (306) • I 'm a student at Zingisa (56)
Age Group (27%)	**Black** (10%)
• teenager (289, 278)	• I am a black person (306)

Values and Personal Qualities

Table A26. List of the Range of Individualistic and Pro-modernity Type Phrases

Formal Education (55%)	
• I like to study (56) • Abantu abafundayo (translation: people who like studying) (357)	• I am doing well with my studies (306) • I am interested in studying medicine but I don't know whether I am suitable or not (233)
Self-direction (46%)	
• I am talkative especially about my future (289) • I want to be a musician (66) • I am someone (267)	• I wish to be a medical technologist (272) • I am the accountant of tomorrow (306)
Personal Qualities (36%)	
• I am a bit reserved (shy) (233) • I hate leadership roles (222) • I am kind, humorous, quiet, moody, tolerant, intelligent, unpredictable (247)	• I am dark (278) • I am talkative about my body (278) • I'm tall with a good looking structure (54)
Hedonism (36%)	
• I like watching videos (comedy) (233) • I like to watch television (56)	• I like driving cars (223)
Stimulation (10%)	
• I like travelling long distances to places (233)	
Nature (10%)	
• I love animals (223)	

Table A27. List of the Range of Communalistic and Traditional Type Phrases

Prosocial (interpersonal) (36%)	
• abantu abafuna uncedo, abantu abakhubazekileyo, abantu abahluphekayo (translation: people who need help (344)	• those who are disabled, those who are struggling) (344) • I am a kind (247)

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4. THE SELECT PROFILE

The Hierarchy of Aggregations

Table A28. Matrix Showing Common Membership in the Hierarchy of Aggregations of Matrics in the Select Profile

	Family	School	Community	Region	Nation	Africa	Humanity
Family	**28**	3	14	8	2	1	0
School	3	**8**	2	3	0	0	0
Community	14	2	**16**	7	2	0	0
Region	8	3	7	**15**	4	1	0
Nation	2	0	2	4	**9**	2	1
Africa	1	0	0	1	2	**5**	1
Humanity	0	0	0	0	1	1	**2**

Table A29. List of the Range of Phrases that Refer to Aggregations in the Hierarchy of Aggregations

Family (28, 40%)	**Community/Town/District** (16, 23%)
• I love my Family (15, 100, 115, 225, 123, 166) • I am from a disciplined Family (44, 184) • I am from a middle income Family (52) • Family is the most important to me (67, 126) • I would describe myself in terms of my clan name (88) • I belong to the Dube Family (102) • son of the Mazizini Family, I come from my fore father Fakade (128) • I am of the Tshawe clan (117) • family (123, 166)	• I live in Umtata (102) • I'm from Butterworth (125) • I would like to modernise my Community (128) • I'm from the town of Idutywa (108) • I am from Bizana district (156) • I want to serve my Community (179)
Region (15, 21%)	**School** (8, 11%)
• I am a Transkeian (11) • I am from Eastern Pondoland (31) • I belong to the Mponomise tribe (102) • My mother language is Xhosa (125) • I belong to the Xhosa group (231) • I am part of the Nguni people (280)	• I am a choir member at my School (21) • I am in matric at Zingisa High (69) • I'm a Zingisa student (263) • I am a student at Xolilizwe High School (106) • I love my school (171)
Nation (9, 13%)	**Africa** (5, 7%)
• I am a South African (11) • I like those who have struggled for our freedom (128) • I am a member of the Democratic Party (102) • I am a staunch supporter of the ANC (168) • I am a national asset (290)	• an African (15, 96, 250) • African and a child of the Third World (280)
Humanity (2, 3%)	
• I belong to the world (291) • I am a human being (250)	

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The Non-hierarchical aggregations

Table A30. List of the Range of Phrases that Refer to Non-Hierarchical Aggregations

