

Change & continuity in the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu (Namibia):

A comparative study of hybridization and its development implications

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ABSTRACT

In Southern Africa, burgeoning intercultural contact results in the emergence of (bicultural) socio-cultural contexts which emphasize African traditional and Western industrial values to different degrees. In transitioning between these contexts, Southern Africans may experience feelings of dissonance which potentially threaten identity. In managing these transitions, individuals arguably employ various hybridization strategies in order to navigate socio-cultural contexts whilst maintaining a coherent sense of self. Though part of a broader Southern African study initiated by Cumpsty in 1998, this dissertation represents a stand-alone inquiry into how the value-priorities of school-leaving respondents in Rundu, northern Namibia, have changed or stayed the same between 1998 and 2017. What is more, it seeks to ascertain if/how these respondents have hybridized their value-systems confronted with increasingly bicultural experiences. Cumpsty's quantitative instrument for measuring values was administered to the entire school-leaving cohort in two schools in Rundu in 1998 and in 2017. This data was comparatively analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics in order to measure the extent to which change/continuity had occurred over the nearly 20 year period. Profiles were generated from the two sets of quantitative data, which revealed how respondents hybridized African traditional and Western industrial values, and the results were analyzed comparatively. This dissertation's central finding has been an unexpected pattern of general continuity in the value-priorities of respondents between 1998 and 2017, which is also demonstrated in the patterns found in the dominant profiles. These results indicate the use of distinct strategies which allow respondents to integrate African traditional and Western industrial values into hybrid value-systems – which in turn allow them to navigate bicultural experiences whilst maintaining a coherent sense of identity – and therefore repudiates the notion of globalisation resulting in increasing socio-cultural uniformity. This finding indicates that if the definition of development is broadened to encompass the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, then an account of identity is crucial, which in turn renders an account of values indispensable to the development debate in Southern Africa. Lastly, this dissertation uses Cumpsty's instrument, which is fundamentally flawed, and ends with a critique of the instrument.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

So widespread is debate surrounding globalization that the concept seems to act as “prism in which major disputes over the collective human condition are now refracted” (Pieterse, 2009, p. 7). A prevailing thesis in globalization literature is that of increasing cultural homogenization oriented toward the ideological and institutional supremacy of the West (Pieterse, 2009) (Abdi, 2010). Such conceptions tie globalization to modernity, and tend to problematically conflate globalization with westernization (Pieterse, 2009, p. 65). Conversely, and reminiscent of Pieterse’s (2009) notion of global *melange*, the present dissertation views globalization as tending toward increasing hybridization. Hybridization is by no means a new process, yet it is the accelerated pace of mixing which defines the current, ‘global’ era – an era of “new phases of intercultural contact” (Pieterse, 2009, p. 98).

Burgeoning intercultural contact exposes societies the world over to multiple and diverse socio-cultural systems. Confronted with such plurality, individuals are increasingly required to balance between the competing socio-cultural forces which now influence everyday contexts (Daniel, et al., 2012, p. 1167). The present dissertation argues that this is case in Southern Africa, which is arguably characterized by biculturalism, or the coexistence of distinctly African traditional and Western industrial *values* (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, p. 49). As such, different socio-cultural contexts emphasize different values. For instance, the school context may prioritize individualism and goal-orientation (emanating from a Western industrial value-system), whereas the home context may prioritize communalism (emanating from a traditional African value-system). In the words of Phelan et al (1998), these different contexts – or worlds – are not always congruent, and transitions between them are not always smooth (Phelan, et al., 1998). Failure to manage the transitions between contexts has the potential to engender feelings of dissonance, which in turn have the potential to threaten *identity* (Daniel, et al., 2012, p. 1168). As such, many (typically indigenous) individuals find themselves negotiating a bicultural landscape, which often requires they employ various strategies in order to manage transitions, or risk incoherence in their identities.

The maintenance of a coherent identity is by no means trivial, particularly if one adopts a people-centered conception of development as the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, amongst which the need for a coherent sense of identity features prominently (Cruz, et al., 2009, p. 2025). Yet, problematically, inadequate attention is paid to the question of *how* individuals respond to bicultural experiences, and the various strategies they may use in negotiating their identity whilst transitioning between what may be potentially discordant life contexts.

The present dissertation views this problem through the lens of values; in particular, the value-priorities of school-leavers in Southern Africa. The examination of their value-priorities will focus on the following; i) which African traditional and Western industrial values they affirm and which ones they do not affirm (i.e. reject or are uncertain about); ii) the generation of distinct profiles which reflect *how* they combine Western Industrial and African traditional values into hybridized systems; iii) the extent to which their value-priorities, and thus these profiles, have changed or stayed the same over a period of almost 20 years; and iv) what this change/continuity says about how individuals are navigating socio-cultural contexts and maintaining coherent identities in the current, global landscape.

In doing so, this dissertation will analyze secondary data generated in 1998 by Cumpsty and his research team in their study of the value-priorities of school-leavers in the Namibian town of Rundu, and compare these findings to primary data collected in 2017, also from school-leavers in Rundu. The findings provide insight into the ways in which respondents hybridize values over time, and how these hybridized value-priorities allow them to negotiate a bicultural context and maintain coherent identities. The findings of this dissertation also contribute to larger debates surrounding values, globalization and human development in (Southern) Africa.

Importantly, Cumpsty's instrument is fundamentally flawed, but was well suited to this dissertation given its previous use as well as its ability to account for hybridization. As such, this dissertation will also problematize Cumpsty's instrument with reference Shalom Schwartz's Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) – which represents an alternative form of values measurement and the current pinnacle of global values research – in the quest for a values indicator which is more contextually appropriate for use in (Southern) Africa.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RESEARCH PROBLEM & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Though part of larger ongoing study which includes samples from South Africa and Lesotho, this dissertation should be considered a stand-alone inquiry which seeks to generate an empirical account of the change/continuity in the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu, Northern Namibia. Rundu was considered an apt location by Cumpsty and his team of researchers who administered an initial round of questionnaires in 1998, given that it was a relatively small town in a predominantly rural region. This first round of research indicated that Western industrial and African traditional values coexisted in Rundu, and that respondents employed various strategies in navigating socio-cultural contexts defined by these value-systems.

Today, Rundu has grown into a large town. Driven by high rates of urbanization, its population increased by 71.62% between 2001 and 2011 alone (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 39), and it now constitutes the major 'development hub' in the Kavango region (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 351). Given the apparently significant impact of globalization in the area, this dissertation sought to collect a second set of data using Cumpsty's questionnaire so as to generate a comparative picture of the change/continuity in value-priorities of school leavers in the area. In doing so, this dissertation orients its analytical processes around the following enquiry:

In a 1998 study of the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu the research team found that respondents hybridized traditional African and Western industrial values in various ways. How have the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu changed or stayed the same as of 2017 and what does this say about the ways in which they are hybridizing African traditional and Western industrial values today? What consequences does this have for human development?

Evidently, this central enquiry relies on the interweaving of several key concepts. These concepts are clarified hereafter.

2.1. Values

Since inception, values have been widely regarded as a key social scientific concept (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005) (Schwartz, 2012). The significance of the concept lies in its potential to provide insight into human thought, action, and social organization (Schwartz, 2012). Values “can be used to characterize cultural groups, societies, and individuals, to trace change over time, and to explain the motivational bases of attitudes and behavior” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 3). Despite their importance being broadly recognized, over the last century, academic application of the concept has suffered due to a lack of definitional and conceptual consensus, as well as a lack of reliable methodological tools with which to measure values (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004) (Schwartz, 2012). However, according to Shalom Schwartz, “recent theoretical and methodological developments... have brought about a resurgence of research on values” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 3).

According to Schwartz, the varied theoretical conceptions of values exhibit several implicit and recurrent features:

“(1) Values are beliefs linked inextricably to affect. When values are activated, they become infused with feeling... (2) Values refer to desirable goals that motivate action... (3) Values transcend specific actions and situations... (4) Values serve as standards or criteria. Values guide the selection or evaluation of actions, policies, people, and events. People decide what is good or bad, justified or illegitimate, worth doing or avoiding, based on possible consequences for their cherished values... (5) Values are ordered by importance relative to one another. People’s values form an ordered system of priorities that characterize them as individuals... (6) The relative importance of multiple values guides action” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 4).

Schwartz’s composite definition is now widely accepted in the field, and values are generally considered to refer to “desirable, trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in peoples’ lives” (Burgess, 2002, p. 26).

2.2. Change & continuity in value-priorities

Values are fundamental to social existence. In fact, according to Schwartz, “the prevailing value emphases in a society may be the most central feature of culture” (Schwartz, 2006, p. 139). Though change may be slow, culture is not immutable – “cultural value orientations do change gradually” (Schwartz, 2006, p. 139).

For Inglehart (2000), there is a “growing body of evidence [indicating] that deep-rooted changes in world views are taking place” (Inglehart, 2000, p. 215), changes which “seem to be reshaping economic, political, and social life in societies around the world” (Inglehart, 2000, p. 215). Inglehart bases this assertion on evidence gained primarily from the WVS, which has have measured the values and beliefs of the publics on all six inhabited continents” (Inglehart, 2000, p. 215) at various points in time since 1981.

According to Inglehart, a central observation gleaned from WVS data has been a “pattern of systematic changes in values and motivations among those of advanced industrial societies” (Inglehart, 2000, p. 215). This pattern is defined by a shift from materialist to post-materialist values, which “is only one aspect of a much broader shift from modern to postmodern values that is taking place throughout advanced industrial society” (Inglehart, 2000, p. 222). Inglehart argues that the driving force behind this change is the decline in economic scarcity, and thus a “rising [level] of existential security” (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, p. 42). As economic security – and thus ‘survival’ – is able to be taken for granted, we witness the birth of a new set of postmodern values which transform the social, economic and political norms of developed nations (Inglehart, 2000).

Importantly, Inglehart adds a necessary level of complexity to this claim by qualifying that the general shift from traditional to modern values is not linear (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). Despite the emergence of a global economy, we are not necessarily witnessing “increasing uniformity, in the form of universalization of Western culture” (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, p. 22). Although economic development propels nations in a common direction, “instead of converging they seem to move on parallel trajectories shaped by their cultural heritage” (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, p. 49). As such, Inglehart acknowledges that we are witnessing a two-fold dynamic which is characterized by both

massive cultural change resulting in convergence toward modern values as well as the persistence of distinctive traditional values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, p. 49).

This repudiation of a linear trajectory of value change is critical, as it allows for the acknowledgement that Western industrial values are increasingly pervasive, but that this does not necessitate cultural uniformity and the erosion of African traditional values. In turn, this is crucial in arguing that globalization has resulted in the proliferation of biculturalism in Southern Africa.

2.3. Change & continuity in Southern African value-priorities

Though dominant instruments in the field of values are occasionally administered in Southern Africa for the sake of national comparisons, their construction is often argued to be ill-suited to the nuances of these societies. For instance, according to Kotze and Lombard (2002), global value surveys like the WVS are “fashioned in a manner to tap values in industrialized and western states, arguably rendering some aspects of the theoretical models of explanation less relevant for developing nations” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 413).

Speaking about South Africa specifically, Kotze and Lombard have argued that there has been “little extensive and systematic research to assess the direction, magnitude and nature of [the] changing dynamics of... values” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 413). Nevertheless, in terms of shifting values in South Africa, Kotze and Lombard (2002) indicate that “the expansive external political, social and economic changes to have transpired since 1990 and 1995 respectively, have brought about internal fluidity in the value dimension of South Africa as a whole, as well as for the various population sub-groups individually” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 431). In making this claim, they draw on Inglehart’s conception of value change, dominated by the notion that the shift from materialist to post-materialist values (as a component of the broader shift from traditional to modern values) occurs as societies develop to overcome economic scarcity (Inglehart, 2000, p. 222). However, Kotze and Lombard argue that “South Africa’s values appear to be undergoing a slight reorganization along the pre-materialist/materialist dimension” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 430), as opposed to the materialist/post-materialist one. What is more, in the process of reorientation “very few isolated groups display an increasing polarization towards the extremes” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 430). Rather, “the majority is increasingly representing middle-of-the-

range alternatives” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 430). In all, they conclude that South Africa is experiencing an “overall trend away from pre-materialism towards increased mixed type value-priorities, with a slight increase in [materialism]” (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 431).

Lastly, for the sake of transparency, this study has not been able to obtain scholarly or empirical studies related to change/continuity in values in Namibia specifically. However, according to Müller, et al., given the “interwoven nature of geo-political and economic dynamics of the [Southern African] region as well as its historical and cultural linkages” (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 13), a case can be made for analysis of the region as a whole. Thus, though values research pertinent to the Southern African region cannot be taken for granted as accurate in the Namibian context, it will be considered as theoretically useful by this study. Given this particular shortcoming, special attention is paid to the research setting in Chapter 3.

2.4. Values & identity

Transformations in the values-systems which prevail in a given society have significant implications in terms of identity. According to numerous values scholars, basic values are *trans-situational*, meaning they are “abstract goals that can be applied to different and distinct situations” (Daniel et al, 2012: 1168). As such, values constitute “basic characteristics of individuals, applied across life contexts” (Daniel et al, 2012: 1169). Given their applicability across life contexts, values are vital in creating a cohesive sense of self (Daniel et al, 2012: 1169). As such, values are integral to identity, and it follows that pressure to adapt one’s value-system has significant implications in terms of identity.

In a globalizing world, societies are subject to complex processes of social, cultural and political change which often force “a redefinition of intimate and personal aspects of our lives” (Giddens, 2006, p. 67). As such, individuals are often required to “juggle between competing forces: on the one hand, they adapt to the ever changing demands of their complex social world; on the other, they aspire for consistency in life to help reduce uncertainty and gain a feeling of continuity” (Daniel, et al., 2012, p. 1167). This process is eased in societies dominated by a single value-system, but as is made evident by Inglehart and Baker (2000) above, traditional African and Western

industrial value-systems arguably coexist in Southern Africa (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, p. 49). As such, particular contexts may emphasize values which are not only rooted in different value-systems, but may philosophically contradict. For instance, McDonald (2010) considers the markedly African notion of Ubuntu – rooted in African communalistic values – and asserts that its philosophical underpinnings are fundamentally irreconcilable with the individualistic and commodified ‘lifeworlds’ of Western capitalism (McDonald, 2010, p. 140). As such, there is the possibility for tensions to emerge as individuals attempt to navigate contexts which place different emphasis on African traditional or Western industrial values. In turn, this may engender a feeling of dissonance which has the potential to threaten ones sense of self-coherence (Daniel, et al., 2012, p. 1168).

Thus, in Southern Africa, individuals may be required to “balance between value contextualization and value consistency” (Daniel, et al., 2012, p. 1179). Given the need to “view the self as a coherent entity” (Daniel & Crabtree, 2014, p. 15), a lack of perceived continuity across contexts can cause negative feelings of “fragmentation and confusion” (Daniel & Crabtree, 2014, p. 17) – compromising the formation or maintenance of an integrated identity.

2.5. Values, identity & human development

At this juncture, it has been established that change/continuity in value-priorities is part of a larger discussion around the vulnerability of identity in a globalizing world. However, a review of related literature has made it is evident that insufficient attention is paid to the question of *how* individuals in Southern Africa navigate potentially identity threatening socio-cultural landscape, and the *strategies* they employ in doing so. This paucity of research is particularly problematic in contexts like Southern Africa, where African traditional and Western industrial values coexist. The potential implications this holds in relation to identity is no trivial matter, particularly in terms of development.

It is a widely accepted notion that African traditional values arbitrate the trajectory of development on the continent. However, given that neo-liberalism and globalization are often implicitly considered two sides of the same coin – and conceptions of ‘development’ tend to take

on a markedly western bias – African values are popularly assumed to be inimical to development (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 9). Arguably, the notion that African values are inimical to development results from the portrayal of African values and tradition as vestiges of the past; as being opposed to the West, and thus irreconcilable with modern, ‘Western’ development (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 8). In turn, this logic demands the argument that Western development, and its processes of individualism and materialism, compromises African values and culture (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 8). As such, more nuanced theorisation about the relationship between values and development in Africa has been constrained by the “racist conflation of African poverty and lack of development with African culture” (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 6).

According to Müller *et al*, much development theory tends to lack “a nuanced and contemporary perspective on the impact and potential of values in development” (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 13). Müller *et al*, devote considerable attention towards a review of theory surrounding development, both conventional and alternative approaches, and conclude that “values and culture in development is far from being an established feature or a settled body of knowledge in development research” (Müller & van Heerden, 2013, p. 85). The culprit in this regard is argued to be the dominance of the more conventional, economic mode of thought, which emphasizes capital, technology and labour (Müller & van Heerden, 2013, p. 85). If the goal of development is simply to attain goods and services, then development can be defined narrowly as the “optimal use of resources and technology to encourage growth in the economy” (Müller et al, 2013: 55). However, alternative development theories have emerged which attempt to “redefine the goals of development in order to bring the individual and the community back into development practice” (Müller et al, 2013: 57).

One such approach is the Human Scale Development paradigm developed initially by Max-Neef et al in 1986. This approach seeks to account for how one's quality of life is subject to “complex, multidimensional, social, cultural and psychological motives and aspirations” (Cruz, et al., 2009, p. 2021). In doing so, it asserts that the best development process is one which enables the satisfaction of certain fundamental human needs (Cruz, et al., 2009, p. 2022). Amongst these fundamental needs is the need for *identity*, which is argued to provide individuals with a sense of

belonging and consistency in life central to well-being (Cruz, et al., 2009, p. 2025). As such, given the role of values in cohering or fracturing identity in the era of globalization, it follows that they are critical in facilitating or eroding the meaning and belonging which inform an individual's quality of life. Thus, mapping the change/continuity of value-priorities over time and identifying the strategies used in navigating African traditional and Western industrial value-systems is a useful inclusion to any people-centered development debate in contemporary Southern Africa.

2.6. Hybridization

To reiterate, this dissertation conceives of globalization as tending towards increasing hybridization (Pieterse, 2009), and as such, rejects the notion that globalization results in increasing uniformity. This view of globalization does not necessarily repudiate the argument that it increasingly fosters interdependence and the associated amalgamation of global economic, social and political systems which are often oriented toward the maintenance and expansion of "the ideological and institutional supremacy of [Western industrial society]" (Abdi, 2010, p. 5). However, it does take issue with the claim that the spread of Western industrial culture necessitates the erosion of traditional cultural elements.

In terms of values, similar issues exist, as it is often assumed that Western industrial values uniformly *replace* traditional African values as the principles by which people navigate their lived realities (Payle & Lebakeng, 2006, p. 40). Though, as has been made evident above, these values may emanate from distinctive cultural value-systems, and may even contain contradictory elements, it is an over-simplification to assume that this abstract antagonism means that these values cannot coexist to varying degrees in practice.

This dissertation argues that global forces encounter local settings in a multitude of ways, refracting through diverse sociocultural factors producing unique, *hybridized* complexes of local and global knowledge (Holton, 2000, p. 145). Hybridization based theories argue that different "cultures borrow and incorporate elements from each other, creating hybrid... forms" (Holton, 2000, p. 140). This requires individuals to engage in a contextually mediated process of mixing and matching of what may be considered the incoming culture with incumbent (traditional)

repertoires in order to make sense of their environment. Though the 'African traditional' and 'Western industrial' labels used by Cumpsty, and thus in this dissertation, do not exhaust the possible types of values which may exist in an increasingly hybridized world, they provide a necessary axis along which to consider change, continuity and hybridization in value-priorities.

The notion of hybridization is key as it serves as a corrective to the simplistic assumption that globalization results in the uniform replacement of the 'traditional' with the 'modern'. In fact, an image of the last two centuries of Southern African history would be *incomplete* without an account of the increasing encroachment and influence of Western capitalism. In what can be considered an early modality of globalization, the pervasiveness of Western norms and values – perpetuated through military, religious and socio-political institutions – profoundly affected the lives of Southern Africans (de Wet, 2008). Today, hybridity is the norm – in fact, it is arguable that the idea that 'traditional' and 'modern' "structures and patterns can exist in any "pure" form must be rejected" (Muller et al, 2013: 96). 'Traditional' and 'modern' are not only "flags for a significant variety of conditions, but traditional and modern have been in conversation for a long time in Africa" (Muller et al, 2013: 26). This confrontation and entanglement – spanning initial colonial encounters and modern capitalist expansion – has emptied out any pristine or pure form that may be conceived" (Muller et al, 2013: 26).

2.7. Profiling

In arguing the centrality of hybridization, one is susceptible to applying the term in a blanket fashion over the diverse ways that processes of mixing and matching are played out. This concern is articulated by Pieterse (2009), who argues that hybridization potentially "[conceals] the asymmetry and unevenness in the process and the elements of mixing" (Pieterse, 2009, p. 55). Thus, distinctions need to be made between the different patterns and types of hybridization (Pieterse, 2009, p. 55).

This presents the present dissertation with an issue, as the types and patterns of hybridization used in navigating between African traditional and Western industrial value-systems are arguably as numerous as the respondents who employ them. As such, a conceptual tool is required in order

to abstract empirical observations to a level at which describable, intelligible patterns emerge. In this regard, this thesis uses *profiling* as a conceptual tool. Hybridization of African traditional and Western industrial values is the norm, and profiling allows us to generate a framework with which to grasp and categorize different strategies of hybridization and the degrees of mixing and matching therein.