Sport (39%)	**Music** (27%)
• tennis (15, 48, 56) • I play sport/ I am a sport fanatic (16, 67, 115, 179, 171, 252) • volleyball (21) • rugby player (33) • table tennis (33) • soccer player (56, 123, 148, 290, 302, 346, 356) • netball (66, 81, 199) • ball sports (134) • softball (171) • skateboarding (230) • basketball and wrestling (231) • hiking (356) • I support Kaiser Chiefs • Orlando Pirates • Doves	• I like reggae (98, 315) • I enjoy listening to music (16, 117, 160, 173, 231) • country (11) • choral (21, 90) • rap (236) • gospel (253) • ballads (black American) (90) • pop music (95) • member of the school music society (181)
Student (27%)	**Christian** (24%)
• student (66, 81, 106, 155, 207, 252) • I am a matric student (15, 44, 52, 60, 69, 88, 123, 171, 177)	• Christian (21, 117, 154, 158, 208) • I trust in God (26) • religious person (106) • Catholic (123) • church based (132) • *Ndingumntu okhulele phantsi kwecawe* (translation: I grew up under the influence of the church) (134) • believe in God (207) • adore God and my church (225) • child of God (260, 280)
Gender (11%)	**Age** (9%)
• girl (69, 158, 208, 280) • woman (106, 248) • female (117)	• I am 18 years old girl (69) • I am a teenager (123) • Ndineminyaka eyi-18 (translation: I am 18 years old) (155) • I am a boy of 16 years (242) • I was born in 1973 (117)
Black (3%)	
• black person (115) • I am proud of being black (177)	

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Values and Personal Qualities

Table A31. List of the Range of Individualistic and Pro-modernity Type Phrases

Self-direction (37%)	
• My ambition: to be a journalist (49) • I am happy for who I am (60, 183, 248, 299, 357) • I intend to do public administration (60) • I intend to be a social worker (68) • I value my independence (76, 67, 11) • My future is bright (128) • I stand for myself (186) • I want to become a doctor (263) • I believe in myself (259) • I am unique (280) • I aim to be an accountant (302) • I am trying to make a difference (302) • I want to study industrial psychology (69)	• I would like to work for the tourism board (337) • I want to achieve my goals (348) • *Ndinqwenela ukuba ngumongikazi* (translation: I would like to be a nurse) (157) • I am pursuing my dreams (363) • I care about my future (15) • I like independence and freedom (78) • I intend to be a teacher (253) • I want to be a leader (291) • I like to meet people who have clear goals (315) • I want to achieve what I am aiming for (361) • Its important to work hard for a better future (288)
Hedonism (32%)	
• I love fashion , I never get enough a good thing (45) • I watch TV (58) • fun loving (77) • I am naughty and fun loving (267) • I like entertainment (31)	• I like movies and fashion (83) • I love girls and fast cars (100) • I love joking around (586) • I like partying and dancing (574)
Personal Qualities (32%)	
• I am hardworking (34, 45) • I am a punctual person and dependable (49) • I am sensitive, shy, proud (58) • impatient, understanding (77) • I am revengeful (78) • I am ugly, pessimistic and I lose interest easily" (96)	• I am an honest person (212) • I'm intelligent, outgoing (259) • I am okay looking (288) • I am talkative (197) • Don't like being annoyed (71) • I am a patient person (95) • I am a serious person • I am moody (197, 214)
Formal Education (17%)	
• Education is very important (181) • I like doing maths and geography (263)	• I want to finish my studies (337)
Achievement (7%)	
• I am serious about life and success (54) • I'm looking forward to success (85)	• When I have succeeded I want to make things better for my Community (128) • I always like to be successful in everything (187)
Modernity (3%)	
• I am a realistic person (315)	• I would like to modernise our Community (128)
Stimulation (4%)	
• I like discovering new things (186) • I am interested in other cultures and peoples (312)	• I am adventurous (259)
Wealth (2%)	
• I would like to make lots of money (136)	

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Table A32. List of the Range of Communalistic and Traditional Types Phrases

Prosocial (interpersonal) (34%)	
• I am loyal to my friends (77) • I am kind and considerate (77) • I love my friends (231)	• I like debating with people (31) • I like making friends with people (85) • I would like to see more job opportunities and people working hand-in-hand (361)
Traditional Values (13%)	
• I am respectful of others (136) • I respect my elders (179) • I respect my parents and older people (49)	• Strongly believe in traditions and customs (128) • I believe in ancestors but not [traditional] healers (187)
Restrictive Conformity (8%)	
• I am self-disciplined (85) • I want to be disciplined (136)	• I come from a disciplined Family (187) • I work hard (288)
Social Harmony (7%)	
• In my Community I would like to see people living together in peace (359)	• I want and end to killing (361)
Pro-social (universal) (3%)	
• We need to fight for freedom (156)	• I don't like prejudice (150)

5. SF-AS PROFILE

The Hierarchy of Aggregations

Table A33. Matrix Showing Common Membership in the Hierarchy of Aggregations of Matrics in the SF-AS Profile

	Family	**School**	**Community**	**Region**	**Nation**	**Africa**	**Humanity**
Family	**24**	5	6	5	2	3	0
School	5	**10**	2	0	2	2	0
Community	6	2	**19**	3	4	2	0
Region	5	0	3	**12**	2	3	0
Nation	2	2	4	2	**9**	2	0
Africa	3	2	2	3	2	**9**	0
Humanity	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**

Table A34. List of the Range of Phrases that Refer to Aggregations in the Hierarchy of Aggregations

Family (24, 27%)	**Community/Town/District** (19, 21%)	**Region** (12, 13%)
• My Family is the most important to me (224) • My clan name is Mxesibe (84) • I like children (153) • I am not close to my Family (255) • I love my parents and my Family (292) • I want my home to progress (158) • I like to be with my Family (343)	• I am a Community person (2) • I am from Umtata (3) • I am from Nqgeleni village (19) • From Willowvale (110) • I am from a rural village (143) • I like helping the Community (329) helping people in rural areas (364).	• I am Xhosa speaking (59) • I am Xhosa (97) • I belong to the Hlubi tribe (89) • I belong to the Tembu tribe (111) • Bhaca [ethnic sub-grouping] (240)

School (10, 11%)	**Nation** (9, 10%)	**Africa** (9, 10%)
• I am a matric student at Zingisa (29, 85, 86, 99, 103) • I am involved in my school choir (88) • I love my school (276, 330) • I am from Xolilizwe High (109)	• I am South African (30) • I am a supporter of the ANC (64) • I am an ANC member (329) • The new South Africa is for all (350) • One student said: I am a COSAS [Congress of South Africa Students] member (109)	• I am an African (8) • African (19)

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The Non-hierarchical Aggregations

Table A35. List of the Range of Phrases that Refer to Non-Hierarchical Aggregations

Christian (37%)	**Sport** (23%)
• I am a Christian (3, 8, 19, 70, 74, 82, 99, 185, 188, 203, 255, 719, 322) • Anglican (82) • Methodist (239) • Zionist (106) • I belong to the Pentecostal Church (110) • I belong to the Roman Catholic Church (200, 205) • I believe strongly in God (68) • I am leader of a religious group (59) • I am saved (70, 200, 296) • I believe that whatever I do God is there to help me (74) • Going to church is my favourite activity. I believe that God is my saviour. (111) • I am a believer in God (82, 260 • I love the Lord (200) • I am religious (281) • I am involved in my church (330, 151) • I respect God (	• tennis (14. 41, 49, 232, 265) • volleyball (14) • netball (26) • ball sports (27) • soccer (41, 62, 141, 191) • swimming (79) • table tennis (107) • athletics (116) • sport (151) • surfing (186) • rugby (223, 233) • boxing (245)
Music (22%)	**Student** (22%)
• love music (28, 43, 70, 82, 106) • the music of Bryan Adams (33) • gospel (74, 158, 252, 319, 356) • I like classical music (232) • jazz (240) • choral • choir music (88) • rap (239) • black America ballads (14, 81, 229, 239) fusion (14)	• I am a School student (195, 217, 281) • I am a matric student (14, 29, 70, 78, 82, 85, 86, 87, 99, 145, 223, 265) • student (61, 62, 107, 216)
Gender (15%)	**Age** (12%)
• I am a black man (186, 206, 232) • boy (216) • girl (103, 114, 156, 265) • woman (108, 109, 202) • female (254) • I want to work with other woman from rural areas (351)	• I am 17 years old (70) • I am sixteen years old (79, 87, 265) • 23 years (108)
Black (2%)	
• I'm black (143) • I am a black man (190)	

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Values and Personal Qualities

Table A36. List of the Range of Individualistic and Pro-modernity Type of Phrases