In generating a useful and comprehensive profiling framework with the potential to inform the discussion of results, this dissertation seeks to integrate Cumpsty's profiling framework with that of Phelan, Davidson and Yu (1998).

In mapping value-priorities, Cumpsty and de Wet (de Wet, 2000) seek to gain an idea of how respondents mix and match African traditional and Western industrial values. In generating a picture of which elements of each value-system are affirmed or rejected, integrated or resisted, Cumpsty and de Wet are able to generate an account of how respondents gravitate around certain mixtures of values – mixtures which represent different profiles. Cumpsty and de Wet identify the following five profiles:

- i) **AFFIRM:** This profile contains those respondents who affirm major elements of both an African traditional and Western industrial value-system (de Wet, 2000). In Cumpsty's (1991) words, these respondents seek to concurrently hold two dominant paradigms which compete for authority (Cumpsty, 1991). In situations where two dominant paradigms exist side by side, individuals maintain coherence in identity using what Cumpsty calls an *allocation strategy* (Cumpsty, 1991). Allocation allows the uneasy tension between competing paradigms to be mitigated by way of each being allocated to separate life spaces (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 420). This implies the inhabitation of multiple worlds on a temporary basis depending on the needs of the individual (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 420). Alternatively, individuals may use what Cumpsty calls a *bridging strategy*. In situations where two dominant paradigms exist together, bridging symbols may be used to hold together otherwise irreconcilable elements in an integrated, cohesive system (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 422). Bridging symbols allow for the "softening [of] one symbol to ease the accommodation of the contra-symbol" (de Wet, 2000, p. 280).

- ii) SELECT: This profile contains those respondents who selectively reject major elements of both an African traditional and Western industrial value system (de Wet, 2000). These respondents do not seek to hold two dominant paradigms concurrently, thus they are not required to allocate or bridge. Rather, these respondents engage in a selective process of mixing and matching of elements of each paradigm in preserving the values from each which they deem key in constructing an integrated value-system. In this quest for integration they leave out significant elements of both paradigms, resulting in a value-system which is not bound to either (de Wet, 2000, p. 300).
- iii) Affirm WI – Selectively Reject AT (AWI-SAT): This profile contains those respondents who generally affirm a Western industrial value-system, and selectively reject major elements of an African traditional value-system (de Wet, 2000). For those who attribute primacy to the Western industrial paradigm, but yet seek maintain minor elements of an African traditional paradigm, Cumpsty (1991) argues that a *containment strategy* is used. Containment refers to the “encapsulation of intruding elements of an alien world... within symbolic and ritual sub-sets of the home tradition” (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 418). As such, containment is the appropriate strategy to maintain coherence in instances where only select elements of the ‘alien’ paradigm need be admitted to maintain meaning (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 418). In the case of those in the AWI-SAT profile, despite the dominance of the Western industrial paradigm, gaps are created within the value-system into which more mobile elements of an African traditional value-system can be ‘plugged in’ (de Wet, 2000, p. 288). This allows individuals to remain somewhat connected to a value-system which they yet perceive as meaningful (de Wet, 2000).
- iv) Selectively Reject WI – Affirm AT (SWI-AAT): This profile contains those respondents who affirm an African traditional value-system, and selectively reject major elements of a Western industrial value-system (de Wet, 2000). Similarly to the AWI-SAT profile above, respondents in this profile employ containment strategies, although in this case the African-traditional paradigm is dominant. As such, respondents arguably create gaps in the African traditional paradigm into which elements of the Western-industrial paradigm can

be ‘plugged in’, thus allowing them to make sense of alien material which “would otherwise threaten [their] sense of reality” (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 418).

- v) UNSURE: This profile contains those respondents who were reluctant to affirm or reject either the African traditional or Western industrial value-systems. In this profile, “the lack of decisive choice among school leavers... suggests at best the postponement of a strategy for negotiating worldview and identity, and at worst, continuing anomie” (de Wet, 2000, p. 301).

Each of these six profiles is an example of hybridization of African traditional and Western industrial values, however, they all differ in type and degree. They each represent, for Cumpsty and De Wet (Cumpsty, 1991) (de Wet, 2000), a profile which indicates the use of a specific strategy (or strategies) – be it containment, bridging or allocation – in navigating a setting defined by the potentially tumultuous coexistence of Western industrial and African traditional values.

Phelan, Davidson & Yu’s (1998) profiling framework

Phelan *et al* (1998) contend that we know relatively little about the aspects of the different ‘worlds’ that adolescents are required to face and the contexts they are expected to transition between in everyday life, let alone how these aspects combine to affect ones engagement with a given context (Phelan, et al., 1998). In particular, they are preoccupied with the boundaries and “borders that young people face, adaptation strategies they use, and bridges that can increase their chances of successfully navigating a variety of settings” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 2).

Phelan *et al* define a ‘world’ as that which encompasses the cultural knowledge and behavior “found within the boundaries of students’ particular families, peer groups, and schools” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 7); with cultural knowledge being conceptualized as “what people need to know in order to think, act, and behave appropriately” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 7). Different worlds are comprised of different “values and beliefs, expectations, actions, and emotional responses familiar to insiders” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 7). With this in mind, Phelan *et al*, seek to “[ascertain] the congruence of [such] sociocultural components across students’ worlds” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 9).

Importantly, theories dealing with cultural compatibility often assume that “cultural differences between home and school necessarily create difficulties” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 9). However, Phelan *et al* contend that these assumptions are ignorant of the many instances where despite differences, ethnically diverse people cope and even do well with such transitions (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 9). As such, although cultural differences are potentially difficult to overcome, Phelan et al do not “preclude successful interaction” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 10). Thus, Phelan et al encompass a range of possible transitions; they account for smooth and difficult, manageable and resisted transitions between congruent and incongruent worlds (Phelan, et al., 1998).

However, what is key for this dissertation, is their identification of three distinct adaptation strategies individuals may use in managing transitions between different worlds, each of which involves emotional costs and benefits (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 16). What is more, these adaptation strategies are in certain ways reminiscent of Cumpsty and De Wet’s hybridization strategies; these similarities will be touched on where relevant. Phelan et al’s adaptation strategies are as follows:

- i) Adapt completely: Firstly, students may “attempt to adapt completely, conforming to mainstream patterns of academic and social interaction while at school, and hiding aspects of their home lives that might differentiate them from the majority of their peers” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17). This adaptation strategy does not neatly fit with any of Cumpsty and De Wet’s hybridization strategies, however, those who employ this strategy are most comparable to AWI-SAT or SWI-AAT respondents in that they prioritize the values of whatever world dominates their socio-cultural experience. What is more, its underlying premise is not dissimilar from Cumpsty’s notion of containment in that both involve the attribution of dominance to a single paradigm, be it African traditional or Western industrial – though Cumpsty allows for the incorporation of minor, mobile elements from the other paradigm in creating a cohesive value-system.
- ii) Adapt situationally: Secondly, students may “adapt situationally, conforming to mainstream patterns of interaction when they are in the minority, returning to home/community patterns of interaction when with their peers in social settings or home with their families. These students do not devalue or seek to distance themselves from their different worlds, but rather adapt as a practical matter by switching to the

expectations of different settings” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17). This adaptation strategy resembles Cumpsty’s allocation strategy, in that both situational adaptation and allocation imply the coexistence of two dominant worlds or paradigms, which are emphasized at different times and in different spaces depending on the needs of the individual. Thus, this strategy is reminiscent of that used by respondents in Cumpsty and de Wet’s AFFIRM profile.

- iii) Blending aspects: Thirdly students may “develop a capacity to blend aspects of their different worlds... these students both value and criticize aspects of their multiple worlds, drawing elements from each to create an identity that transcends conventional categories” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17). This is reminiscent of Cumpsty and de Wet’s SELECT profile, which contains those respondents who are “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” (de Wet, 2000, p. 300). These respondents are “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” (de Wet, 2000, p. 301). Thus, the underlying premise of the SELECT profile is not dissimilar to that of this adaptation strategy – both involve the transcendence or subversion of both worlds/paradigms in generating novel forms.

CHAPTER 3: THE RESEARCH SETTING (RUNDU)

Rundu is the capital town of the Kavango-East region, located in northern Namibia. Before identifying change/continuity in the value-priorities of schools leavers in Rundu between 1998 and 2017, it is first necessary to provide a comprehensive account of the change/continuity of Rundu itself over a similar time frame. This account is crucial in contextualizing the results and ultimate findings of this dissertation, as well as clarifying certain methodological concerns. As such, this Chapter emphasizes the changing nature of Rundu's demographic and socio-economic landscape, as well as considering the methodological implications of language.

3.1. Demography

In accordance with the *Statistics Act No. 66 of 1976*, Namibia conducts a decennial Population and Housing Census. The first post-independence census was conducted in 1991, followed by 2001 and 2011. As this dissertation's period of observation is 1998 to 2017, it will consider the change which has occurred between the 2001 and 2011 census results as providing the best indication of the change/continuity in the demographic indicators of import.

Between 2001 and 2011, the population of the Kavango region increased by 10.2%, from 202,694 to 223,352 people (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 13). Over the same period, the urban population of the region increased by 14.13% (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 13). What is most illustrative however, is that vast majority of this rural-urban migration appears to have been absorbed by Rundu; between 2001 and 2011, Rundu's population increased by 71.62% from 36,964 to 63,431 people (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 39).

Evidently, the census data indicates massive urbanization over the period of observation. However, statistics such as those cited above are general by nature, and unavoidably conceal detailed information which may reveal a more nuanced and complex picture of the *nature* of urban change in Rundu. With this in mind, the remainder of this Chapter seeks to convey a more nuanced picture of Rundu of past and present, in the hopes of providing a more detailed characterization of urban growth.

3.2. Demography reconsidered: urban or peri-urban?

Typical conceptualizations of urbanization usually draw on a simplistic rural-urban dichotomy. However, there is increasing recognition that the rural-urban dichotomy is inadequate when accounting for the burgeoning changes occurring in the *peri-urban* context (Allen, 2003, p. 135). According to Allen (2003), there is no clear consensus when it comes to defining the peri-urban interface, yet it is typically characterized by either the “loss of ‘rural’ aspects (loss of fertile soil, agricultural land, natural landscape, etc.) or the lack of ‘urban’ attributes (low density, lack of accessibility, lack of services and infrastructure, etc.)” (Allen, 2003, p. 136). What is progressively agreed upon however, is that “rural and urban features tend increasingly to co-exist within cities and beyond their limits” (Allen, 2003, p. 135). For Dima *et al* (2002), this trend is evidenced in Namibia, where the explosive rate of urbanization post-independence (1990) has been intensifying the peri-urban growth around major urban zones (Dima, et al., 2002, p. 1).

With regard to Rundu in particular, a 2014 study by Röder *et al* (2015) sought to identify how land use had evolved over the previous twenty years in the cross-border region encompassing Rundu and the neighboring Angolan town of Calai. Röder *et al* found “conversion from savannah ecosystems to arable land to be the most prominent land use transformation process between 1990 and 2010” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 352). What is more, “this trend was found to affect adjacent settlement areas and cause widespread conversion of woodland savannahs to agricultural land or their utilization for timber extraction” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 340). This finding indicates that Rundu’s booming urbanization was likely augmented by what may be considered peri-urban growth, with a total conversion of 460km² of woodland savannah into arable land in and around Rundu over the observation period (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 340).

What is more, the appropriation of land played a pivotal role in livelihood strategies in the area, with subsistence agriculture, livestock and the utilization of natural products playing a major role in providing households with basic livelihood sustenance (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 352). In fact, according to Röder *et al*, “cropping [was] the main source of income for approximately four-fifths of the Namibian regional population” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 343). Thus, though wealth-aspirations

are increasingly connected to modernization and the processes of globalization in the area, at present, the result of these aspirations remains land conversion for the purposes of agriculturally based subsistence and exchange strategies (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 353).

As such, Rundu's urban growth between 1998 and 2017 has not necessarily entailed a blanket shift in lifestyle and livelihood strategies often associated with the physical relocation from rural to urban areas – as census data which relies on a simplistic rural-urban dichotomy may suggest. Instead, Rundu's growth has had varying dimensions, prominent among which has been an increasing peri-urban interface.

3.3. Socio- economic factors

The Kavango region is home to some of the most impoverished districts in Namibia, with “43% of their households being poor and 24% being severely poor” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 350). Unemployment also plagues the region, with the percentage of people over the age of 15 years who were unemployed increasing from 20% in 2001 to 50% in 2011 (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 13). Not unexpectedly, there is an increasing divide between the rich entrepreneurs and a growing urban middleclass and the “vast majority of impoverished urbanites living in slum quarters scattered around the town and working in an informal sector” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 350). The levels of poverty and inequality do not negate the presence of global capital, in fact, globalization often exacerbates these trends. What is of interest, however, is the response of much of Rundu's population to increasing exposure to the economic dimensions of globalization over the period of observation.

In the face of global capital, agriculture has remained the dominant livelihood strategy in the region, with 43% of households relying on agriculture as their main source of income in 2011, a figure which decreased from 52% in 2001 (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 13). Wages and salaries (21% in 2001 and 22% in 2011) and cash remittances (4% in 2001 and 6% in 2011) were also important sources of income over this period. However, the percentage reliant on explicitly non-farming related activity such as business decreased from 14% to 12% between 2001 and 2011 (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2011, p. 13).

Despite Namibia becoming “increasingly embedded into global national economic setups, value chains and trade flows” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 343), what has been made clear in both the discussion around the peri-urban interface and the figures above is that the Kavango region has remained largely reliant on agriculture and related economic activity over the period in question. This agricultural emphasis is in part enabled by Namibia’s formal designation of the Kavango region as communal land – a designation which sets it apart from the large private farms in the south (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 351). For Röder et al, the designation of this land as communal – in combination with Rundu’s growth as a development hub and the establishment of a good road network – has spurred increasing population movement into the area, with scattered settlements proliferating along these road networks (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 351). This increased mobility, and the resulting connectivity between markets and settlements in more remote locations, has stimulated the commodification of agricultural and natural products (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 351). As such, it is evident that urban and infrastructural development has had a significant impact on the “exploitation of natural resources” (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 351), and connected the ‘rural’ to the ‘urban’ through circles of migration, exchange and transaction (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 343).

These dynamics place Rundu’s experience of exposure to global capital in opposition to other regions of the world, where processes of change tend to be dictated by large corporations and more stringent national regulation (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 353). Instead, increasing exposure to the forces of globalization has seen agriculture remain the pre-eminent economic activity at the micro level – though it has taken on a new dimension informed by financial aspirations connected to global capital.

3.4. Language

Language is considered in a different capacity from the demographic and socio-economic factors discussed in the preceding sections of this Chapter. Instead of contributing to an image of the change experienced by Rundu, language is considered more out of methodological concerns over validity and reliability in terms of administering the questionnaire.

After the fall of the Apartheid regime, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) assumed office, and brought with it a language policy of "official monolingualism, with English serving as the single official language" (Frydman, 2011, p. 183). Today, according to Namibia's Language Policy, "English is a compulsory subject, starting from Grade 1, and continuing throughout the school system" (MBESC, 2003, p. 4). From Grade 1 through 3, students are to be instructed in two languages, one of which must be English, but the other being the students' mother tongue (MBESC, 2003, p. 4). Fourth grade, however, is a transitional year where English assumes the role of sole medium of instruction, with other languages being taught only as subjects (MBESC, 2003, p. 4). This commitment has been recently reiterated in the Revised National Curriculum for Basic Education, which became effective as of 2010 (NIED, 2009).

According to Akuupa (2006), two of the most prominent languages in the Kavango region are Rukwangari, spoken by the Vakwangari people in the west, and Rumanyo, spoken amongst the Shambyu and Vagciriku people in the east (Akuupa, 2006, p. 52). Various other languages are also spoken in the area, but the dominance of Rukwangari and Rumanyo is reflected in their status as first level languages (MBESC, 2003, p. 4), meaning they have been recognized as educational and administrative languages most recently under the Education Act, No. 16, Article 35 (Republic of Namibia, 2001)

Cumpsty's instrument presents two stories. Unathi's story, which represents an ideal-typical Western industrial value-system, is presented only in English. Given that English is the medium of instruction as of Grade 4, it is arguable that respondents will be of a sufficient proficiency to be able to provide answers. Faku's story however, which presents an ideal-typical African traditional value-system, is presented in both English and Rumanyo, so as to increase the accuracy of respondents' answers by making it both more accessible, and by presenting ideas in a language which Cumpsty would argue is better suited to conveying the intended image. Why it was decided to use Rumanyo as opposed to Rukwangari in 1998 is unknown, though most likely it was considered the most widely used indigenous language. Regardless, for the sake of consistency, the 2017 questionnaire included Rumanyo translations for the African traditional story.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Cumpsty's instrument

Circa 1998, Cumpsty and a team of researchers designed and administered a quantitative questionnaire which sought to collect data capable of revealing the value-priorities of school-leaving respondents in South Africa, Namibia and Lesotho. This instrument was designed so as to “identify Western Industrial and African Traditional elements in people’s world-views as problematized in terms of Cumpsty’s theory” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 4). In addition to identifying these elements, this instrument was designed with the intention of determining if/how respondents experienced a tension or competition between these world-views (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 2).

These two world-views are represented by two stories; Unathi’s story represents an ideal-typical Western industrial world-view, whereas Faku’s story represents an ideal-typical African traditional world-view. Respondents are then asked how much they agree or disagree with the thoughts and feelings of these hypothetical characters. Their levels of affirmation/rejection are captured using a ten-point Likert scale, which produces ordinal scale data which makes possible certain statistical procedures.

In asking respondents to affirm/reject elements of these different stories, this questionnaire seeks to provide data from which natural groupings would emerge – groupings which would inform describable *profiles* which indicate how respondents are hybridizing their value-priorities by drawing on elements from both value-systems in order to negotiate their lived reality (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 2). According to Cumpsty et al, these questionnaire items are mostly phrased in a “non-overtly confrontational way” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7), so as to allow for the possibility of embracing elements of both paradigms into a single world-view (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7). However, inevitably, certain overtly confrontational items were included in which “the two paradigms come into conscious conflict” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7).

The items presented in these different stories were not chosen independently. Cumpsty et al prioritized items which test for values relevant to both an African traditional and a Western industrial world-view (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 6). For instance, though an African traditional worldview is closed to chance and a Western industrial worldview is open to chance (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 18), *both* involve the notion of chance. As such, despite the items in the different stories testing for values which “operate within, and relate specifically to, either the Western Industrial Paradigm or an African Traditional Paradigm” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7), these values can be conceived of as falling at opposing ends of a spectrum determined by the worldview from which they emerge (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7).

With certain exceptions, each underlying value – separated according to whether it is rooted an African traditional or Western industrial paradigm – is tested for by multiple items. For instance, affirmation of African traditional communalism is tested for by five different items, whereas affirmation of Western industrial individualism is tested for by six different items. Hereafter, the multiple items which test for a certain underlying value (e.g. communalism, monism, openness to chance *et cetera*) will be referred to as a *cluster*.

This approach provides for a more comprehensive look at the value underlying each cluster, facilitates in identifying if certain items are problematic, and provides insight into which aspects of a given underlying value are prompting rejection or affirmation. Furthermore, the provision of multiple items is key in accounting for the competition between worldviews as well as the strategies respondents use to negotiate these tensions – an account Cumpsty seeks to provide.

A detailed rationale of Cumpsty’s theoretical justifications behind each included value is located in the Appendix (see A1 in Appendix).

Why is Cumpsty’s instrument useful for this study?

As has been made evident, hybridization as a historical process has resulted in a paucity of ‘pure’ identities, be they ‘African traditional’ or ‘Western industrial’ (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 26). In fact, it is arguable that the notion of ideologically pure identities existing in the (Southern) African

context must necessarily be rejected (Muller et al, 2013: 96). In drawing on ideal-typical constructions of tradition and modernity, Cumpsty's instrument problematically roots itself in antiquated binary thought, and is fundamentally flawed. As such, in using Cumpsty's flawed instrument, this study is required to draw on the problematic theory which informs it for the sake of consistency. However, despite these flaws, Cumpsty's instrument was useful for the purposes of this dissertation. Given that it had already been used to collect data in 1998, using it to collect a second round of data in 2017 conveniently facilitated in providing a comparative dimension to this study. However, what is equally crucial, is that it was designed to illuminate how individuals respond to the coexistence of African traditional and Western industrial world-views (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 2). This, in turn, facilitates in the emergence of groupings in the data which inform profiles representative of the hybridization/adaptation strategies used in navigating contexts which emphasize different values (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 2). In sum, despite its limitations, Cumpsty's instrument was necessary given its role in allowing for the empirical mapping of the change/continuity in value-priorities of respondents in Rundu over time in a manner which is capable of accounting for the hybridization of values.

Given its necessary use of a flawed instrument and associated theory, this dissertation devotes considerable attention toward a critique of Cumpsty's instrument in Chapter 9. This critique is conducted with reference to what is arguably the preeminent instrument currently used in the field of values research – Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) – in the hopes of illustrating that though Cumpsty's instrument ought be abandoned, elements of it are salvageable and perhaps useful in informing future efforts to measure values in Southern Africa.

4.2. Research design

This dissertation *resembles* a longitudinal study in that compares data gathered using the same questionnaire (Cumpsty's instrument) from two samples over time. What is more, it is *descriptive* in nature. Given certain methodological limitations (which will be discussed at length later), in combination with the myriad complexities which mediate change/continuity in value-priorities over time, this dissertation is incapable of providing any real explanatory value or establishing

causal links. As such, it is oriented towards providing only preliminary descriptive insight into the change/continuity in value-priorities within the bounds of its sample.

Furthermore, this study draws on a combination of *primary* and *secondary* data, collected using the same instrument in 1998 and 2017. The decision to use an existing instrument was manifold. Firstly, given the limited scope of this study – in conjunction with the difficulty of designing, testing and administering a questionnaire capable of eliciting valid and reliable results – the possibility of first-hand questionnaire construction was ultimately unviable. Cumpsty's instrument was an available tool designed specifically to measure value-priorities in the Southern African context, making it suitable for this study. However, the decision to use Cumpsty's instrument was ultimately sealed given that it was used in 1998 to collect a first round of data. As this secondary data is available, when combined with primary data collected in by this study in 2017, a *comparative* dimension emerges which is crucial in identifying change/continuity over time. Secondly, in testing for the degree of affirmation/rejection of ideal-typical value-systems (Western industrial and African traditional), Cumpsty's instrument allows for the identification of different mixtures of values between these ideal-typical poles. As such, Cumpsty's instrument is able to account for some level of hybridization. Thirdly, using an existing instrument lends additional theoretical structure to this study, as it is able to draw from the methodological and theoretical groundwork upon which Cumpsty's instrument is based.

Using an existing instrument has proved useful for this study, but it is not without its limitations. In using an existing instrument – and data gathered therefrom – this study is subject to the limitations of the instrument and its theoretical underpinnings. These limitations will be discussed at length in Chapter 9. Furthermore, studies which use secondary data are prone to analyzing the data in ways which are suited to answer questions emanating from different theoretical and analytical orientations than those under which the data were collected (Punch, 2005, p. 103). This propensity arguably results in an increasing discrepancy between what the data was designed to do and what it is used for (Punch, 2005, p. 103). This problem was mitigated as far as possible by way of consistent reference to Cumpsty's literature. Lastly, and in a more practical vein, using secondary data means the researcher is deprived of the experience of doing the research –

experience which, though often unsung, may have a crucial impact on subsequent analyses and the interpretations of the data.

4.3. Sample Design

The central objective of this dissertation is to identify change/continuity in the value-priorities of its respondents over time by comparing data from 1998 to data from 2017. Though conducting a comparative longitudinal study would generally entail considering how the *same* sample changes over time, the same sample was unavailable. However, this study argues that it is not unfruitful to compare different samples over time, provided that they both fulfil a set of criteria. Thus, in order to render comparison useful, it was necessary for the 2017 data to be collected in a manner consistent with the data collected in 1998, and from a sample which had been delineated according to the same set of criteria. This set of criteria is outlined hereafter.

Cumpsty's instrument was initially administered to the school-leaving classes of two secondary schools in Rundu in 1998; Linus Shashipapo Secondary School and Maria Mwegere Secondary School. Given that access was only granted to two schools, and the initial research was interested in school leavers, administering the questionnaire to the entire grade 12 class at both schools was deemed the best approach to extract the maximum amount of data in 1998. As such, the sample for the 1998 round of collection was determined according to a purposive, convenience based strategy, and respondents were selected as they were considered "typical of some category of cases of interest to the researcher" (de Vaus, 2002, p. 90) – being school-leavers in the schools to which access was granted.

In the interests of facilitating as accurate a comparison as possible, the 2017 round of data collection relied on a sampling strategy which was as close to that used in 1998 as possible. Unfortunately the same two schools were unavailable, however, access was granted to Rundu Senior Secondary School and Dr Romanus Kamunoko Secondary School. Though not ideal, given their geographical proximity to the schools visited in 1998 and the fact that all four are government schools, it is arguable that the students in the 2017 sample were drawn from a population which was as similar to that in 1998 as possible in terms of their cultural, linguistic and socio-economic

backgrounds. Furthermore, in a manner consistent with the 1998 round of data collection, the primary data (2017) were collected by way of purposively administering the same questionnaire to the entire school-leaving class in both schools.

4.4. Sample limitations

Though crucial, the comparative aspect of study retains its limitations. As previously mentioned, longitudinal studies typically consider the same research subject/sample over time in order to determine if/how change has occurred. This study, however, considers different respondents over time, but considers them representative of a certain category to the extent that comparison is viable. The respondents in both 1998 and 2017 are considered similar in terms of cultural, linguistic and socio-economic variables, leaving the effects of globalization and urbanization in the region to assume the role of *de facto* independent variable. Though an approach of this nature is not free from error, it is perhaps suitable and acceptable given the nature of this study.

Another limitation imposed upon this study by the nature of its sampling strategy is that it lacks the methodological basis from which to make inferences to a larger population. Given that purposive samples are not selected randomly in order to account for systematic error (Punch, 2005, p. 102) – coupled with the relatively small sample sizes (127 in 1998 and 160 in 2017) – the conclusions of this study are non-generalizable. However, the inability to draw causal inference does not cripple this study. The decision to employ a purposive sampling strategy was taken so as to gain access to a specific category of respondents, and as such this study seeks only to describe change and/or continuity within the bounds of its sample.

4.5. Data collection

The quantitative data, in both 1998 and 2017, were collected using Cumpsty's questionnaire. This questionnaire is comprised of two hypothetical stories, each with an associated set of closed-ended, ten-point Likert scale items. The first story, or Unathi's story, represents an ideal-typical Western industrial value system, and will be referred to hereafter as the Western industrial story. In the 1998 round of data collection the Western Industrial story was called Siphos's story, and

consisted of 35 items. However, for the 2017 round of collection Siphos were changed to Unathi in the interests of gender neutrality, and five items (U29, U30, U31, U32 and U33) were deemed un-useful and dropped. The second story, or Faku's story, represents an ideal typical African traditional value-system, and will be referred to hereafter as the African traditional story. The African traditional story consisted of 33 items in 1998, but six items (F8, F9, F10, F12, F13 and F23) were deemed un-useful and dropped for the 2017 round of data collection. Faku's story, however, could not be renamed given the masculinity inherent in its construction. The decisions to drop items were made by dr. de Wet in his capacity as coordinator of the larger Southern Africa study.

The questionnaire is split into two sections. The first tests for the level of agreement with the Western industrial story, thereby gaining an indication of one's affirmation or rejection of a Western industrial value-system. The second tests for the level of agreement with the African traditional story, thereby gaining an indication of one's affirmation or rejection of an African traditional value-system.

This questionnaire was administered to 127 school-leaving, mixed gender respondents from Linus Shashipapo Secondary School and Maria Mwegere Secondary School in 1998. This data was initially collected and stored in different locations. As such, the data collection phase of this study commenced by amalgamating the raw data into a single, coherent excel spreadsheet. The data set was then checked against the original hard-copies for any duplications or numbering errors. Once the duplications were merged and the numbering was consistent and accurate, the raw data was checked systematically against every third questionnaire hardcopy in the interests of promoting accuracy and rigor.

For the 2017 round of data collection, access was granted to Dr Romanus Kamunoko Secondary School and Rundu Senior Secondary School, where the entire school-leaving cohorts were administered the questionnaire. As previously mentioned, the AT story was available in both English and Rumanyo, whereas the WI story was available only in English. Upon arrival at the both schools, it was asked if Rumanyo was prevalent amongst the student body. It became evident that Rumanyo was only spoken by a minority of students in the graduating classes of both schools. As such, it was decided that the questionnaire be administered only in English, with the option of

reading the Rumanyo translations left open to those students who chose to do so in their own time. Thereafter, the respondents were briefed on how to complete the questionnaire, were ensured of the anonymity of the study and provided informed consent to be research subjects. Once instructions were complete, the questionnaire was read aloud, in English, with respondents providing their responses to items at each relevant juncture. Shortly after fieldwork concluded, the 2017 data was captured into a single excel spreadsheet, and once more in the interests of rigorous practice, the data was checked systematically against every third hardcopy.

4.6. Data Analysis

Step 1: organizing the data

Data analysis began by way of organizing the data. As previously mentioned, the secondary data which was collected in 1998 was already captured. However, the data was captured in multiple locations by different capturers. As such, the first requirement was to consolidate all the raw data into one coherent location and correct for any duplications and discrepancies in terms of numbering. Once the data was all accurately recorded in one coherent spreadsheet, it was checked systematically against every third hardcopy to ensure that the data had been accurately captured in 1998.

For the 2017 data, the first requirement was to accurately and conscientiously capture the data into a spreadsheet. As was the case with the 1998 data set, once all the raw data was captured the electronic spreadsheet was systematically checked against every third hardcopy in the interests of ensuring accurate correspondence.

Step 2: central tendency & statistical testing

Cumpsty's questionnaire uses a ten-point Likert scale, and thus allows respondents to rank their level of affirmation/rejection of a given item across a range of options. As such, the data produced is of an ordinal scale, which makes certain statistical tests feasible. However, given the nature of the data, it does not lend itself to a wide range of statistical processes.

Given the need to test between two independent groups, on an ordinal scale, which are “distribution-free” (Bless & Kathuria, 1993, p. 211), the only test applicable to the data was the Mann-Whitney U-test, which “compares the order or rank of the data of the two groups, with the aim of assessing whether the differences in ranks can be explained by chance factors alone” (Bless & Kathuria, 1993, p. 211). If the differences can be explained by chance factors alone, the null-hypothesis (H_0) is accepted, meaning the experimental hypothesis (H_1) is rejected, and there is no significant difference between the 1998 and 2017 samples. Conversely, if chance factors alone cannot explain the difference the null-hypothesis (H_0) is rejected. Consequently, the experimental hypothesis (H_1) is accepted, meaning there is a statistically significant difference between the 1998 and 2017 samples.

The U-test relies on the median as the measure of central tendency. As such, before any statistical processes were conducted, the median for each item (referred to in the methodology hereafter as variables) was manually calculated so as to produce an initial idea of change via inspection. Calculating the median value allowed for the change in central tendency of each variable to be conveniently summarized between 1998 and 2017, and offered initial descriptive ideas of the patterns of change across the data.

In order to supplement this initial descriptive picture of change, this dissertation used statistical software to perform U-Tests for each variable, in order to determine if the changes experienced by each variable were statistically significant.

U-Tests are a form of hypothesis testing, which seeks to “[evaluate] the probability of truth of a stated hypothesis being sufficiently high for accepting [that] hypothesis” (Bless & Kathuria, 1993, p. 86). This study seeks to identify change in value-priorities between 1998 and 2017. As such, the experimental hypothesis (H_1) under scrutiny is as follows:

H_1 : There is there a significant difference between the 1998 and 2017 samples

Thus, the null-hypothesis – which is tested directly – is as follows:

H_0 : There is no significant difference between the 1998 and 2017 samples

U-Tests were performed for each variable, differentiated by year, using the Statistica software package. If the U-test returned a p-value of 0.05 or lower, then the null-hypothesis (H_0) is rejected, and the difference between the 1998 and 2017 samples is considered statistically significant. Conversely, if the p-value was above 0.05, then the null-hypothesis (H_0) is accepted, and the difference between the 1998 and 2017 sample is considered not statistically significant.

Step 3: Value cluster generation

As mentioned above, in attempting to reduce the raw data so descriptive patterns would emerge, the decision was made to calculate a measure of central tendency for each variable. Given that the Mann-Whitney U-Test uses the median, it was decided to calculate the median for each variable in each year for the sake of unity between the analytical and descriptive elements of this study.

Once median values had been calculated for each item in each year, it was possible to construct a detailed, descriptive account of continuity/change in each variable and the clusters they constitute. These value clusters serve to group and analyze questionnaire items (which become variables upon measurement) according to the underlying value they purport to test (i.e. the five items which test for communalism become variables in the communalism cluster). For each thematic cluster, a bar graph is provided which represents the change in median for each variable. This style of reporting results proved illuminating, as illustrating the change in median for each variable in light of the changes of the others in a given cluster allows for a view of both the general patterns of change for each underlying value, as well as drawing attention to variables which may contradict these general patterns.

Furthermore, the p-value for each variable is included in the graphic display of change so as to statistically support the image of change generated via inspection. For the most part, seemingly significant changes in median were accompanied by significant p-values. However, in two instances, variables which experienced no change in median returned p-values indicating statistically significant difference (these variables are filled with patterns of diagonal lines in the value cluster Chapter). Upon consultation with statistician Dr Freedom Guzmede, it appears these incongruous results may have occurred given the software package automatically correcting for ties. Given

that this occurred only in the case of two variables, it was deemed insufficient to merit abandoning this method of analysis.

Step 5: Profile generation

The value cluster analysis provides one useful way of reporting results in terms of change/continuity in the affirmation/rejection of specific underlying values. Though it is able to identify which values – and even which aspects of these values – are soliciting increased agreement or disagreement over time, it is insufficient for identifying the hybridization/adaptation strategies used. As such, this study turned to the generation of profiles, which when combined with the value cluster analysis's emphasis on particular values, allows for a view of how respondents are mixing and matching values into hybrid systems over time. The profiles are as follows:

Respondents in both the 1998 and 2017 data sets were then categorized into one of six profiles: AFFIRM, SELECT, AWI-SAT, SWI-AAT, UNSURE and NON-SPECIFIC. The AFFIRM profile contains those respondents who affirm both Western industrial and African traditional values; the SELECT profile contains those respondents who selectively reject both Western industrial and African traditional values; the AWI-SAT profile contains those respondents who affirm Western industrial values but selectively reject African traditional values; the SWI-AAT profile contains those respondents who selectively reject Western industrial values but affirm African traditional values; the UNSURE profile contains those respondents who are unsure or uncertain and affirm or reject neither; and the NON-SPECIFIC profile contains those respondents who fall into none of the above profiles. The criteria used to determine which respondents fell into which profile, as well as the justification for why, is outlined in Table.3 in the Appendix (see A3 in Appendix).

Once each respondent had been assigned to a profile, separate excel tables were generated which contained only the data of those respondents in a particular profile. Once separated into the relevant profile tables, the median for each variable in each year was calculated again. Instead of representing the change in the median of a given variable for the entire set, this process yielded median values only for specific profiles. In the interests of generating a picture of how respondents

in each profile were affirming/rejecting each underlying value between 1998 and 2017, it was decided to calculate the average median for the variables in a given cluster in each year. These average variables are displayed graphically in the profiling analysis to come, conveying an image of the change/continuity experienced by each cluster, and by extension each underlying value between 1998 and 2017 for each profile of respondents.

Step 7: Promoting reliability

Once all the results had been reported, all processes involving the transformation of data were repeated so as to promote the reliability of the figures which comprise the results section, and form the basis of the findings and conclusions to come.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Change & continuity in value clusters

In attempting to illuminate the patterns of change/continuity in the value-priorities of respondents between 1998 and 2017, this Chapter will report on the results for each variable categorized thematically into clusters according to the underlying value they test for. In reporting the change/continuity in each variable in a given thematic cluster, and not simply the cluster as a whole, this Chapter is capable of identifying individual variables which stand out in relation to the other variables in the cluster as well as the entire set of variables. In turn, this facilitates in understanding more nuanced patterns of change/continuity which allow for some impression of the strategies respondents are using in hybridizing and prioritizing values in their value-systems.

In generating this value cluster analysis, each variable will be subject to dual categorization. Firstly, in the interests of lending the weight of statistical analysis to the results and findings of this study, each variable will be categorized as having experienced change which is either statistically significant or insignificant according to the U-Test results. In the tables below, the p-values returned by the U-Test for each variable is presented, and those variables for which the p-value indicates statistical significance ($p \leq 0.05$) are marked with an asterisk (*). Secondly, where there is an observed difference in median of two or more (≥ 2), the change will be considered *substantial* via inspection. Importantly, this threshold was not introduced arbitrarily. Rather, this criterion is based on the patterns of continuity and change evident in the data; a threshold below two (i.e. ≥ 1) would result in too many variables fulfilling the criterion of substantial change for the designation to illuminate meaningful patterns, whereas a threshold above two (i.e. ≥ 3) would result in too few variables fulfilling the criterion to illuminate meaningful patterns.

It is worth noting that all variables which changed substantially also returned statistically significant p-values, indicating that the difference in medians – and by extension the difference in levels of affirmation/rejection– are statistically significant. However, variables whose medians changed by less than two often returned statistically significant p-values. Despite these variables

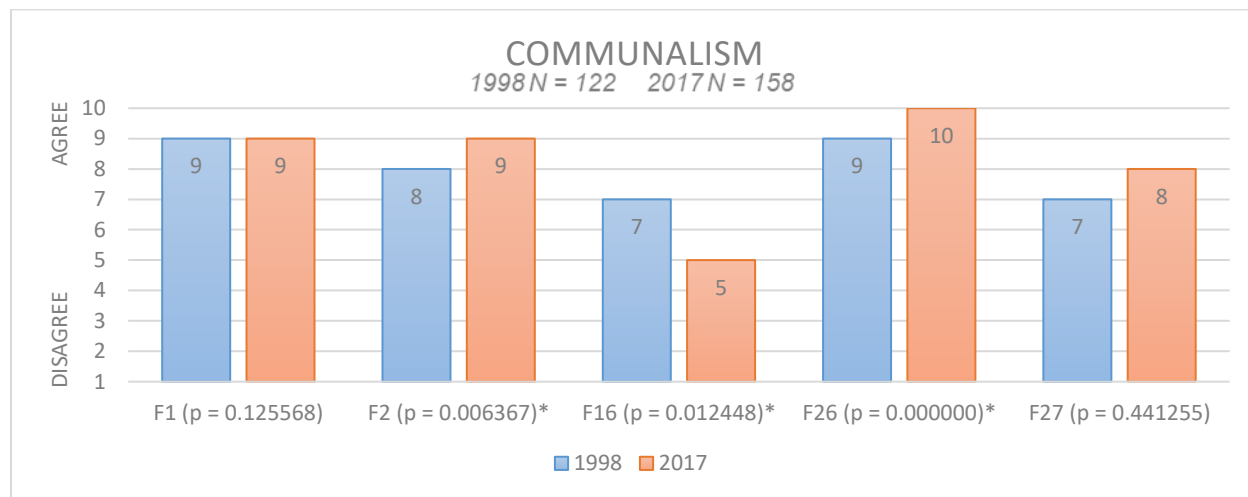
45 experiencing statistically significant change, they do not fulfil the criterion required for their change to be designated *substantial*. The dual categorization is key in situations such as these, as even though certain variables experience statistically significant change they do not appear to have a significant impact on the broader patterns emanating from the data, and thus are not considered to have changed substantially. As mentioned in the methodology, two problematic variables returned statistically significant p-values without an associated change in median. These are filled with a pattern of diagonal lines.

5.1. Communalism vs. individualism

African Traditional Variables:

Five variables test for affirmation of African traditional communalism, which advocates the primacy of the community over the individual (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 11)

Figure 1



Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 3/5 communalism variables, remained equal for 1/5, and decreased for 1/5. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of increasing affirmation with African traditional communalism over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was F16, for which affirmation decreased.

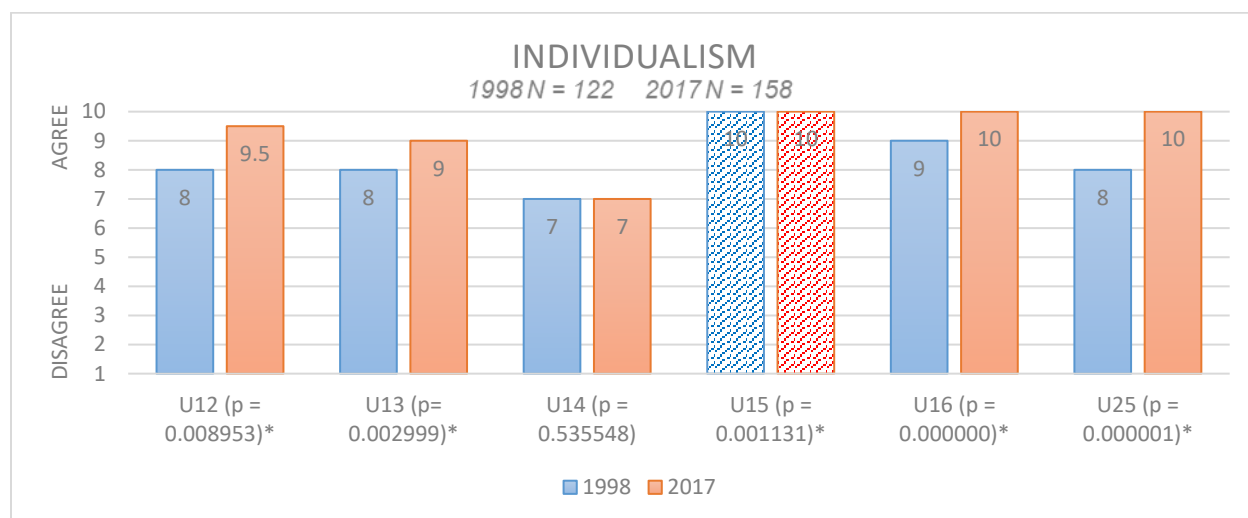
Illustratively, the change in F16 was inconsistent with the general pattern for the cluster. In considering the nature of the questionnaire items, it is evident that F1, F2 and F26 evoke abstract

notions around togetherness. F16 and F27 however, reference the explicitly traditional notion of ancestors. Whereas F27 refers to ancestors just insofar as they exist, F16 refers to performing rituals in their name.