Self-direction (46%)	
• health inspector (2) • doctor (13) • I hate being dependent, I am a determined person (2) • Goals are important (19) • I don't have clear goals yet (22) • I am serious about life (30) • I am very eager to achieve my goals (32) • I believe in what is right. Most of the time I like to be alone (41) • I am self-determined (42) • I am optimistic about the future (63) • I am proud of what I am (70) • I believe in whatever I do (76) • I want to go to university (101) • I believe in myself rather than others (105) • I want to be a medical technologist (105) • I plan before doing anything (72) • I believe in making my own decisions (147)	• I want to be a nurse (158) • I am happy with myself (206, 250, 74, 349) • I like to achieve my goals (224) • I believe in individualism and going according to your own will (260) • I don't like to be forced to do anything (276) • I plan to achieve my goals (319) • I am who I am, I am unique (347) • I am always concerned about my future (350) • I am forward looking in life (362) • I aim to strive for poverty relief (64) • I plan before doing things (72) • Mna ndijonge lukhulu ngobomi obuzayo (translation: I concentrate on the future) (332) • I am a loner (40)
Personal Qualities (41%)	
• I am confident (42, 74, 187, 259, 262, 334) • I am easy going (50) • cool and nice (70) • I don't like pressure (261) • I am honest (270) • I am shy (297, 109, 185, 286, 349) • I am open minded (298) • I am fat, lazy, ugly and moody (188) • I am childish, immature and fat (192)	• I am short (68) • reliable (72) • I am a handsome person (205) • I am 1.53m tall (216) • I am talkative (32, 262) • I am positive about life (28) • I am moody (185, 187, 284) • I don't like to be upset (89) • I am disciplined (232)
Hedonism (19%)	
• I like watching TV (3) • I love food (14) • I want an easy life I just love to have fun (28) I enjoy going to movies (101)	• I love nice things (158) • I like driving cars (222) • I like to party (224)
Formal Education (14%)	
• Education is important (50) • I like maths and science (105) • I want to go to varsity (101)	• I want people to be more educated (319) • I enjoy reading books (369)
• **Achievement** (11%)	
• I am just one of the best (7) • I am very ambitious (22) • I am determined to be the best (26)	• I like to succeed (224) • I always go for the best. I always want to be on the winning side (260)
• **Modernity** (5%)	
• I like living in big cities (81) • I hate unrealistic people (101)	• I am a realistic person (97)
• **Stimulation** (2%)	
• I move along with new things and the times (260)	• I am interested in inventing new things. (2)
• **Wealth** (7%)	
• I want wealth (22) • I want to be rich. But I want to work for my wealth (25) • I want money not to be too rich (42)	• I believe money is power and power is everything in life (260) • I want to be rich sometime in the future (343

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Table A37. List of the Range of Communalistic and Traditional Types of Phrases

Prosocial (interpersonal) (41%)	
• I hate anyone who undermines the poor (2) • I like helping the poor (3) • I need people (22) • I'll always be there for my friends when they need me (33) • I like helping others (41) • I want to see others prosper (42) • I am friendly (88) • I'm sensitive to other people's needs (97)	• I think I am always nice to people, I hate to hurt anyone. (205) • I love communicating (211) • I like making new friends (224) • I am faithful (297) • I get on well with others, I enjoy other people (327) • I enjoy working with other people (356)
Traditional Values (5%)	
• I respect other people (76). • I do not believe in Qamata (50) [anti-traditional]	• I don't believe in the ancestors (200) [anti-traditional] • My Family believes in ancestors and the traditions (266)
• **Restrictive Conformity** (3%)	
• I am obedient (297) • I am disciplined and self-controlled (43)	• I am a disciplined person (232)
Pro-social (universal) (8%)	
• I am a non-racist (3) • I'm fighting for justice. I am a socialist (8, 26)	• I believe in democracy (19) • hate discrimination (13)
Social Harmony (14%)	
• I believe in the unity of people (8) • I believe in harmony among people (19)	• I like to live in a peaceful world (205)
Nature (1%)	
• I am interested in the preservation and conservation of the environment (229)	

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APPENDIX 6

REPORT SENT TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE AIM PROGRAMME

Included below is the report the author sent to the director of the Associates in Management Programme which is offered by UCT's Business School.