Western Industrial Variables:

Six variables test for an affirmation of Western industrial individualism (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 13)

Figure 2



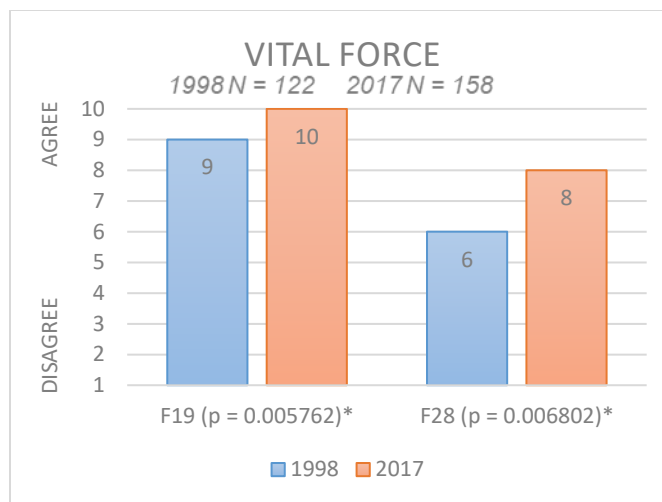
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 4/6 individualism variables, and remained equal for 2/6. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of increasing affirmation of Western industrial individualism over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was U25, for which affirmation increased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

5.2. Vital force

African Traditional Variables:

Two variables test for the affirmation of a traditional African notion of vital force – entailing a connective power within all things which brings harmony to the world (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16).

Figure 3



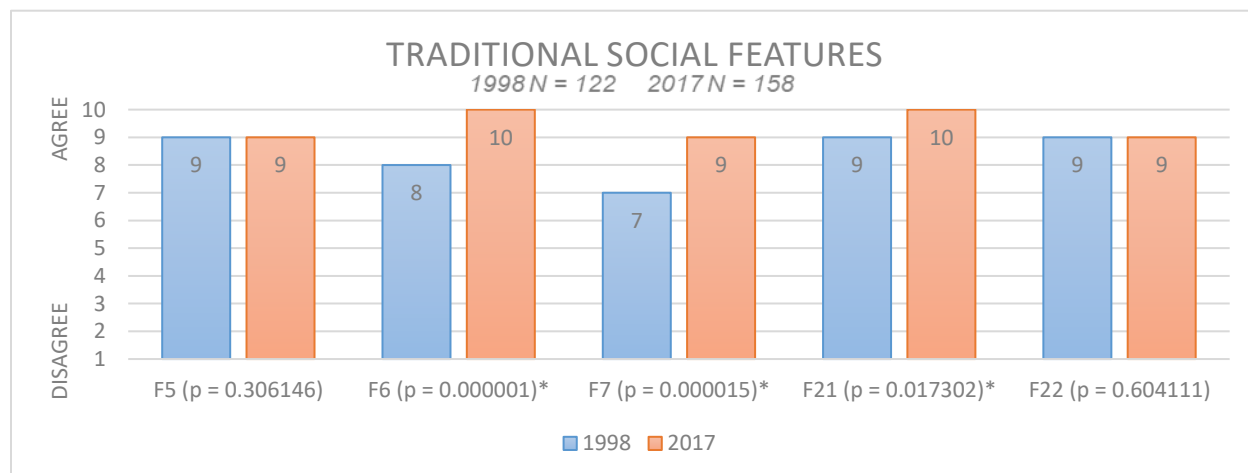
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for all (2/2) vital force variables. As such, there appears to be a strong pattern of increasing affirmation of African traditional vital force over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was F28, for which affirmation increased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

5.3. Traditional social features

African Traditional Variables:

Five variables test for the affirmation of “traditional [social] roles in African society” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16).

Figure 4



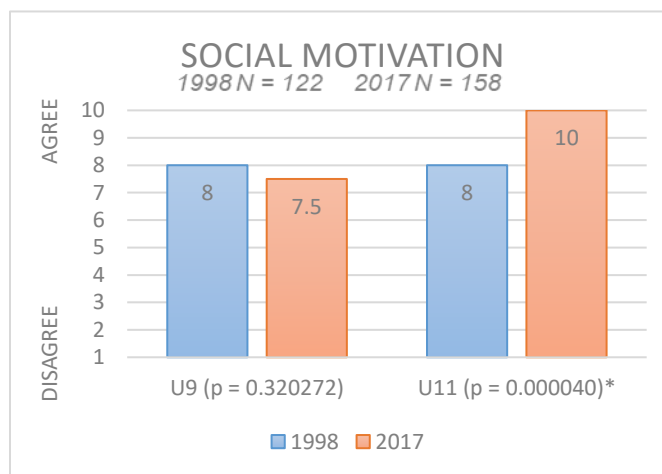
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 3/5 traditional social features variables, and remained equal for 2/5. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of increasing affirmation of African traditional social features over time. The only variables to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change were F6 and F7, for which affirmation increased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

5.4. Social motivation

Western Industrial Variables:

Two variables test for affirmation of a Western industrial conception of social motivation a “based on individual reward” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 17).

Figure 5



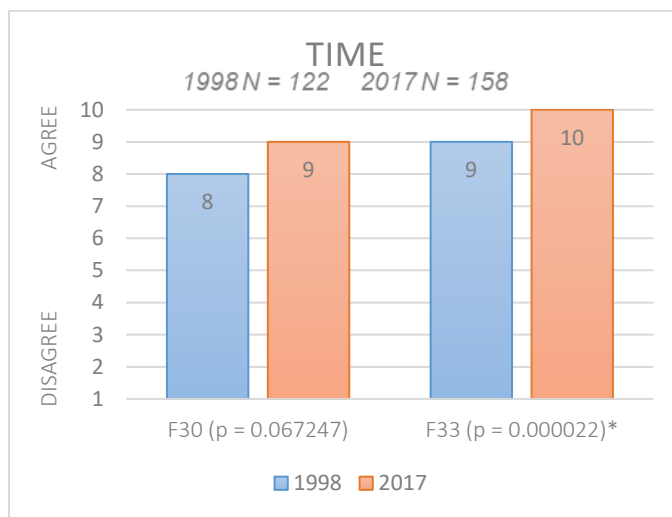
Between 1998 and 2017, the median decreased for 1/2 social motivation variables, and increased for 1/2. As such, there appears to be no discernible pattern of increasing/decreasing affirmation/rejection of Western industrial social motivation over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was U11, for which affirmation increased.

5.5. Time

African Traditional Variables:

Two variables test for affirmation of an African traditional conception of time as cyclical (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 21).

Figure 6

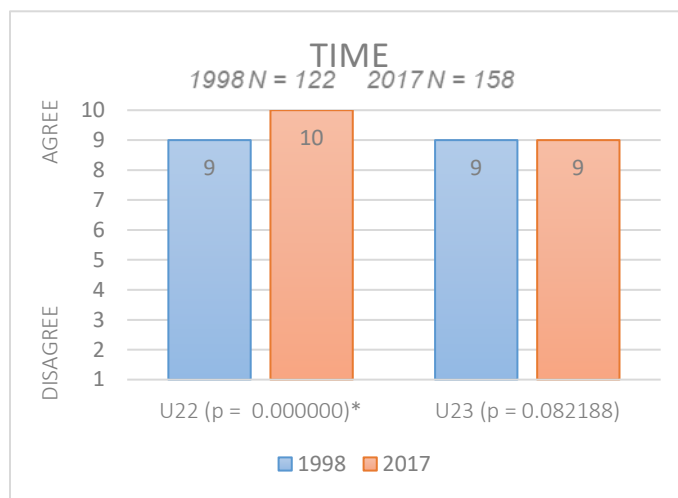


Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for all (2/2) time variables. As such, there appears to a strong pattern of increased affirmation of African traditional time over time. Neither variable exhibited both substantial and statistically significant change in this cluster.

Western Industrial Variables:

Two variables test for affirmation of a Western industrial conception of time as linear (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 22).

Figure 7



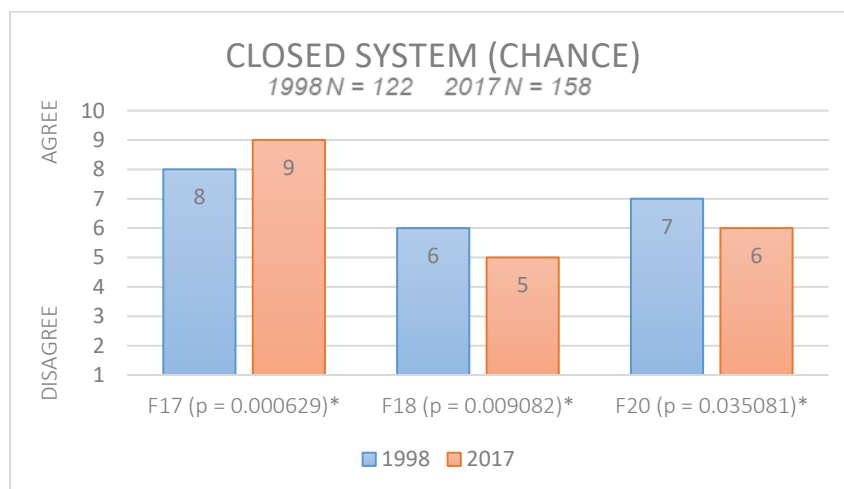
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 1/2 time variables, and remained equal for 1/2. As such, there appears to be no discernible pattern of increased/decreased affirmation/rejection of Western industrial time over time. Neither variable exhibited both substantial and statistically significant change in this cluster.

5.6. Closed system vs. openness to chance

African Traditional Variables:

Three variables test for affirmation of an African traditional conception of the world as representing a closed causal system, leaving no room for chance (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 18).

Figure 8



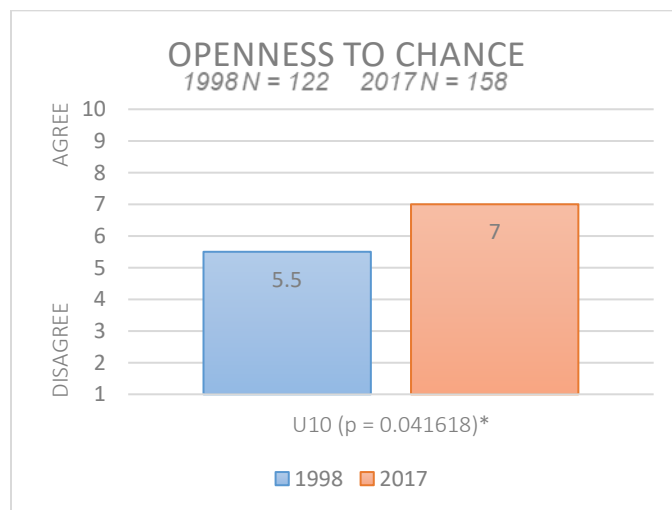
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 1/3 social motivation variables, and decreased for 2/3. As such, there appears to a weak pattern of decreased affirmation of African traditional closed system (chance) over time. No variables exhibited both substantial and statistically significant change in this cluster.

Illustratively, although F17 did not experience a substantial change in median, it exhibited change which contradicts the general pattern of the cluster. When considering the nature of the questionnaire items, F17 evokes an abstract notion of some nebulous balance to life, whereas F18 and F20 both reference explicitly traditional notions of ritual performance, diviners and bad spirits.

Western Industrial Variables:

One variable tests for affirmation of a Western-industrial notion of openness to chance (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 19).

Figure 9



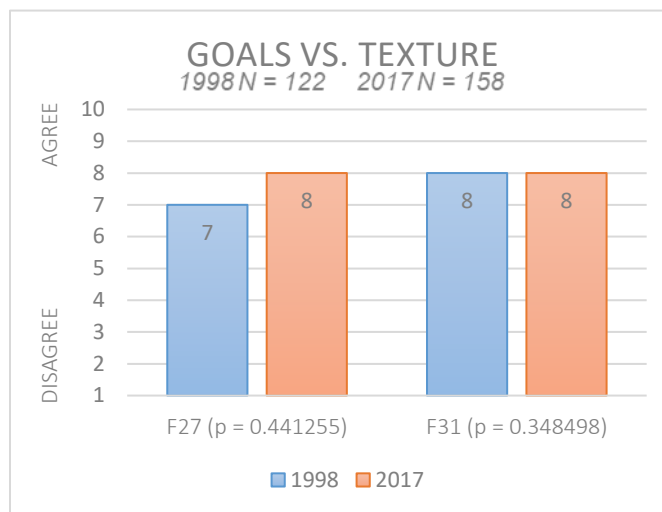
Between 1998 and 2017, the median for U10 increased. However, this increase was not substantial.

5.7. Goals vs. texture

African Traditional Variables:

Two variables tests for “what might be called present texture” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 22).

Figure 10

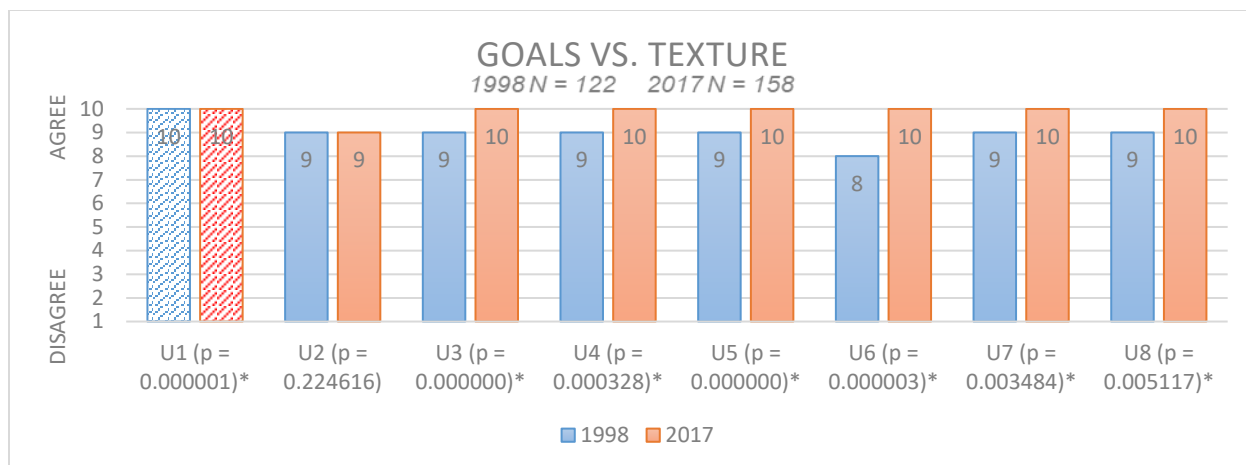


Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 1/2 goals vs. texture variables, and remained equal for 1/2. As such, there appears to be no discernible pattern of increased/decreased affirmation/rejection of African traditional goals vs. texture over time. Neither variable exhibited both substantial and statistically significant change in this cluster.

Western Industrial Variables:

Eight variables test for affirmation of the Western industrial goal-orientation, or the inclination toward “a future orientated model of the world-out-there concerned with achievement and becoming” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 22).

Figure 11



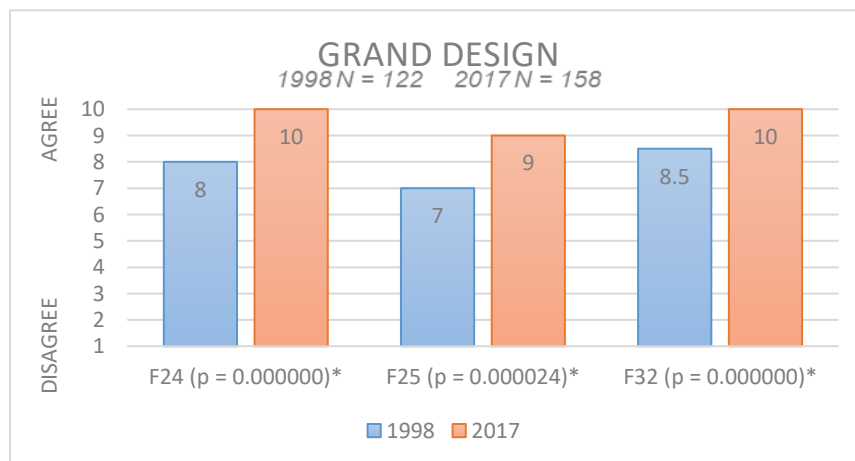
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 6/8 goals vs. texture variables, and remained equal for 2/8. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of increased affirmation of Western industrial goal orientation over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was U6, for which affirmation increased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

5.8. Grand design vs. grand purpose

African Traditional Variables:

Three variables test for affirmation of an African notion that all things are inherently connected by way of some grand design (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24).

Figure 12

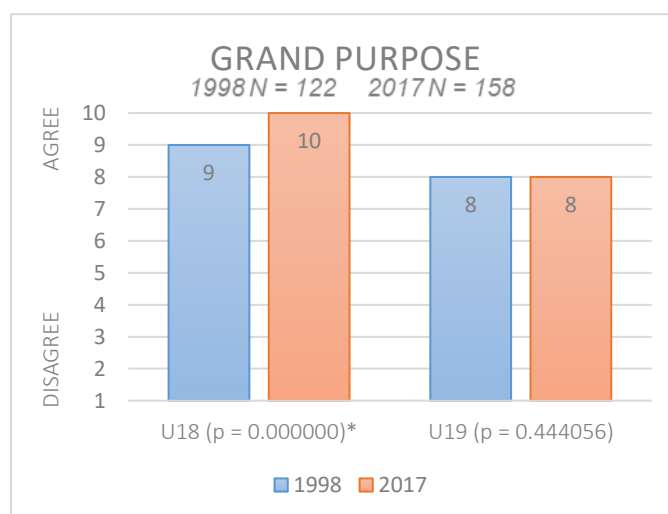


Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for all (3/3) grand design variables. As such, there appears to be a strong pattern of increased affirmation of African traditional grand design over time. The only variables to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change were F24 and F25, for which affirmation increased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

Western Industrial Variables:

Two variables test for affirmation of the Western industrial notion that an individual's significance and purpose depends on individual achievement, and is not granted by way of some grand design (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24).

Figure 13



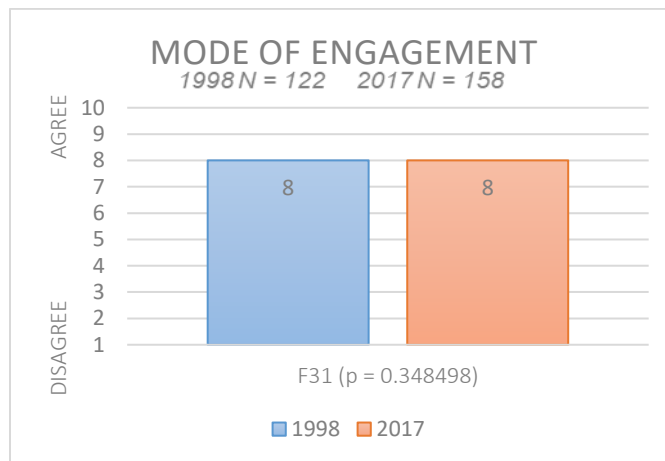
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 1/2 grand purpose variables, and remained equal for 1/2. As such, there appears to be no discernible pattern of increased/decreased affirmation/rejection of Western industrial grand purpose over time. Neither variable exhibited both substantial and statistically significant change in this cluster.

5.9. Mode of engagement

African Traditional Variables:

One variable tests for affirmation of the African traditional notion that “one ought to fit into the natural order and maintain its harmonies and balances” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24).

Figure 14

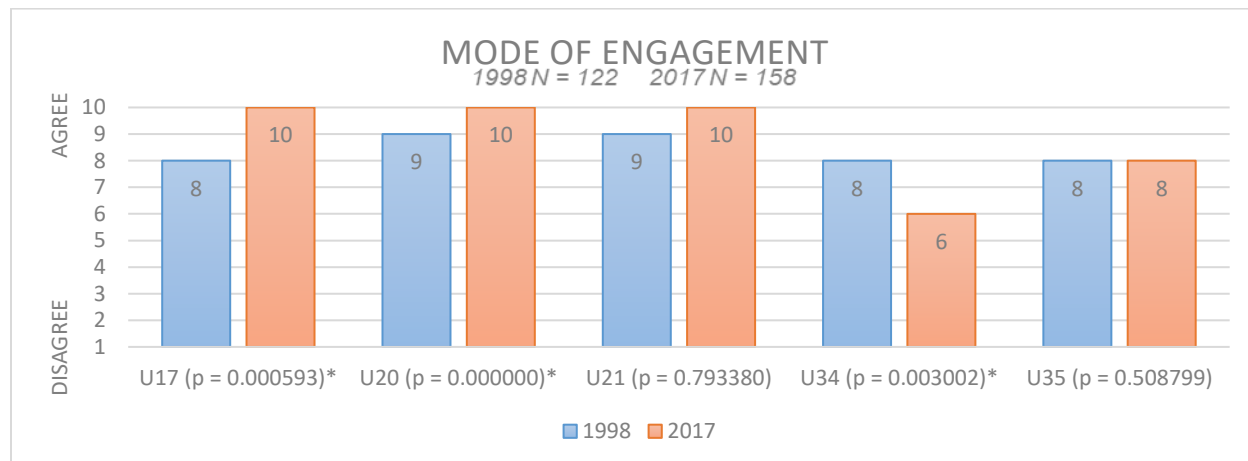


Between 1998 and 2017, the median for F31 remained equal.

Western Industrial Variables:

Five variables test for affirmation of the Western industrial *take-hold-and-shape* mentality (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24).

Figure 15



Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 3/6 mode of engagement variables, decreased for 1/6, and remained equal for 1/6. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of increased affirmation of Western industrial mode of engagement over time. The only variables to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change were U17 and U34. However, whereas U17 increased in affirmation, a change consistent with the general pattern for the cluster, U34 decreased in affirmation, a change inconsistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

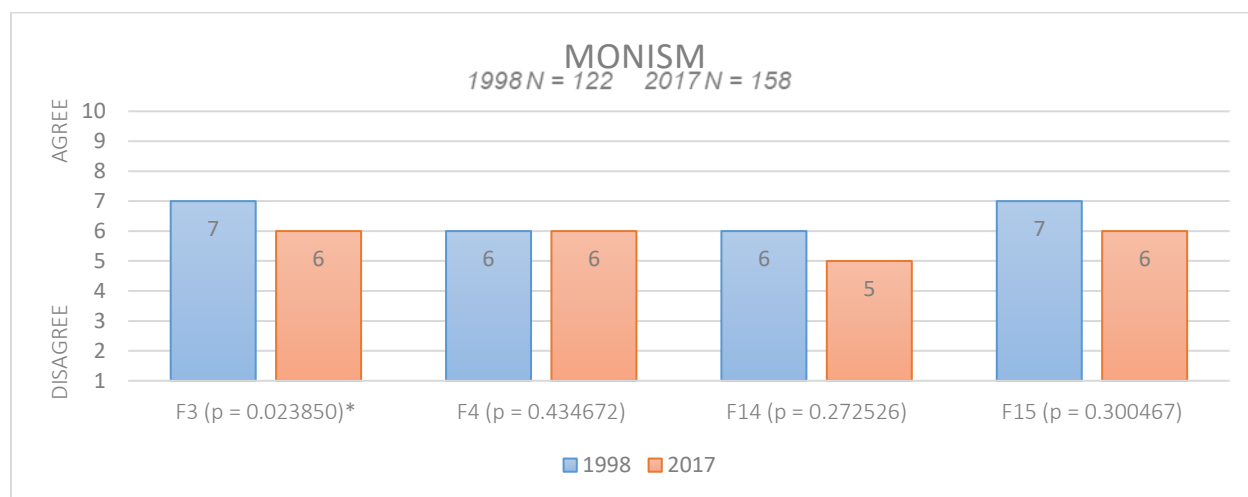
Illustratively, U34 experiences substantial change, but contradicts the general pattern of the cluster. In looking at the nature of the questionnaire item, they tend to reference rather abstract notions around reshaping the world and the importance of science, whereas U34 evoke the very specific notion of retirement signaling the end of one's importance in the world.

5.10. Monism vs. dualism

African Traditional Variables:

Four variables test for affirmation of traditional African monism - entailing no clear separation between the realms of the sacred and the profane (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 14).

Figure 16



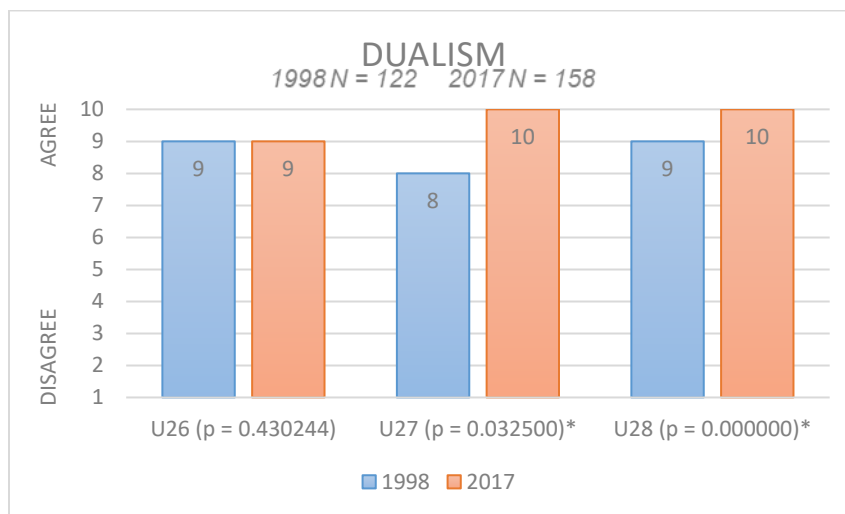
Between 1998 and 2017, the median decreased for 3/4 monism variables, and remained equal for 1/4. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of decreased affirmation of African traditional

monism over time. No variables exhibited both substantial and statistically significant change in this cluster.

Western Industrial Variables:

Three variables test for affirmation of Western industrial dualism – entailing a clear distinction between the realms of the sacred and profane (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 14).

Figure 17



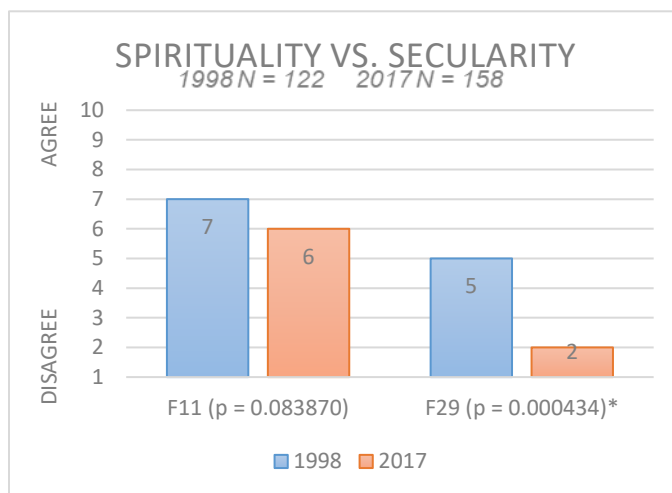
Between 1998 and 2017, the median increased for 2/3 dualism variables, and remained equal for 1/3. As such, there appears to be a weak pattern of increased affirmation of Western industrial dualism over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was U27, for which affirmation increased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

5.11. Secularity vs. spirituality

African Traditional Variables:

Two variables test for affirmation of an African traditional conception of spirituality, and “traditional spiritual explanations of natural phenomena” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 20).

Figure 18

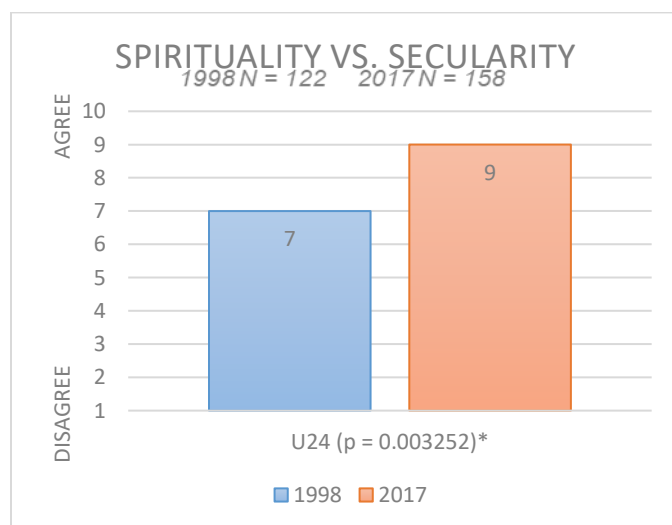


Between 1998 and 2017, the median decreased for all (2/2) spirituality vs. secularity variables. As such, there appears to be a strong pattern of decreasing affirmation of African traditional spirituality over time. The only variable to exhibit both substantial and statistically significant change was F29, for which affirmation decreased. This change was consistent with the general pattern for the cluster.

Western Industrial Variables:

One variable tests for affirmation of a Western industrial conception of secularity (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 21).

Figure 19



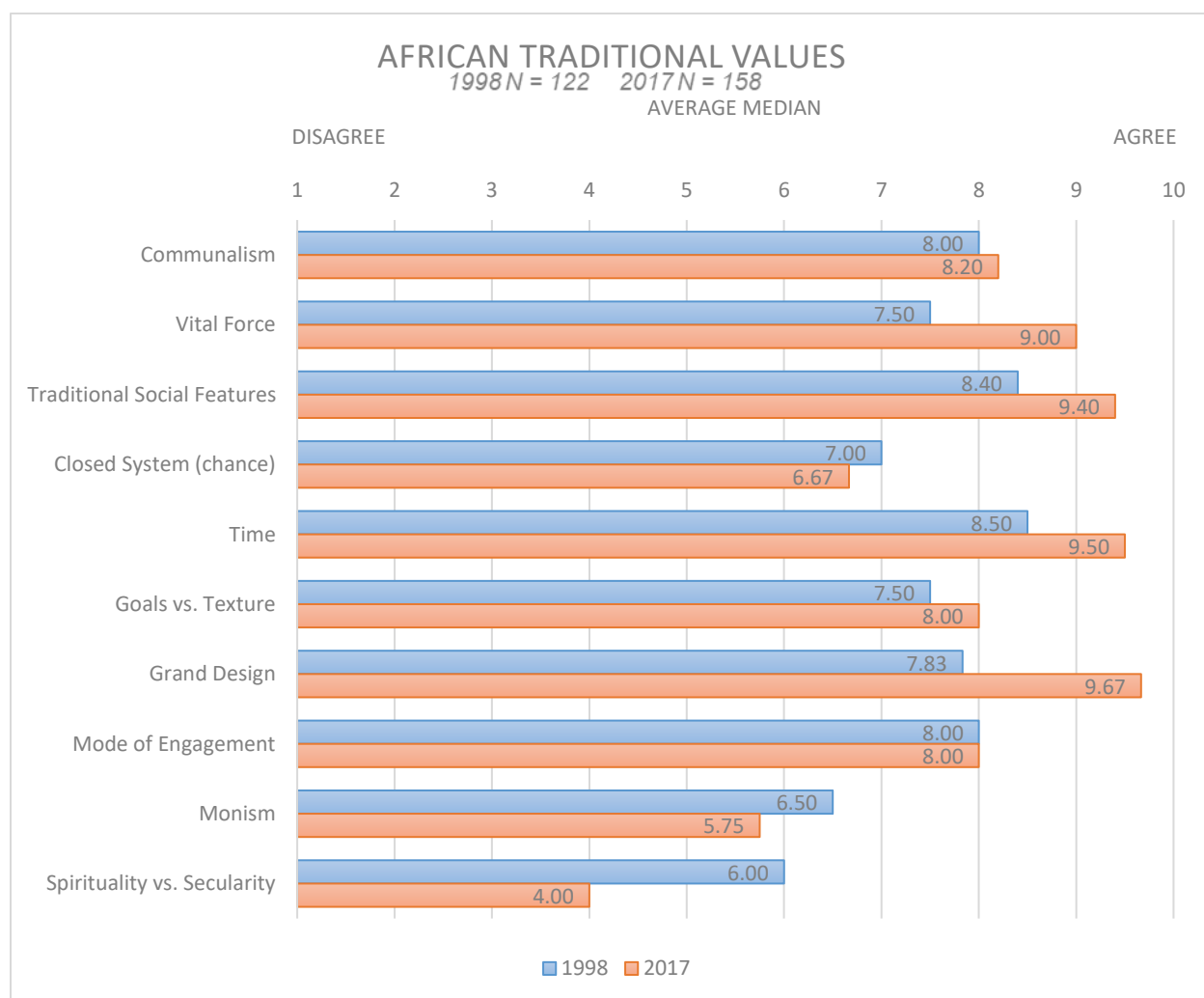
Between 1998 and 2017, the median for U24 increased. This increase was both substantial and statistically significant.

5.12. Summary

African Traditional Values

The graph below aids in providing a summative picture of the change/continuity in African traditional clusters between 1998 and 2017. It does so by way of presenting a single, *average* median value for each cluster of variables in both 1998 and 2017.

Figure 20



Cumpsty reduces the ten-point scale responses into three ranges, the DISAGREE range, which encompasses responses from 1 to 4, the UNSURE range, which encompasses responses of either 5 or 6, and the AGREE range, which encompasses responses from 7 to 10. Cumpsty does not provide justification for drawing the lines of agreement and disagreement where he does, but given it informs his profiling criteria (See A3 in Appendix), these response ranges will be used hereafter to promote consistency in analysis.

In considering the general pattern evident amongst all clusters, it is observable that most (7/10) have an average median within the AGREE range. The exceptions are the *spirituality vs. secularity* cluster, which moved from the UNSURE range to the DISAGREE range, the *closed system (chance)* cluster, which moved from the AGREE range to the UNSURE range, and the *monism* cluster, which remained within the UNSURE range. What is more, according to the same criteria as proposed at the beginning of the results section (i.e. a substantial change being a change in average median of ≥ 2), only two clusters (*grand design* and *spirituality vs. secularity*) have experienced substantial change between 1998 and 2017..

As such, given that the average median for most clusters falls within the AGREE range in both years, in conjunction with the fact that all but one cluster experience change which is not substantial, it is arguable that there is a general pattern of *continuity* in the affirmation of African traditional values between 1998 and 2017.

Western Industrial Values

The graph below aids in providing a summative picture of the change/continuity in Western industrial clusters between 1998 and 2017. It does so by way of presenting a single, *average* median value for each cluster of variables in both 1998 and 2017.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

Profile construction

In what follows, the three dominant profiles will be considered individually in providing a summative picture of the general continuity/change in each profile between 1998 and 2017. Importantly, the reporting of profiling results which follows purposefully omits the SWI-AAT, NON-SPECIFIC and UNSURE profiles, electing rather to focus only on the results observed for the AFFIRM, SELECT and AWI-SAT profiles. This decision has been made given that each of these profiles have problematically small n values (where n equals the number of respondents who fall into a given profile).

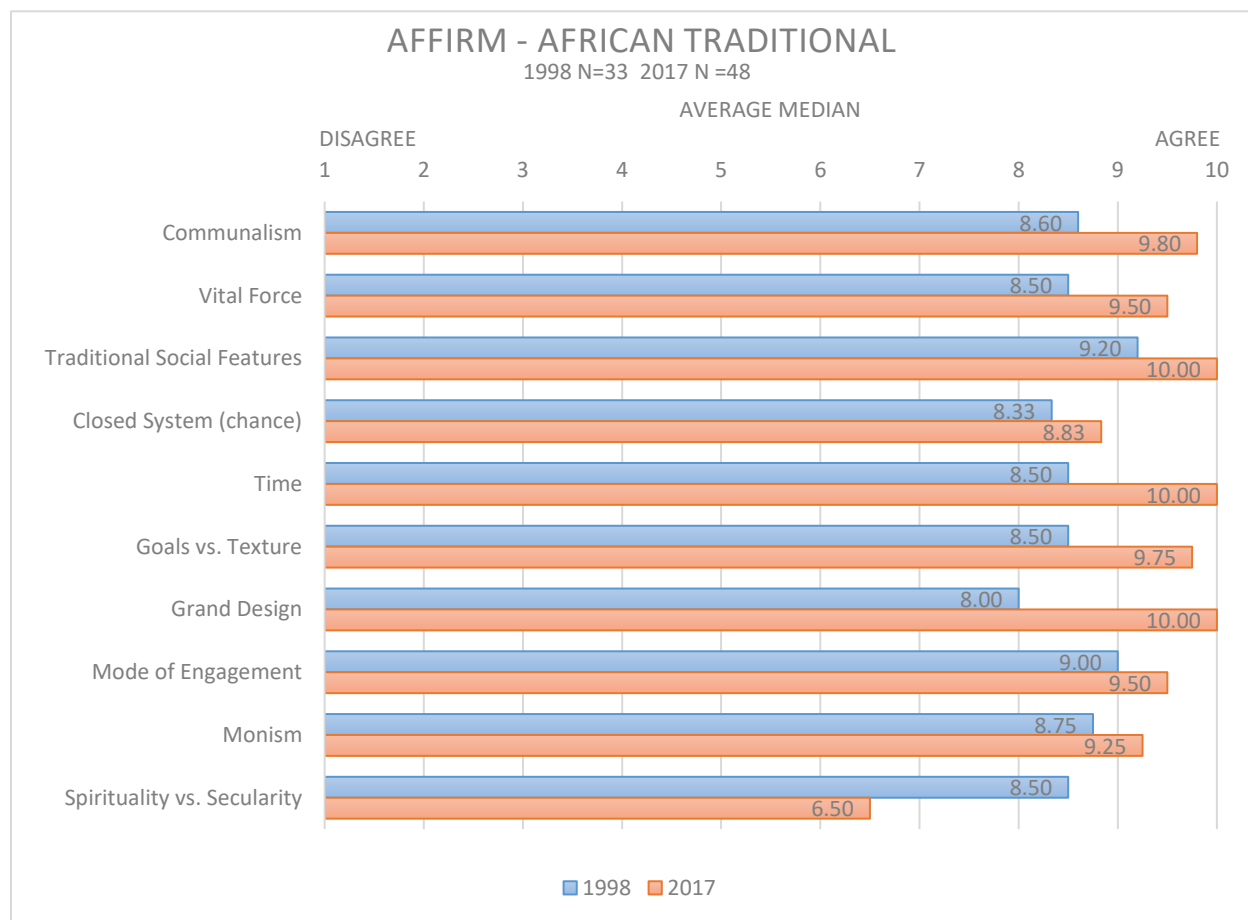
6.1. AFFIRM

The AFFIRM profile contains respondents who generally affirm both the Western industrial and African traditional stories. As such, it serves to categorize respondents who implicitly embrace major elements of both Western industrial and African traditional value-systems.

African Traditional Values

Firstly, all but one (9/10) of the African traditional clusters returned average medians which were within the agree range in both 1998 and 2017. This indicates a general pattern of affirmation of African traditional values in both 1998 and 2017. Secondly, 8/10 clusters exhibited *non-substantial* change in their average median between 1998 and 2017. Thus, there is a general pattern of *continuity* in affirmation of African traditional values amongst AFFIRM respondents between 1998 and 2017.

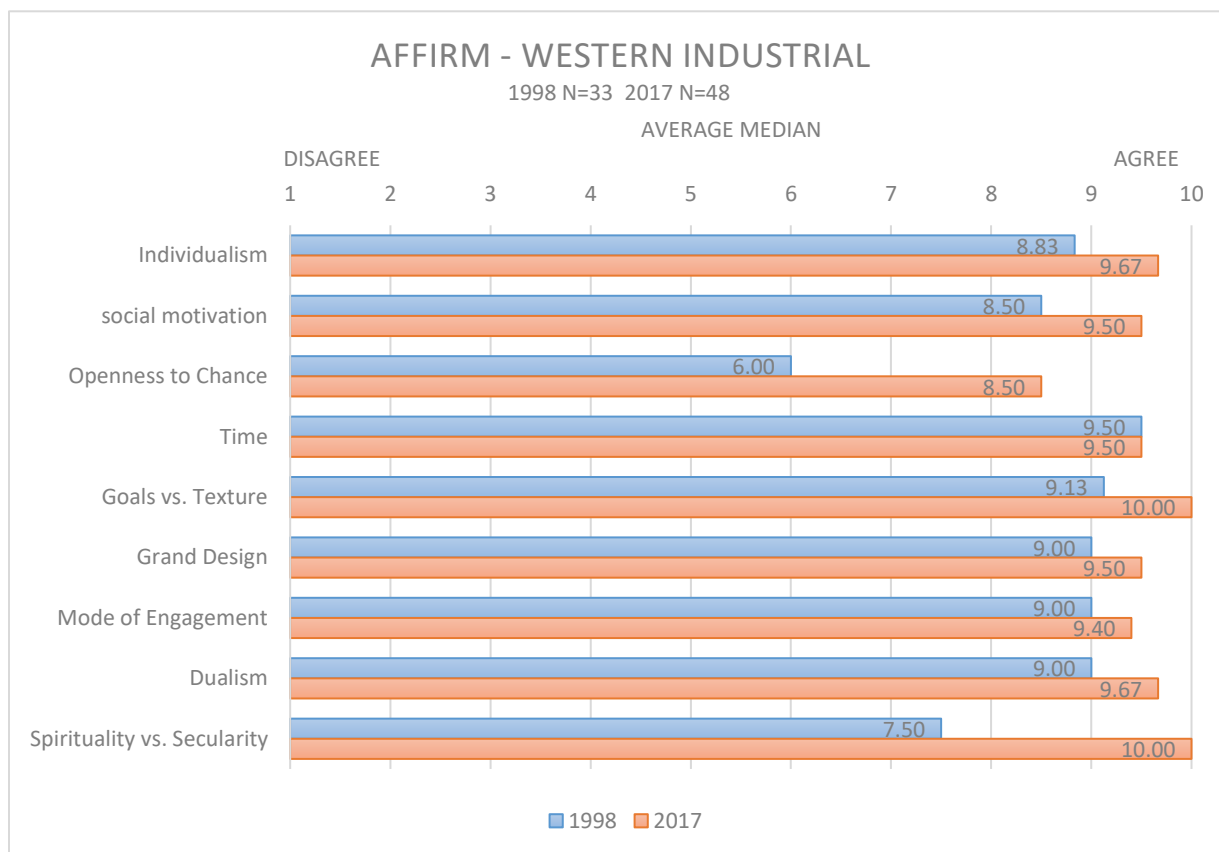
Figure 22



Western Industrial Values

Firstly, all but one (8/9) Western industrial cluster returned average medians which were within the agree range in both 1998 and 2017. This indicates a general pattern of affirmation of Western industrial values in both 1998 and 2017. Secondly, 7/9 clusters exhibited *non-substantial* change in their average median between 1998 and 2017. Thus, there is a general pattern of *continuity* in affirmation of Western Industrial values amongst AFFIRM respondents between 1998 and 2017.