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A Report

Based on Interviews with Graduates

of the Associates in Management Programme

by

Jacques P de Wet

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1. Introductory Note

During October 1996 I conducted interviews with seven AIM students just before they graduated from the UCT Graduate School of Business. In March 1997 I visited three companies and conducted interviews with eighteen AIM graduates, two of these graduates had also participated in the October interviews. These graduates were located in the Eastern Cape and in KwaZulu-Natal. The participants represented a cross-section of black managers who, over the past five years, have completed the AIM programme. Three questions guided the interviews. These were:

I. Do the worldviews[1] of individual managers differ significantly from the dominant worldview of the workplace?
II. What are the similarities and what are the differences between the worldviews of the individuals and the dominant worldview of the corporation?
III. Where there are significant differences how do individual managers handle these points of potential tension?

My modus operandi involved an initial orientation for all the participants then each participant completed a questionnaire and I ended with a group discussion. The group discussion first focused on the major problems experienced by these managers on returning to their respective companies. Thereafter, the participants and I identified problems we thought were the result of differences between the worldview of the individual and that of the corporation. We then discussed the form each of these problems took and whether individual managers perceived them to be the source of ongoing tension. Where a problem was the source of tension we were keen to know how the individual managed or failed to manage the problem.

In this report I pay particular attention to the general problems experienced by AIM graduates on re-entering their places of work. Although this was not the primary focus of the interviews it did fall under the broader topic of "work-related problems" that the AIM graduates experienced. For this reason, and because the AIM graduates considered it to be important, I allocated time for participants to raise these issues in a problem-solving session. This approach is consistent with *Action Research* which informs my research methodology.

I start with a number of preliminary observations which arose out of the interviews. I am still in the process of analysing the findings; a more extensive account of my observations will be presented in a forthcoming research report.

2. A number of preliminary observations

2.1 From the Questionnaire

A preliminary finding, extrapolated from the answers to the questionnaire, is that the graduates fall into five general categories. These categories are based on the graduates attitudes to African Traditional values and Modern Industrial values.

[1] We use the term worldview to mean the way people model their experience of reality. We are less interested in the idiosyncratic elements in a person's worldview. Rather we are interested in the shared or social elements in the individual's model of reality.

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In summary:

I. Six out of twenty-one[2] (28%) support both the African Traditional and the Modern Industrial values.
II. Four out of twenty-one (19%) support Modern Industrial values and selectively reject a significant number of values associated with an African Traditional view of the world.
III. Three out of twenty-one (14%) support African Traditional values and selectively reject a significant number of values associated with a Modern Industrial view of the world.
IV. Two out of twenty-one (10%) are consistently "unsure" as to whether they agree or disagree with both the African Traditional and the Modern Industrial values.
V. Six out of twenty-one (29%) selectively reject a significant number of African Traditional values as well as Modern Industrial values.

The range of responses is on the whole not surprising. Prof. Cumpsty and I were, however, a little surprised to find as many as three managers in large corporations supporting African Traditional values and selectively rejecting more than a third of the Modern Industrial values. One person described his experience in terms of "taking off" the traditional self when he entered the gates of the factory and "putting on" his workplace persona. Further analysis of the interviews will reveal more about this group of managers.

Some of the managers I interviewed saw themselves as thoroughly traditional while buying into a thoroughly modern industrial view of the world. The manager who draws on two worldviews with elements that contradict each other is potentially fragmented. With this in mind I wondered to what extent they felt pulled apart. None of these managers, however, said they felt "pulled apart". It is interesting to note that a number of managers spoke about "bending" the corporate culture in certain circumstances to incorporate their African Traditional values.

Each of these findings will be explored further in forthcoming research reports.

I now turn my attention to examples of tension between competing worldviews in the workplace.

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2.2 Examples of tension between competing worldviews

Performance appraisals

A number of managers referred to "performance appraisals" as a very specific example of worldviews in conflict in the workplace. The corporate culture, according to those interviewed, prescribes how individuals are assessed. The criteria used in their performance appraisals is highly individualistic. A number of respondents said that they struggled with the performance appraisals as these did not take into account a communal approach, which measured successful management according to a different set of criteria. The extent to which a manager facilitated the growth of her team members or the extent to which she was accountable to her department or company as a whole are two examples of this communal criteria. A modern industrial view of an effective manager in many respects contradicts the African Traditional view of a successful leader.