Figure 23



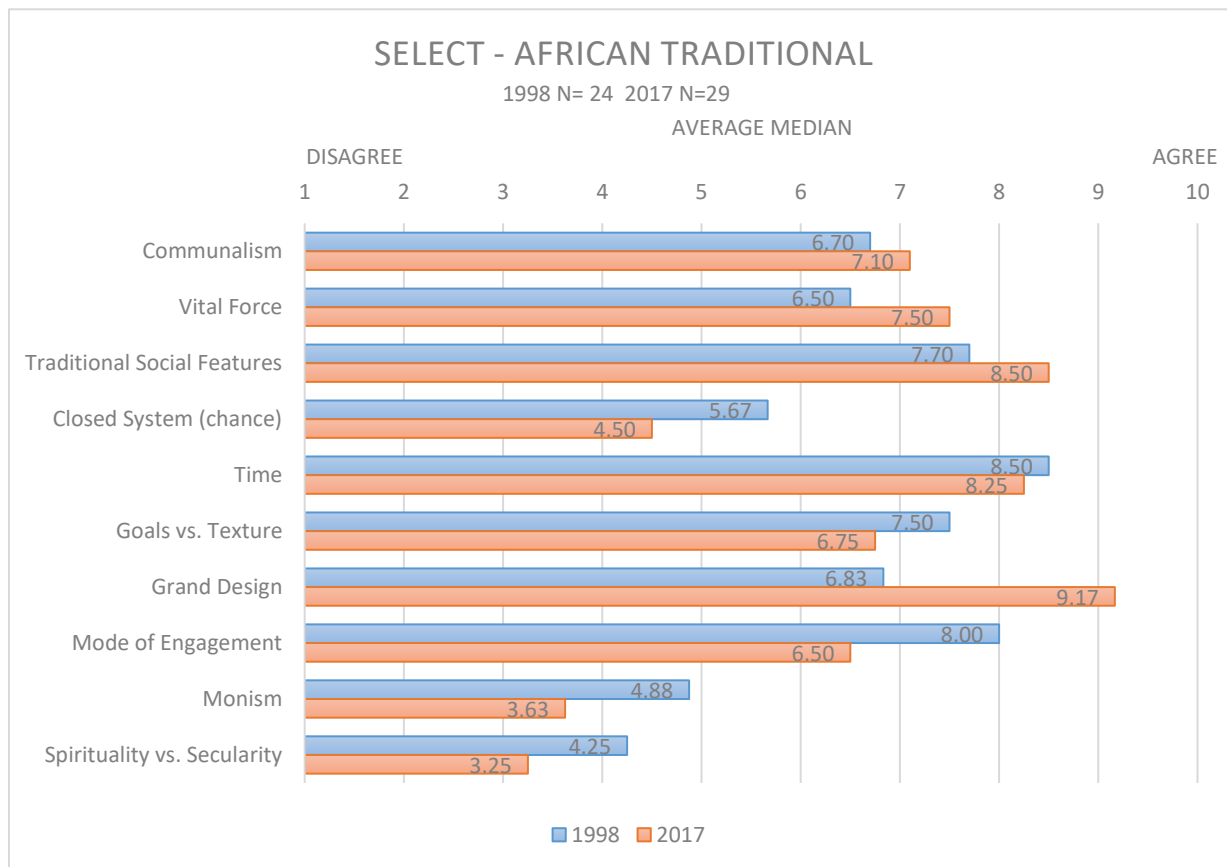
6.2. SELECT

The SELECT profile contains respondents who selectively reject both the Western industrial and African traditional story. As such, this profile serves to categorize respondents who implicitly reject major elements of both African traditional and Western industrial value-systems.

African Traditional Values

Firstly, there appears to be no notable pattern of affirmation or rejection amongst African traditional clusters in 1998 and 2017. Secondly, 9/10 clusters exhibited *non-substantial* change in their average median between 1998 and 2017. Thus, though there is no discernible pattern of general affirmation or rejection, there is an element of continuity between 1998 and 2017 in that the levels of affirmation or rejection for individual African traditional values persists.

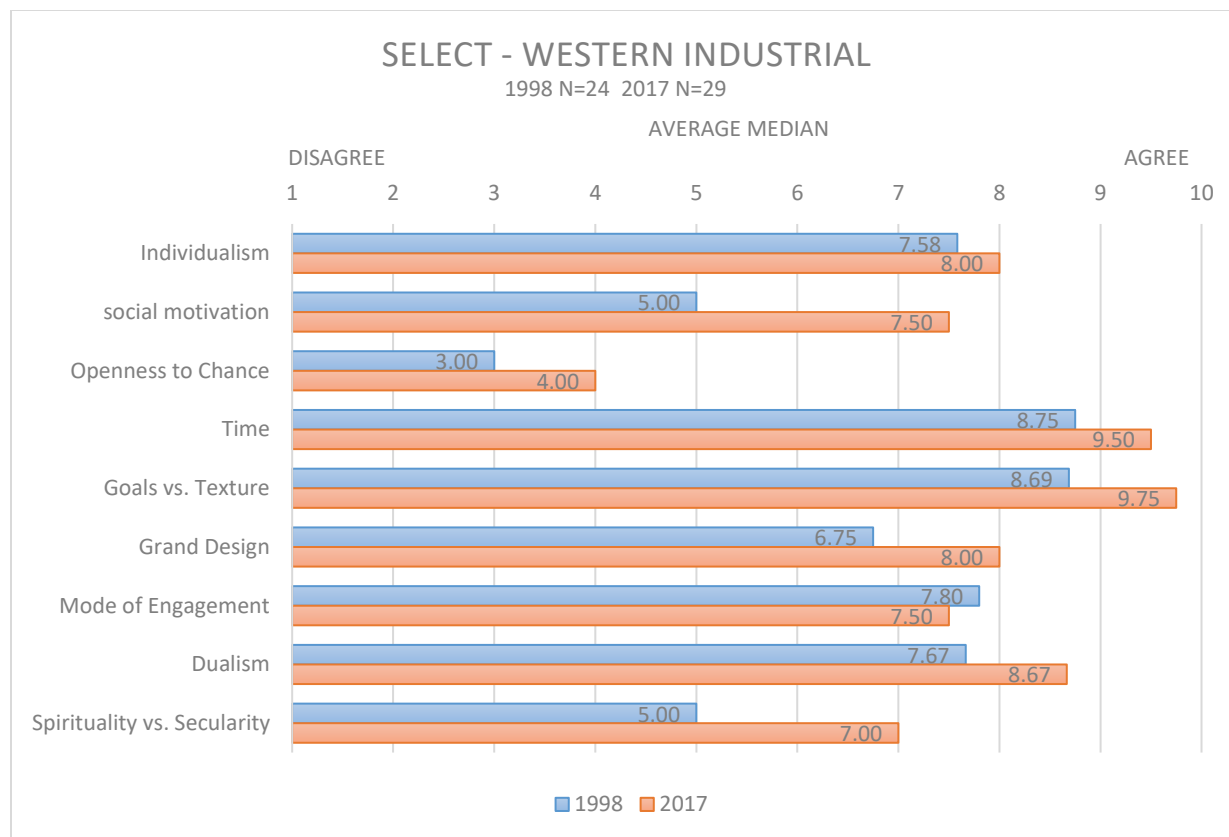
Figure 24



Western Industrial Values

Firstly, there appears to be no notable pattern of affirmation or rejection amongst African traditional clusters in 1998 and 2017. However, secondly, 7/9 clusters exhibited *non-substantial* change in their average median between 1998 and 2017. Thus, though there is no discernible pattern of general affirmation or rejection, there is an element of continuity between 1998 and 2017 in that the levels of affirmation or rejection for individual Western industrial values.

Figure 25



6.3. AWI-SAT

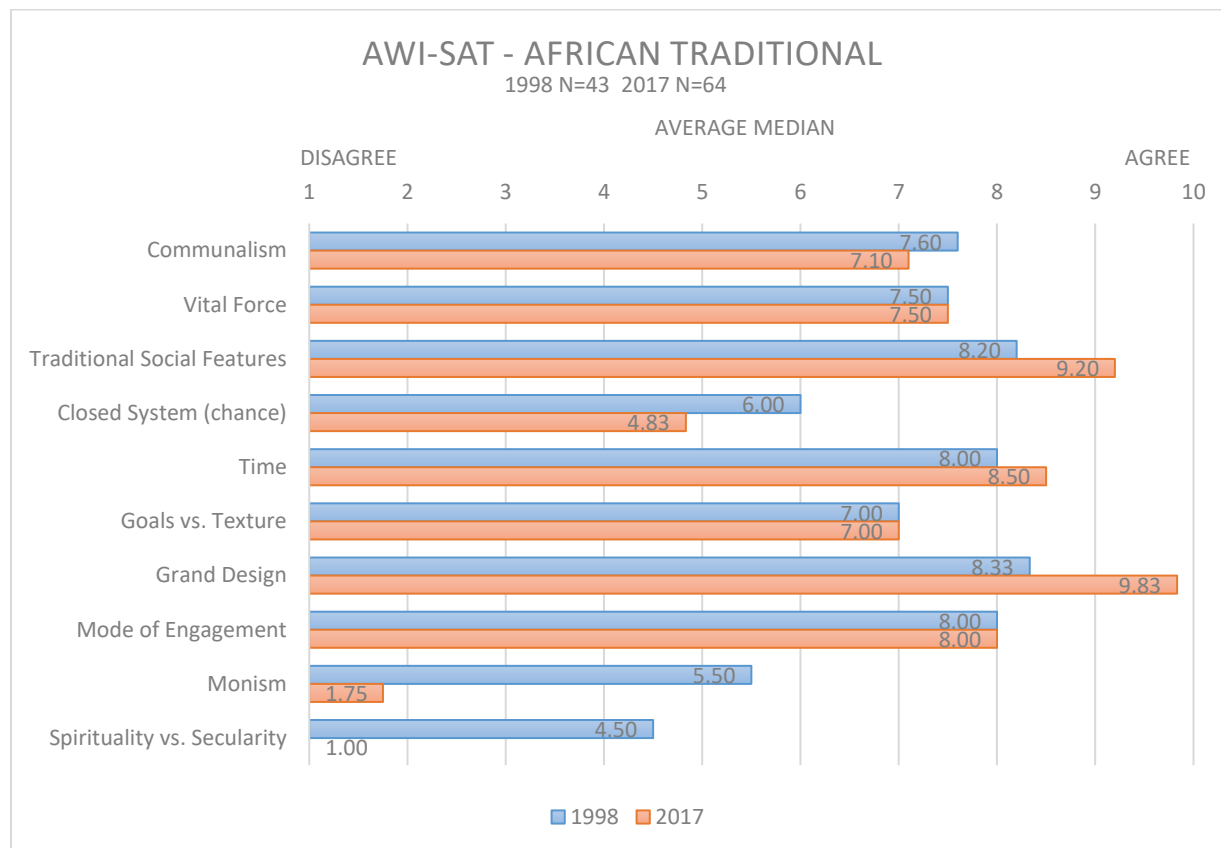
The AWI-SAT profile contains respondents who affirm the Western industrial story but selectively reject the African traditional story. As such, this profile serves to categorize respondents who tend to distance themselves from an African traditional value-system in favor of a Western industrial value-system.

African Traditional Values

Firstly, there appears to be no notable pattern of affirmation or rejection amongst African traditional clusters in 1998 and 2017. However, secondly, 8/10 clusters exhibited *non-substantial* change in their average median between 1998 and 2017. Thus, despite the absence of a notable pattern of affirmation or rejection, given the general lack of substantial change exhibited between

1998 and 2017 it is evident that there is a pattern of *continuity* in the affirmation or rejection of individual African traditional values between 1998 and 2017.

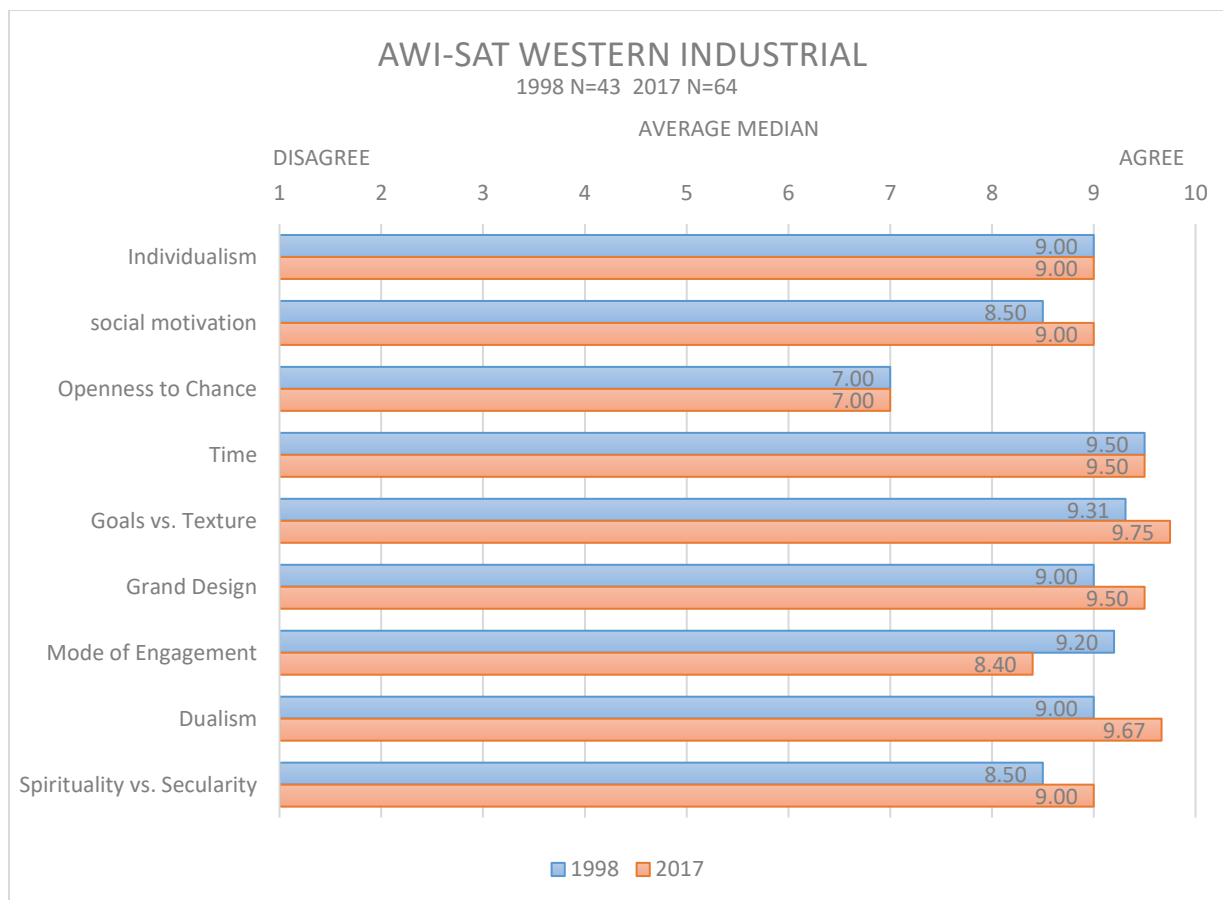
Figure 26



Western Industrial Values

Firstly, all (9/9) of the Western industrial clusters returned average medians which were within the agree range in both 1998 and 2017. This indicates a general pattern of affirmation of Western industrial values in both 1998 and 2017. Secondly, all (9/9) of the clusters also exhibited *non-substantial* change in their average median between 1998 and 2017. Thus, there is a general pattern of *continuity in affirmation* of Western Industrial values amongst AWI-SAT respondents between 1998 and 2017.

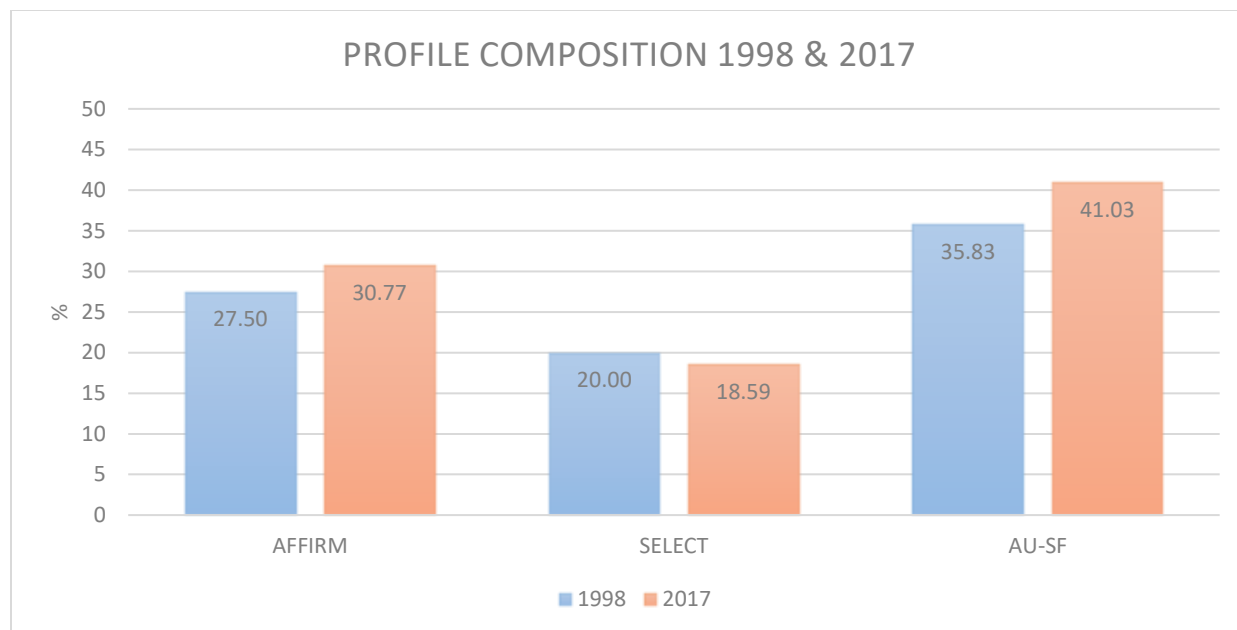
Figure 27



6.4. Summary

In summary, between 1998 and 2017 the significant pattern amongst AFFIRM, SELECT and AWI-SAT respondents was one of general continuity, in that the affirmation or rejection of both African traditional and Western industrial values tended not to change substantially between 1998 and 2017. This overall pattern of continuity is corroborated by the bar graph below, which comparatively displays the percentages of total respondents contained in each of the dominant profiles in 1998 and 2017.

Figure 28



This graph makes evident two crucial observations. Firstly, the sizes of each dominant profile have only changed marginally between 1998 and 2017. The AFFIRM profile increased by 3.27%, the SELECT profile decreased by 1.41%, and the AWI-SAT profile increased by 5.2%. Secondly, in addition to these marginal changes, it is evident that the proportions of respondents in each profile has remained relatively similar over time, with the AWI-SAT profile being the largest and the SELECT profile being the smallest in both years. Together, these observations tell a story of continuity – one of a lack of significant movement between profiles over time. As such, the profiling analysis above suggests that over the period of observation the value-priorities of respondents have not undergone noteworthy change.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

How have the value-priorities of school-leavers changed or stayed the same between 1998 and 2017? And what does this say about how respondents are hybridizing African traditional and Western industrial values in a bicultural context? This Chapter seeks to provide answers to the central enquiry posed at the outset of this dissertation by way of discussing the prominent findings which emerge from the two preceding Chapters in light of relevant literature.

7.1. A general pattern of continuity over time

This dissertation's central finding – which has emerged explicitly across both the value cluster analysis and the profiling analysis – is a pattern of *general continuity* in the value-priorities of respondents between 1998 and 2017.

From the value cluster analysis – which reports on the change/continuity between 1998 and 2017 for each variable and the underlying values they test for – it is apparent that there is no discernible pattern of substantial change in the affirmation or rejection of either African traditional or Western industrial values. Rather, both African traditional and Western industrial values are generally affirmed in both 1998 and 2017, indicating that respondents have neither dropped nor picked up African traditional or Western industrial values in a substantial way. This pattern of general continuity is reiterated by the profiling analysis, from which it is apparent that there is also a pattern of general continuity in the relative sizes of the three dominant profiles between 1998 and 2017, indicating that none have experienced significant change over time relative to the others. What is more, within each profile, this pattern of continuity is reproduced, with no profile exhibiting a pattern of substantial change amongst either African traditional or Western industrial values between 1998 and 2017.

Tough it has been stressed in the literature that globalization does not necessarily result in increasing cultural uniformity, this pattern of continuity indicates a level of consistency over nearly 20 years which is arguably unexpected. Globalization and the associated pervasiveness of 'global'

culture may not result in uncritical cultural capitulation (du Pisani, 2001, p. 224), yet it does force a redefinition of lived experience the world over (Giddens, 2006, p. 67). In Rundu, it would be dubious to assume that socio-cultural contexts have not transformed to some extent. High rates of urbanization and increasing integration into global markets (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 343) point to this being the case. Given that value-priorities are continually negotiated and renegotiated as societies transform, it is rather unexpected that the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu exhibit no indication of significant change. Possible explanations for this continuity will be touched on toward the end of this Chapter.

Despite this general pattern of continuity, there are several more nuanced exceptions which merit consideration here. Firstly, it is evident from the value cluster results that African traditional spirituality has decreased in affirmation, with the average median dropping from 6 to 4 between 1998 and 2017. In conjunction with dropping African traditional spirituality, affirmation of Western industrial secularity has increased substantially, from an average median of 7 to 9 between 1998 and 2017. As such, the value cluster analysis provides an initial indication of increasing secularity in the value-priorities of respondents over time.

This inference is corroborated when considering the profiling analysis. Affirmation of African traditional spirituality decreased substantially in both the AFFIRM and AWI-SAT profiles. Though it did not experience a substantial increase in rejection in the SELECT profile, it remained within the DISAGREE range in both 1998 and 2017. This decline in the affirmation of African traditional spirituality was accompanied by substantial increases in the affirmation of Western industrial secularity in both the AFFIRM and SELECT profiles. Though it did not increase substantially in the AWI-SAT profile, it remained in the AGREE range in both 1998 and 2017. In all, this indicates a significant increase in the rejection of African traditional spirituality, and an increasing affirmation of secularity between 1998 and 2017.

Secondly, from the value cluster results it is evident that individual variables at times exhibited change which contradicted the general pattern of their cluster. This observation merits mention as the changes in particular variables in relation to the other variables in the same cluster speaks to the aspects or interpretations of the underlying value respondents are more inclined to affirm

or reject. In turn, this offers insight into how respondents drop or pick up values which in turn provides a useful initial insight into hybridization.

In the value cluster results, it is evident that F16, F17 and U34 contradict the general pattern of change (whether substantial or not) exhibited by their respective thematic clusters. Illustratively, those variables which experienced contradictory change tend to differ from the other variables in terms of the extent to which they are *confrontational* – insofar as they are presented and interpreted as more strictly adhering to either an African traditional or Western industrial value system. For Cumpsty and de Wet, in these items “the two paradigms come into conscious conflict” (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7).

For instance, F17 (When things are not going well we know that the balance has been upset. Something has caused this) was the only variable to increase in affirmation in the African traditional closed system (chance) cluster. The other two variables in the cluster both decreased in affirmation, arguably as they are more confrontational. Whereas F17 references some nebulous notion of a balance to life, F18 (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) and F20 (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 cause misfortune) reference the explicitly traditional notions of ancestors, traditional healers and bad spirits. Evidently, F17 is phrased so as to be more universal, and Cumpsty and de Wet would argue it is thus more able to coexist with non-confrontational Western industrial elements in a hybridized value-system (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7).

Similarly, F16 (Sometimes I know that I have been neglecting [the ancestors] and will correct this by performing a ritual to honor them) was the only variable to decrease in affirmation in the African traditional communalism cluster. F16 references both the traditional notion of ancestors as well as the performance of rituals in their honor. Of the other variables in the cluster, F1 (see questionnaire A4 in Appendix) and F2 (see questionnaire A4 in Appendix) and F26 (it is better that all people work together rather than people working only for themselves) reference abstract notions of togetherness. Though F27 (the ancestors will look with pleasure on a person who has no ill-feelings toward anyone...) does reference ancestors, it differs from F16 in that it does not mention the physical performance of rituals. Evidently, F16 is relatively confrontational, whereas the other variables in the cluster are more mobile, and hence more likely to be able to coexist in a hybrid value-system.

This did not only occur amongst African traditional variables. Amongst the variables in the Western industrial mode of engagement cluster, U34 (A person's life really starts when they leave school and is as good as over when they retire) differs from the other values in the mode of engagement cluster in that it leaves no room for the elderly in society. The remaining items, U17 (People should try to reshape the world in which they find themselves), U20 (I am excited about being part of the process of reshaping the future...), U21 (I would send a son of mine to a school known for teaching science...) and U35 (In a Western world the people who are admired the most are the young go getters who always look good), all reference abstract notion surrounding what is valuable in society in a non-confrontational way. As such, U34 stands out similarly to F16 as relatively confrontational.

Therefore, the variables which contradict the general pattern of their cluster tended to differ from the rest of the cluster in terms of being either relatively confrontational or universal/mobile – and therefore their ability to be embraced more easily in a single worldview (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7). This observation provides an initial indication of how change/continuity in value-priorities speaks to hybridization. In attempting to integrate divergent worlds into a system which is capable of leaving ones identity intact, it seems sensible to prioritize those values (or rather interpretations of values) which are more abstract so as to reduce potential conflicts. Though, this provides an initial image of how respondents may be approaching hybridization, it fails to fully account for the possible variation in strategies – variation which the profiling analysis was able to shed light on.

7.2. Hybridization of African traditional & Western industrial values

The marked continuity in the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu in the face of globalization makes a discussion of hybridization particularly salient. How are respondents able to maintain – rather consistently in this case – significant elements of an African traditional paradigm in the face of transforming socio-cultural experiences in an increasingly 'global' context. Though it is entirely possible that certain individuals may resist hybridization, and bear the psychological cost, the profile analysis illustrated the emergence of three dominant profiles which represent different hybridization strategies respondents may use in negotiating bicultural experiences.

In what follows, each of the dominant profiles – namely AFFIRM, SELECT and AWI-SAT – will be discussed in terms of the hybridization strategy they represent. This discussion seeks to situate the results of this dissertation in the broader profiling literature so as to provide an indication of how respondents in Rundu have been able to maintain a coherent identity in a bicultural context.

AFFIRM

The AFFIRM profile contains those respondents who concurrently hold two dominant paradigms – in this case both a Western industrial and African traditional value-system. According to Cumpsty, in such a situation individuals may maintain coherence in their identity via an *allocation* strategy (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 420). To reiterate, allocation allows for the tension between competing paradigms to be circumvented by allocating them to separate life spaces, which are inhabited on a temporary basis depending on the present needs of the individual (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 420). In a similar vein, Phelan et al assert that such individuals do “not devalue or seek to distance themselves from their different worlds, but rather adapt as a practical matter by switching to the expectations of different settings” (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17). As such, both Cumpsty and Phelan et al conceive of a strategy which does not involve the rejection of either an African traditional or Western-industrial value-system, but rather, individuals conform to the value-system which is prevalent in a particular setting.

Allocation/situational adaptation is not the only hybridization/adaptation strategy which may be used in easing the tension between two dominant paradigms. Cumpsty also identified bridging as a possible option. However, evidence from the results indicate that bridging is likely not the most prominent strategy in use amongst AFFIRM respondents. Rather, given the continuity in high levels of affirmation of both African traditional and Western industrial values in both years, there is little evidence of the either value-system is softened to accommodate the other (De Wet, 2000: 280). Despite a notable decline in African traditional spirituality and an associated rise in Western industrial secularity, the remaining values in both value-systems do not indicate shifts associated with bridging as a strategy.

As such, the pattern of continuity in affirmation of both African traditional and Western industrial values by respondents in the AFFIRM profile indicates that allocation/situational was used by

respondents as a dominant strategy in order to maintain considerable elements of both a Western industrial and African traditional value-system between 1998 and 2017.

SELECT

The SELECT profile contains those respondents who selectively reject major elements of both an African traditional and Western industrial value-system. These respondents do not seek to hold two dominant paradigms concurrently, nor do they necessarily subscribe to one dominant value-system over another. Rather, these respondents engage in a conscious and selective process of mixing and matching, incorporating and leaving out considerable Western industrial and African traditional elements in constructing an integrated value-system which is not rooted in either worldview (De Wet, 2000: 289). Respondents in the SELECT profile, according to Phelan et al's framework, have "[developed] a capacity to blend aspects of their different worlds" (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17). In doing so, they "both value and criticize aspects of their multiple worlds, drawing elements from each to create an identity that transcends conventional categories" (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17).

This deliberate, selective process of mixing and matching which involves both criticizing and valuing elements of both an African traditional and Western industrial value-system is arguably evidenced in by the lack of a discernible pattern of affirmation, rejection or even uncertainty of African traditional and Western industrial values between 1998 and 2017. This lack of a pattern supports the assertion that neither value system is dominant – rather, SELECT profile respondents are more consciously affirming or rejecting specific elements of both value-systems.

Not dissimilarly to a containment strategy, respondents in the SELECT profile appear to be discarding elements which are more confrontation and less mobile. However, unlike the AWI-SAT respondents, they do so more consciously across both value-systems, integrating those values which are more readily able to coexist. For instance, the African traditional clusters of monism, closed system (chance) and spirituality all receive relatively low levels of affirmation in both 1998 and 2017 compared to the other clusters. Illustratively, all of the items in the monism cluster reference explicitly traditional notions such as ancestors and ancestral spirits, and all of the items in the spirituality cluster reference explicitly traditional notions such as ancestors and traditional

healers. Of the closed system (chance) items, 2/3 reference explicitly traditional notions such as performance of rituals to address illness, traditional healers and bad spirits. Given that these clusters contain predominantly confrontational items which consciously conflict with a Western industrial worldview, they appear to be discarded in favor of those values which are relatively mobile (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7).

Of the Western industrial clusters, it is firstly apparent that affirmation across the thematic clusters in general is relatively low compared to the AFFIRM and AWI-SAT profiles, indicating that Western industrial elements are not held as strongly by SELECT respondents. Arguably, this allows for the inclusion of more African traditional elements whilst minimizing potential confrontation. Additionally, the secularity and openness to chance clusters received relatively low levels of affirmation in both 1998 and 2017. The item testing for secularity staunchly asserted that traditional ways of life should be discarded, and is thus relatively confrontational. The openness to chance item however, evokes notions of being willing to start again when things go wrong in life. Though, this does not appear overly confrontational on the surface, it is arguable that it may conflict with African traditional values such as present texture and grand design, which imply a larger pattern and order to life (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24) – values which respondents may have been inclined to incorporate into their value-systems.

AWI-SAT

The AWI-SAT profile contains those respondents who generally affirm Western industrial values, but reject significant elements of an African traditional value-system. These respondents attribute primacy to the Western industrial paradigm, but seek to maintain minor elements of the African traditional paradigm. In constructing a hybrid value-system in which one paradigm is dominant and the other underemphasized, Cumpsty argues that individuals may use a containment strategy. Containment refers to the “encapsulation of intruding elements of an alien world... within symbolic and ritual sub-sets of the home tradition” (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 418). As such, AWI-SAT respondents arguably use a containment strategy to maintain coherence in instances where only select African traditional elements need be admitted (Cumpsty, 1991, p. 418). Phelan et al do not suggest an adaptation which neatly approximates Cumpsty’s notion of containment. Instead, in

instances where one value-system emerges as dominant, Phelan et al suggest that individuals may be attempting to adapt completely, and conform to pattern of interaction perceived as mainstream (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. 17). Though Phelan et al touch on the proclivity to emphasize a single value system, the results of this dissertation indicate that elements of an African traditional value-system do remain in the value-priorities of AWI-SAT respondents.

The profiling results indicate the use of a containment strategy among AWI-SAT respondents because African traditional values are not discarded wholesale. Rather, certain African traditional values remain central amongst AWI-SAT respondents. Once more, the results indicate that the values which are included from an African traditional value-system are more likely those which Cumpsty and de Wet (1998) describe as less confrontational (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 7), and thus more easily plugged into a value-system dominated by an opposing (Western industrial) paradigm (de Wet, 2000, p. 287). This claim is supported given that AWI-SAT respondents appear relatively averse to African traditional monism and spirituality values. All of the items in the monism cluster reference explicitly traditional notions such as ancestors and ancestral spirits, whereas the two items in the spirituality cluster reference the explicitly traditional notions of ancestors and traditional healers. Thus, the interpretations and notions evoked by the items in these clusters are less amenable to a containment than those which present more abstract and mobile notions. As such, respondents in the AWI-SAT profile are able to “adopt a containment strategy in which the most universal [traditional] elements are plugged into the Western industrial paradigm to make it more humane and African without being traditional” (de Wet, 2000, p. 287)

7.3. Continuity: considerations

At this juncture, it is illustrative to return to the claim that the finding of a pattern of general continuity is unexpected. In attempting to provide some indication as to why the value-priorities of respondents have persisted relatively unchanged between 1998 and 2017, this dissertation does not seek to dispute the influence of globalization. Rather, it is perhaps more illustrative to consider the discussion around *how* globalization has influenced Rundu in a unique way. In doing so, it is useful to draw on the account demographic and socio-cultural change in Rundu as provided in Chapter 3.

In the discussion around the nature of urbanization and socio-cultural change in Rundu, it became apparent that wealth-aspirations are increasingly connected to globalization – a trend prevalent the world over. However, in Rundu, these aspirations often manifested in the form of land conversion for the purposes of small-scale agriculture and natural resource extraction, which remains a dominant income and subsistence strategy in the area (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 353). Furthermore, given the designation of land around Rundu as communal, in combination with improved roads infrastructure, the settling and conversion of small plots of land in and around the town has become entrenched as a popular livelihood strategy (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 351).

This is key in two ways. Firstly, the nature of change in the area is arguably not adequately encompassed by a simplistic rural-urban binary. In fact, it is arguable that much of the urban growth publicized in census data conceals the extent to which the town has experienced peri-urban change. Secondly, it is evident that Rundu's exposure to global capital has not necessarily resulted in a decreased reliance on small-scale agriculture. Instead, wealth aspirations linked to globalization still manifest in terms of land conversion for the purposes of agriculturally based subsistence and exchange strategies (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 353).

In all, given the inadequacy of the rural-urban binary and the persistence of small-scale (often subsistence) agriculture, it would be dubious to assume that increasing urbanization statistics necessitate that individuals are living some 'typical' urban life. The identification of more nuanced processes of change in Rundu indicate that rural, and perhaps 'traditional' characteristics, persist – though in unique and transformed ways. As such, it is not farfetched that respondents in 2017 are engaging in socio-cultural context not altogether different from those in 1998. This argument is not provided as an explanation, but rather as something to consider given the unexpected continuity in value-priorities in Rundu between 1998 and 2017.

7.4. Summary

In drawing this discussion together, it is evident that the results of this dissertation provides insight not only into change/continuity in the value-priorities of school-leavers, but how they mix and match African traditional and Western industrial values in generating hybridized value-systems. A pattern of general continuity in the affirmation of both African traditional and Western industrial

values between 1998 and 2017 has, rather unexpectedly, emerged as the central finding. This finding repudiates the notion that globalization is resulting in increasing cultural uniformity, but rather indicates that the respondents may have used one of three dominant hybridization strategies in constructing hybrid value-systems which allow them to navigate a bicultural landscape without risking the fracturing of their identity.

In briefly taking these findings beyond mere description, the evidence of use of hybridization strategies has implications in practice. Phelan et al work constitutes what Spindler and Spindler have describe as have 'cultural therapy' (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. x). In sessions with students who represent different hybridization (adaptation) strategies, Phelan et al held groups discussions oriented around the various typologies of navigating cultural borders and boundaries between worlds (Phelan, et al., 1998, p. x). In a similar way, it is arguable that the results of this dissertation could be potentially useful in informing discussions with individuals aimed at making more conscious the various options they have for negotiating identity in a bicultural environment. This recommendation is based on the premise that making conscious both the potential for feelings of congruence and incongruence between socio-cultural contexts, as well as the costs and benefits of the various strategies for negotiating identity, would allow individuals to exercise a greater element of agency in a world where global culture can all too often subtly prescribe and erode agency. After all, the concept of agency is central to Sen's (2001) understanding of development as freedom; where development must be characterized by participants having the opportunity to reflect on what they consider valuable in actively shaping their own lives (Sen, 2001).

CHAPTER 8: IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

This dissertation has thus far illustrated that respondents employ various hybridization strategies in order to integrate Western industrial and African traditional values into a coherent value-system, and in turn allows them to maintain a coherent identity. In doing so, this dissertation has illustrated that African traditional values not only remain prominent in, but are actively incorporated into the value-priorities of respondents in Rundu. This continuity in the prevalence of African traditional values, and the importance these values have in terms of informing identity, pose a problem for much mainstream development thinking.

As discussed at length in Chapter 2, conceptions of development in the contemporary, globalized era often conflate development with westernization. African traditional values have largely been considered vestiges of a bygone era which are irreconcilable with modern, 'Western' development (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 8). Given the dominance of this conventional, economistic mode of thought, the possible links between values and development are seldom investigated (Müller & van Heerden, 2013, p. 47).

The findings of this dissertation problematize this assumption. This dissertation illustrates that African traditional values are not diminishing relics of the past, but that they remain important in the everyday lives of Southern Africans. What is more, this study illustrates that African traditional values have not only persisted, but via strategies of hybridization, they have done so in the face high rates of urbanization and increasing national embeddedness in global trade flows (Röder, et al., 2015, p. 343).

In the face of the limitations of conventional development approaches, theories have emerged which attempt to "redefine the goals of development in order to bring the individual and the community back into development practice" (Muller et al, 2013: 57). One such approach is the Human Scale Development paradigm developed initially by Max-Neef et al in 1986, which considers the best development process as one which enables the satisfaction of certain fundamental human needs, amongst which is the need for identity (Cruz, et al., 2009, p. 2025).

Therefore, if development is not defined narrowly in terms of (neoliberal) economic growth, but instead accounts for how one's quality of life is subject to "complex, multidimensional, social, cultural and psychological motives and aspirations" (Cruz, et al., 2009, p. 2021), the need to include a discussion around values is necessary. If development is as considered that which contributes toward the fulfilment of diverse human needs, then the role that values play in promoting coherence in identity must be acknowledged. This dissertation has shown that such an account is enhanced by way of accounting for the nuances of hybridization.

Moving Forward?

For Müller, et al, there is not only an urgent need for capable quantitative constructs, but also preliminary theoretical research aimed at laying the foundations to base such constructs on (Müller, et al., 2013, p. 228). The present dissertation elevates this assertion; it shows that in contexts where divergent value-systems are present, any account which ignores hybridization does so to its own detriment. Empirically grounded accounts of value hybridization in Southern Africa would not only remedy the assumption that modern values are uniformly replacing traditional ones, but also serves as a critical corrective to the simplistic notion that African values are inimical to development on the continent. What is more, such an account would move away from abstractions and generalities, and provide insight into the complexity which must be accounted for if successful development initiatives are to be implemented.

Rather than attempt to make any theoretical contributions to the debate around values and development in Southern Africa, this section culminates with the assertion that future research aimed at uncovering value hybridization is necessary as it has a bearing on human development. Perhaps a more important contribution to values research in Southern Africa is possible on the methodological front. Cumpsty's instrument is flawed, but certain elements are perhaps salvageable. Hence, critiquing Cumpsty's instrument with reference to an already widely used instrument, Schwartz's PVQ, may provide an indication of how future quantitative values research in Southern Africa could improve.

CHAPTER 9: INSTRUMENT CRITIQUE

This dissertation has made apparent a larger issue surrounding the lack of adequate instrumentation for measuring values in Southern Africa, a problem which is magnified given the link between values, identity and human development. In particular, it has identified the need to for an instrument capable of providing nuanced insight into how individuals hybridize African Traditional and Western Industrial values in their own value systems. Cumpsty's instrument is fundamentally flawed, but it allows for an account of hybridization; it is able (to a degree) to illustrate the strategies used in integrating competing value-systems. In the Southern African context, a context characterized by the coexistence of two competing value-systems, the ability to capture hybridization is indispensable.

Shalom Schwartz provides an alternative approach to measuring values, the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ), which allows for the measurement of values amongst samples not educated in Western Schools (Schwartz, 2012, p. 11). Schwartz's approach has been validated extensively and currently represents the pinnacle of value measurement world-wide. However, it is not perfect. In the critique to follow, it will be argued that Schwartz's PVQ is too abstract to capture context specific detail in Southern African contexts defined by the coexistence of two competing value-systems in a way which is capable of revealing the detail of hybridization.

Thus, both Cumpsty's instrument and Schwartz's PVQ have their strengths and weaknesses. Schwartz's PVQ is extensively validated and able to be used in cross cultural research, but it functions at a level which is arguably too abstract to account for the detail and intricacies which are fundamental to an adequate account of hybridization in Southern Africa. Cumpsty's instrument does provide this level of detail and nuance, and is thus capable of providing some account of hybridization in the Southern African context. However, it is rooted in antiquated thought which renders it fundamentally problematic in the contemporary, globalized world.

Given its flaws, Cumpsty's instrument should, for the most part, be discarded. However, this Chapter seeks to argue that elements of Cumpsty's approach are salvageable, and can perhaps be

synthesized with Schwartz's approach in a way which pulls it down from abstraction to level at which it may be able to account for the process of hybridization necessary in the Southern African context.

9.1. Problematizing Cumpsty's instrument

Cumpsty's instrument is firmly rooted in antiquated binary thought; it works by counter-posing ideal-typical conceptions of 'tradition' and 'modern'. In reducing a diverse and complex array of values into a simplistic traditional-modern (i.e. African-Western) binary, Cumpsty's instrument is both reductionist and ahistorical.