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[2] Of the twenty-three graduates interviewed twenty-one were able to complete the questionnaire.

Respect

Another major point of conflict in the workplace is the way in which older members of staff are addressed by their first names, underlying this is the whole issue of respect. For many it is disrespectful to call an older person by his/her first name. From a African Traditional point of view one does not talk to an older person in a manner that even hints of disrespect. In traditional Africa old age is honourable and elderly people are treated with dignity and respect as the true repositories of wisdom and, therefore, as assets of great value to the community. A number of the managers said that the notion of calling an older person by his/her first name is an English practise and that they regarded it as culturally inappropriate and unacceptable. The corporate culture ignores this at its peril. The issue of showing respect to elders touches on language and behaviour. This attitude to elders affects how meetings are conducted, the process of decision making, disciplinary action and inter-personal communication.

Ways of Rewarding Service

One respondent pointed out that he recently received a plaque at a formal function as an acknowledgement of his service to the company. He felt that this was meaningless. He said he would have appreciated it more had the company held a feast and slaughtered a sheep or a head of cattle in his honour.

Management Styles

Numerous participants talked about the relationship between worker motivation and the ability of senior managers to periodically mingle among workers on the shop floor and to show an interest in their well-being. Someone said that a managing director who is unable to chat to a junior member of staff when they meet in the corridor cannot hope to generate team spirit in the organisation. Someone else pointed out that where well cultivated and applied, the communal style of management could help develop a greater sense of oneness within the corporation and could contribute towards changing the relationship between managers and the managed from an adversarial to a consensual one. A number of those interviewed cited examples of individuals who had successfully adopted this style of management. They defined success in terms of higher levels of co-operation, motivation and productivity. They also spoke of senior managers whom they called "number crunchers". The number cruncher was out of touch with people and their needs. These individuals failed to motivate staff and were, in their opinion, poor "people" managers. Their efforts to increase productivity inevitably had the opposite effect.

I now turn to the problems the graduates experienced on returning to their places of work.

3. Common work-related problems

The problem-solving sessions started with a question, "How have you found things after completing the AIM programme and returning to work?". The question was intentionally open ended.

Each of the AIM graduates I interviewed said that they experienced a high level of frustration when they returned to their working environments. I gathered from their comments that the major source of frustration was that their minimum expectations were not met. The most common unmet expectation was that their immediate superiors would give them opportunities to demonstrate their newly acquired management skills. Almost everyone that I interviewed valued the opportunity to practice their newly acquired management skills more than material rewards.

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The individual experiences varied. Some said that their training was in their view the source of hostility as their immediate superiors felt threatened. Their white colleagues seemed to think that their year of study at the GSB was nothing more than an affirmative action strategy for black managers. These colleagues gave them the impression that the AIM qualification carried little weight. A few, however, had tangible evidence that senior management acknowledged their newly acquired qualification. They were a little disappointed that although they had received material rewards they did not have new opportunities to practice their management skills. A number of graduates said that they recognised that individual senior managers had good intentions when they sent them to the GSB to study management. They noticed, however, that these managers struggled to give them the opportunities to demonstrate their competence as skilled managers. Almost all the graduates said that their senior managers acknowledged that the training of junior managers was a priority, but the senior managers seemed to see it as an end in itself. The few graduates who have been promoted say that their promotions did not come without a struggle. Finally when they were promoted they felt that they had to carry the burden of the negative expectations of others. White managers seemed to be waiting for them to make a mistake. The graduates, on the whole, felt that few companies were able to translate the AIM training and newly acquired skills into new more responsible job opportunities for them.

It is helpful to sort these experiences into categories. I will call the first category "Neglect", the second "Hostility of the Low Intensity Kind", the third "Limited Recognition", the fourth "Promotion but not without a Struggle". In individual cases two or more of these categories may apply.

Category 1: Neglect

There was one case of a graduate returning to work only to find that his job had been filled by someone else. Apparently, while the graduate was studying his position was filled by a relief. When he returned to work he was told that his substitute would retain his post and he would be re-deployed. When I interviewed this AIM graduate almost three months had passed and he could not get a clear answer from his superiors. He said he would clock in each morning and read the newspaper and go home. He got the distinct impression that his immediate superiors did not know what to do with him. He wondered whether he would not have been better off had he not attended the AIM programme. He was so unhappy that he was seriously thinking of leaving the company although he really did not want to leave the company that he had served faithfully for many years.

Category 2: Hostility of the Low Intensity Kind

In some cases the immediate superiors appeared to be threatened by the black managers having graduated from the UCT Graduate School of Business. In these cases it would appear that the desire of top management to give black managers the opportunity of studying at the GSB was not appreciated by the graduates' immediate superiors. In extreme situations a few AIM graduates have had their upward mobility stifled by superiors who seem to want to frustrate their progress in the hope that they will resign. A few of the graduates felt so frustrated that they questioned the motivation behind their selection to attend the AIM programme.

Category 3: Limited Recognition

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A few graduates report that their accomplishments are partially acknowledged by senior management. The company has improved their remuneration packages. This takes the form of a better car and/or a salary increase.

Category 4: Promotion but not without a Struggle
Two graduates reported that they where promoted, but not without a struggle. The biggest single factor that they struggled against was the negative expectations of their superiors. It would appear in many cases that, although top management was keen to promote black managers, this was not accompanied by faith in the individual's ability to succeed. Such negative expectations played havoc with the graduates'self-confidence.

During our discussions a number of proposals were forthcoming from the graduates. As several of the suggestions were similar, I have drawn them together and summarised them into a single proposal. Other ideas are mentioned separately.

4. A number of suggestions by the graduates

4.1 The AIM Programme as part of a career path

Many of the graduates thought that the UCT Graduate School of Business (GSB) could play a role in directing the companies in ways to effectively utilise the graduates' newly acquired skills. They suggested that the GSB provide guidelines to the sponsoring companies. The guidelines could include examples of how certain companies had successfully reintegrated AIM graduates and utilised their AIM training in the company. Furthermore, the GSB could recommend to the sponsoring companies that in order to derive a higher level of returns for their investment they should design a career path for each AIM candidate. The career path would incorporate the study year at the GSB as a component in the candidate's development plan. The process could start with a mentor being appointed to oversee the candidate when he/she was selected. The candidate and his/her mentor could explore possible career paths for the candidate once he/she had graduated from the GSB. The mentor would monitor the candidates progress and assist with both his/her reintegration into the company and further placement down the line. The mentor would be encouraged to attend the candidate's research project presentation. While the mentor is visiting the GSB time could be set aside for the candidate, or a member of the AIM staff, or both to brief the company representative on what the candidate had studied and in which subjects he/she had shown an aptitude. This assessment could form the basis of further discussions about possible career paths, in the company, open to the candidate.

4.2 AIM and Affirmative Action

Many perceive the AIM programme to be simply part of an affirmative action drive. However, the graduates felt that their white male colleagues also needed to study at the GSB as they also lacked effective management skills. This extension of AIM would dispel the popular view among white male managers that AIM is only for black and female staff.

4.3 Negotiation Skills

Someone mentioned that he/she would benefit from a course that taught him/her how to handle the stresses and strains of working in a hostile environment. This person suggested that the AIM programme include negotiation skills in a course such as Communication.

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So far I have tried to accurately convey the views of the graduates I interviewed, but now I need to make a few of my own comments.

5. A number of concluding comments

The openness and frankness of the graduates made my task a lot easier. It is obvious to me that they considered the issues raised in the discussions to be very important. The graduates were grateful for the opportunity to talk about their post-AIM work experiences.

The high level of frustration that the graduates experienced on returning to work has discouraged others from wanting to follow in their footsteps. This is cause for concern. The value of the AIM programme can only be realised if the graduates are able to implement some of their newly acquired skills in their work environment. The proposal put forward by the AIM graduates is one option. I am sure there are other options. It is in the GSB's interests to pay more attention to preparing the students for the typical problems they may encounter when returning to work. Armed with negotiation skills and the training to market their abilities they would more effectively handle these hostile situations. And in the GSB offering guidelines to the sponsor companies the latter will derive a greater return for their investment in staff training.

The AIM programme could certainly be seen as part of the individual's career path. Whatever route is taken the sponsoring companies need some guidance. The way in which the company prepares the AIM candidate and the way they manage the graduate's reintegration into the company are almost as important as the nine months of study at the GSB.

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