'Traditional' and 'modern' are not only "flags for a significant variety of conditions, but traditional and modern have been in conversation for a long time in Africa" (Muller et al, 2013: 26). This confrontation and entanglement – spanning initial colonial encounters and modern capitalist expansion – has emptied out any pristine or pure form that may be conceived" (Muller et al, 2013: 26). According to Pieterse (2009), "intercultural mingling itself is a deeply creative process not only in the present phase of accelerated globalization but stretching far back in time" (Pieterse, 2009, p. 56). Therefore, in adopting what Pieterse terms a 'historically deep' approach, it is evident that hybridization as a perennial process repudiates the assumption that Western industrial and African traditional values can exist in any pure forms.

As is the case with binary thought, Cumpsty's conceptualization of 'traditional' values are dependent on his definition of 'modern' values – they take on meaning in their opposition. However, in reality, "much of what is presented as being traditional in character could be shown upon closer inspection, to be shot through with aspects of the modern world" (Muller et al, 2013: 96). This does not mean that aspects of African traditional social structures and values are gone, but "the idea that these structures and patterns can exist in any "pure" form must be rejected" (Muller et al, 2013: 96).

Cumpsty exaggerates the conflict between two supposedly pure value-systems in order to generate a range of possibilities between them. However, though this allows him to capture some idea of hybridization, it still "assumes that there is an existing polarity" (Muller et al, 2013: 96). As

such, in employing this binary thought, Cumpsty leaves himself open to the criticism that his instrument conceives of globalization as tending toward westernization. It is important to note that colonial values and institutions did not emerge in a cultural vacuum, but could only be understood if “grafted onto pre-colonial narratives and institutions” (du Pisani, 2001, p. 223). As such “colonial rule did not represent as deep a rupture in the history and culture of former colonies as is often made out” (du Pisani, 2001, p. 223), and though the legacy of German and South African colonization in Namibia is extensive and pervasive, it retains certain limitations (du Pisani, 2001, p. 223). What is more, according to du Pisani, the northern regions were particularly resistant to cultural capitulation, keeping local orature, traditions and institutions somewhat intact (du Pisani, 2001, p. 224). Du Pisani sums this up nicely in asserting that: “to talk of the erosion of traditional identities, of the need to cope with the dislocation induced by the irrevocable conflict between 'traditional' and 'modern' identities, is to misrepresent... history” (du Pisani, 2001, p. 224).

Thus, in sum, Cumpsty’s approach allows for a measure of detail which is necessary in generating an account of hybridization. However, it is rooted in a problematic, ahistorical binary which simplifies the notions of ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’. Thus, when in use, though it is able to gain an idea of hybridity, it does so by way of reducing the complexity of respondents’ lived realities.

Given that the thought underlying Cumpsty’s instrument is problematic, it is arguable that the instrument should be discarded. However, its ability to generate an image of hybridization is useful, and may be able to be adopted in some capacity by Schwartz’s PVQ.

9.2. Problematizing Schwartz’s PVQ

Currently, Schwartz’s theory of basic human values is the most widely used and validated in the arena of value studies (Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2012, p. 321). His theory rests on the identification of 10 motivationally distinct types of human values (Schwartz, 2012, p. 3). What is more, Schwartz argues that these values are “likely to be recognized within and across cultures” (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004, p. 231).

In addition to identification of these values, his theory “explicates the structure of dynamic relations amongst them (Schwartz, 2012, p. 8). What distinguishes these values from one another are the relations of divergence and congruence in their motivational bases and consequences (Schwartz, 2012, p. 8). For Schwartz, certain “values conflict with one another (e.g., benevolence and power) whereas others are compatible (e.g. conformity and security)” (Schwartz, 2012, p. 3), and it is these relations of conflict and compatibility amongst the values which Schwartz terms as the *structure* of values. This ‘structure’ amongst values constitutes the core of Schwartz’s theory, and he represents these relations graphically in “a quasi-circumplex structure based on the inherent conflict or compatibility between their motivational goals” (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004, p. 230).

Figure source: Schwartz, 2012, p. 9

Figure 29



This circular structure is comprised of several distinct wedges. These wedges are partitioned so as to divide the circular structure between the ten basic values, but also between four higher order values (Schwartz & Cieciuch, 2012, p. 321). They are also partitioned so as to indicate which values conflict and which are compatible: adjacent wedges represent values which are the most compatible in terms of their underlying motivations, whereas opposite wedges are the most

antagonistic (de Wet, et al., 2016, p. 1569). In addition, a location nearer the periphery of the structure indicates that the associated value is held more strongly than a location nearer the center, and thus conflicts with the opposing value (opposite wedge) more strongly (Schwartz, 2012, p. 8). What is more, in addition to representing values which are supposedly culturally universal, Schwartz argues that the relations between these values (as represented by his circular structure) are also (near) universal across cultures (Schwartz, 2012, p. 2).

Schwartz uses his PVQ to locate societies in this two-dimensional space, and claims that the PVQ is able to support the cross-cultural validity of his theory even in non-Western societies (Schwartz, 2015, p. 5). The PVQ presents 40 portraits, and is commonly referred to as the PVQ-40. However, Schwartz has produced a shorter version consisting of 21 portraits (PVQ-21) for use in large surveys where time is limited (Schwartz, 2012, p. 12).

The consequences of universality

Schwartz has thoroughly tested his claim of (near) universality by way of analyses in over 200 samples in over 60 countries, all of which support his theory of ten motivationally distinct values and the circular structure of relations among them (Schwartz, et al 2001: 2). However, it is arguable that in seeking to promote cross-cultural applicability – and maintain the title of near universality – Schwartz’s theory sacrifices a level detail which is necessary in seeking to sufficiently account for the more nuanced processes of hybridization.

For instance, Schwartz tests for benevolence via four portraits in his PVQ-40:

1) *“It’s very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being” (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 46)*

2) *“It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him” (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 46)*

3) *“It is important to him to respond to the needs of others. He tries to support those he knows” (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 46)*

4) *“Forgiving people who have hurt him is important to him. He tries to see what is good in them and not to hold a grudge” (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 46)*

Benevolence directly opposes achievement in Schwartz's circular structure, indicating a relation of divergence between the values. Schwartz tests for achievement via four portraits:

1) *"It's very important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does"* (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 47)

2) *"Being very successful is important to him. He likes to impress other people"* (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 47)

3) *"He thinks it is important to be ambitious. He wants to show how capable he is"* (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 47)

4) *"Getting ahead in life is important to him. He strives to do better than others"* (Cieciuch & Davidov, 2012, p. 47).

It is evident from these portraits that Schwartz differs between benevolence and achievement by way of bringing up abstract notions of togetherness and cooperation versus notions of ambitiousness and achievement. When considering the Southern African context, which is often marked by tension between competing value-systems, it is arguable that such abstractness can conceal this underlying tension.

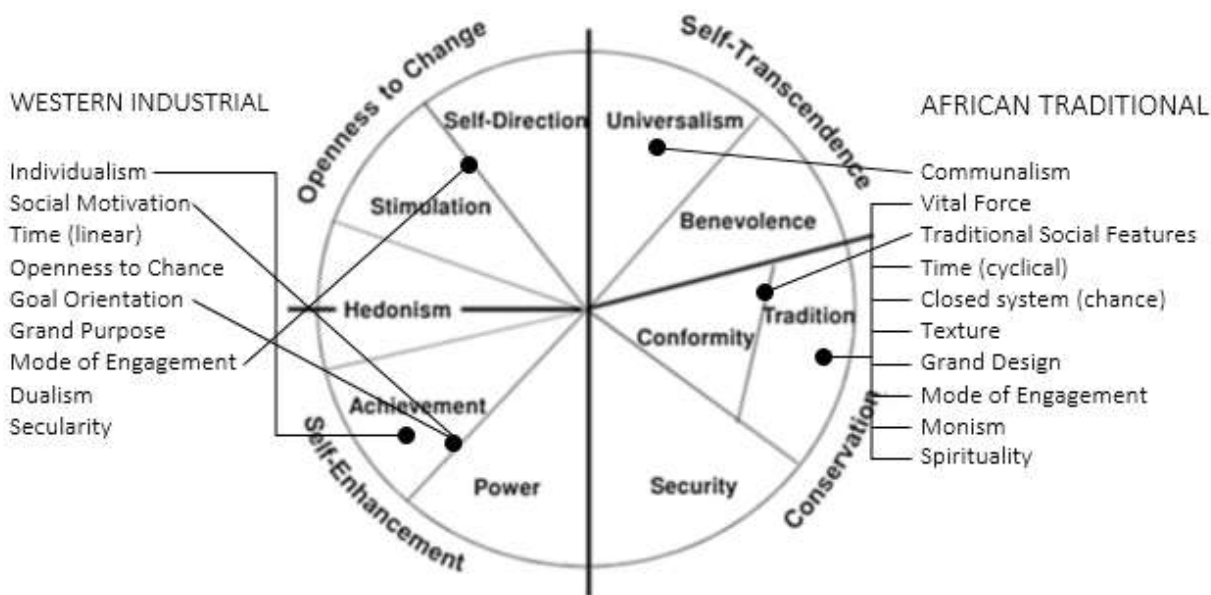
Schwartz's notions of benevolence and achievement are not necessarily presented as inconsistent with either an African traditional or Western industrial world-view; pursuing individual goals is presented in such a way so as not to imply a detriment to the community, and cooperation and togetherness are not ruled out as a means to pursue individual goals. However, when considering African traditional communalism and Western industrial Individualism, Cumpsty makes it clear that the notions of cooperation and togetherness they entail are inconsistent. African traditional communalism views cooperation and togetherness as that which makes us fundamentally human, whereas in a Western industrial world-view, cooperation is a means for personal enhancement. This is illustrated in the difference between U14 (Family often holds one back and can stifle ambition) which tests for Western industrial individualism, and F16 (sometimes I know that I have been neglecting [the ancestors] and will correct this by performing a ritual to honor them). Ancestors and traditional rituals are at fundamental odds with a Western industrial individualism, and neglecting ones family for the sake of individual achievement is at fundamental odds with African traditional communalism.

Of course, Cumpsty presents these value-systems in a problematic way. However, in viewing globalization as tending toward hybridization, distinct African traditional and Western industrial values do exist in Southern Africa, just not in the binary form as presented by Cumpsty. As such, it is evident that providing more detail and perhaps emphasizing the relations of conflict or congruity between particular values allows for an improved view of hybridization.

The abstractness of Schwartz's instrument becomes increasingly apparent when Cumpsty's values are grafted over the circular structure, as is done in the figure below:

Figure source: Schwartz, 2012, p. 9

Figure 30



This graphic exercise demonstrates two key points. Firstly, it makes evident that Schwartz's model is premised on the lack of competition between different value-systems. Multiple African traditional values are reduced to 'tradition' values by Schwartz, arguably indicating the instrument is "fashioned in a manner to tap values in industrialized and western states" (Kotze & Lombard, 2002, p. 413). In such societies it is arguable that a single, dominant, Western industrial value-system prevails as opposed to biculturalism. Secondly, it illustrates the extent to which potentially different values are abstracted and agglomerated to render his model cross-culturally (near) universal.

9.3. Moving forward: a synthesis of Schwartz & Cumpsty?

How can we salvage from a flawed instrument the detail that is missing in Schwartz in creating an adapted PVQ useful in Southern Africa? Unfortunately this question will remain unanswered here, as this dissertation has neither the scope nor the methodological capacity to perform this synthesis.

What this critique has sought to illustrate is that despite being able to identify how individuals hybridize their value-priorities in a Southern African context defined by the coexistence of Western industrial and African traditional values, the flaws in Cumpsty's instrument render it too problematic for continued use. Just as Cumpsty's instrument leaves much to be desired, so too does Schwartz's PVQ. Despite representing the pinnacle of values research globally, Schwartz's PVQ has been shown not only to be too abstract to gain a nuanced view of hybridization, but that it is not designed to account for societies in which two dominant value-systems inform socio-cultural experiences. Therefore, it is arguable that future value measurement in Southern Africa need not necessarily begin anew. Rather, incorporating key elements of Cumpsty's instrument into the PVQ may prove a more fruitful path for the future measurement of values in the Southern African context.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this dissertation set out to comparatively analyze quantitative data collected using Cumpsty's questionnaire in order to generate a view of the change/continuity in the value-priorities of school-leavers in the Namibian town of Rundu between 1998 and 2017. In doing so, it oriented its analytical endeavors around the following central enquiry:

In a 1998 study of the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu [Cumpsty's] research team found that respondents hybridized traditional African and Western industrial values in various ways. How have the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu changed or stayed the same as of 2017 and what does this say about the ways in which they are hybridizing African traditional and Western industrial values today? What consequences does this have for human development?

In providing as comprehensive a response as possible, this dissertation conducted two complementary streams of analysis. Firstly, it analyzed the change/continuity solicited by each variable between 1998 and 2017, organized into thematic clusters according to the underlying value they test for. This analysis of change/continuity provided an indication of which African traditional and Western industrial values respondents affirm, which ones they do not affirm (i.e. reject or are uncertain about), and how this has changed or stayed the same between 1998 and 2017. In addition to identifying change/continuity descriptively, this analysis was supplemented by inferential statistical testing. The Mann-Whitney U-Test was used to gain an indication of if the change solicited by each variable between 1998 and 2011 was statistically significant. Secondly, each respondent was categorized into one of five distinct profiles – of which only the AFFIRM, SELECT and AWI-SAT merited consideration – guided by an integration of Cumpsty's (1998) and Phelan et al's (1998) profiling frameworks. These profiles represent the distinct strategies respondents may have used in combining Western industrial and African traditional values into

hybrid value-systems which in turn allow them to maintain a coherent identity in a bicultural landscape.

These two forms of analysis have converged to illustrate a central finding of general pattern of continuity in the value-priorities of school-leavers in Rundu between 1998 and 2017. The one notable exception to this general pattern of continuity – which emerged across both the value cluster and profiling analyses – was of decreasing affirmation of African traditional spirituality and an increasing affirmation of Western industrial secularity. This pattern of continuity is illustrative, as it indicates that in a (Southern African) context increasingly marked by biculturalism, respondents have arguably used various strategies which have allowed them to retain considerable African traditional elements in their value-systems. Therefore, although demographic and economic indicators may suggest the increasing prevalence of ‘global’ culture, this does not entail uncritical cultural capitulation and necessitate the erosion of traditional identities (du Pisani, 2001, p. 224). Instead, it is evident that respondents use various strategies in a complex process of piecing together, plugging in and mixing and matching both African traditional and Western industrial values into a hybridized system which allows them to navigate their increasingly ‘global’ landscape without risking a sense of coherence crucial for identity.

Furthermore, this dissertation has illustrated that the maintenance of a coherent identity is by no means trivial. If one adopts a people-centered conception of development which revolves around the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, then accounting for identity is crucial, which in turn renders an account of values indispensable. However, problematically, it is apparent that inadequate attention is paid to the question of how individuals respond to bicultural experiences, and the various strategies they may use in transitioning between life contexts so as to prevent feelings of dissonance. Until research of this nature is able to generate contextually cognizant, empirical research in to values and hybridization in Southern Africa, the discussion around development will suffer a crucial deficiency.

Though Cumpsty’s instrument represents an initial incursion in this regard, it is fundamentally flawed and should be discarded. With that being said, Cumpsty’s instrument does provide a level of detail which is arguably necessary in providing an account of hybridization – detail which is often

missing in prominent, cross-cultural values instruments such as Schwartz's PVQ. In drawing this dissertation to a close it is argued that salvaging useful elements of Cumpsty's instrument and incorporating them into Schwartz's PVQ could prove useful in measuring values in Southern Africa going forward. Research of this nature would take crucial preliminary steps into filling a problematic void in development theory and praxis in Southern Africa.

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APPENDIX

A1. Questionnaire Rationale

Communalism vs. Individualism

In Faku's story, five items test the respondents support for African traditional communalism. Though they test for communalism in various ways, they all inherently assert the primacy of the community (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 10). In Unathi's story, six items test for Western industrial individualism. These items evoke notions such as individual achievement, independence and self-reliance, with support for cooperation being contingent on if it is in the best interests of the individual (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 13).

Vital force

In Faku's story, two items test for support of African traditional vital force. African traditional religion (at least that which Cumpsty is concerned with) conceives of God as a distant, impersonal force; more as a power than a person (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16). This power constitutes a vital force which flows through all things, bringing harmony to the world (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16). The Western industrial counterpart to this value is not represented in Unathi's story.

Traditional Social Features

In Faku's story, 5 items test for support of traditional roles in African society (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16). These items evoke notions of children as a form of wealth, and an investment in the future in terms the reproduction of culture and social existence (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16). They also emphasize traditional, patriarchal views of the role of women in society (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 16), and the elderly as those bestowed with wisdom and honor who pass on tradition and guide the young (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 17). The Western Industrial counterpart to this value is not represented in Unathi's story.

Social Motivation

This theme is not represented in Faku's story. In Unathi's story, two items test for support of a Western industrial "motivational system based on individual reward that will inevitably bring about inequality in society" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 18), whereas in an African-traditional worldview, the "welfare of the community of which the individual is an integral part takes precedence over that of individuals" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 18).

Chance

In Faku's story, 3 items test for the African traditional notion of a closed system in which there is no such thing as chance (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 18). Instead, the world constitutes a "closed causal nexus" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 18). In Unathi's story, one item tests for the Western industrial openness to chance and happenstance (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 19).

Time

In Faku's story, two items test for an African traditional worldview dominated by a cyclical conception of time (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 21). For Cumpsty, in such a worldview, time is "dominated by natural events, agricultural and pastoral concerns, the human life cycle, and therefore appears to be, and is, cyclical" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 21). In Unathi's story, two items test for a Western industrial worldview in which time is conceived of as linear (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 21).

Goals vs. Texture

In Faku's story, one item tests for an Africa traditional notion of what might be called present texture. In the case of this variable, it evokes the notion that "one ought to fit into the natural order and maintain its harmonies and balances" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 22). In Unathi's story, 8 items test for Western industrial "different aspects of a future oriented model of the world-out-there concerned with achievement and becoming" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 22).

Grand Design

In Faku's story, 3 items test for an African traditional worldview in which "worthwhileness comes from a sense of belonging in a grand pattern" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24). In Unathi's story, two items test for a Western industrial worldview in which a "grand purpose gives [one] a sense of meaningful existence" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24).

Mode of Engagement

In Faku's story, one item tests for the African traditional notion that "one ought to fit-into the natural order and maintain its harmonies and balances" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24). In Unathi's story, 5 items test for the Western industrial desire to "take-hold-and-shape the environment to fit its vision of how it ought to be" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 24).

Monism vs. Dualism

In Faku's story, 4 items test for African traditional monistic worldview in which "there is no clear distinction between the sacred and the secular or between the spiritual and the material areas of life" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 14). In Unathi's story, two items test for a Western industrial dualistic worldview which separates the sacred and profane (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 14).

Spirituality vs. Secularity

In Faku's story, two items test for African traditional spirituality which provides "traditional spiritual explanations of natural phenomena such as the growth of crops and illness" (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 20). In Unathi's story, one item tests for a Western industrial worldview which has "embraced secularity with or without transcendence (Cumpsty & de Wet, 1998, p. 20).

A2. Medians & P-Values

ITEM	MEDIAN 1998 <i>n=122</i>	MEDIAN 2017 <i>n=158</i>	P-VALUE
U1	10	10	0.000001
U2	9	9	0.224616
U3	9	10	0
U4	9	10	0.000328
U5	9	10	0
U6	8	10	0.000003
U7	9	10	0.003484
U8	9	10	0.005117
U9	8	7.5	0.320272
U10	5.5	7	0.041618
U11	8	10	0.00004
U12	8	9.5	0.008953
U13	8	9	0.002999
U14	7	7	0.535548
U15	10	10	0.001131
U16	9	10	0
U17	8	10	0.000593
U18	9	10	0
U19	8	8	0.444056
U20	9	10	0
U21	9	10	0.79338
U22	9	10	0
U23	9	9	0.082188
U24	7	9	0.003252
U25	8	10	0.000001
U26	9	9	0.430244
U27	8	10	0.0325
U28	9	10	0
U29	7		
U30	10		
U31	6		
U32	9		
U33	9		
U34	8	6	0.003002
U35	8	8	0.508799

ITEM	MEDIAN 1998 <i>n=122</i>	MEDIAN 2017 <i>n=158</i>	P-VALUE
F1	9	9	0.125568
F2	8	9	0.006367
F3	7	6	0.02385
F4	6	6	0.434672
F5	9	9	0.306146
F6	8	10	0.000001
F7	7	9	0.000015
F8	10		
F9	1		
F10	9		
F11	7	6	0.08387
F12	5		
F13	2		
F14	6	5	0.272526
F15	7	6	0.300467
F16	7	5	0.012448
F17	8	9	0.000629
F18	6	5	0.009082
F19	9	10	0.005762
F20	7	6	0.035081
F21	9	10	0.017302
F22	9	9	0.604111
F23	6		
F24	8	10	0
F25	7	9	0.000024
F26	9	10	0
F27	7	8	0.441255
F28	6	8	0.006802
F29	5	2	0.000434
F30	8	9	0.067247
F31	8	8	0.348498
F32	8.5	10	0
F33	9	10	0.000022

A3. Profiling Criteria & Justification

Profile	Profile description	No. of scores in DISAGREE range		No. of scores in UNSURE range	
		Unathi's story	Faku's Story	Unathi's Story	Faku's Story
AFFIRM	Affirm both stories	≤5	≤5	<1/3 of story's variables	<1/3 of story's variables
SELECT	Selectively reject both stories	>5	>5	<1/3 of story's variables	<1/3 of story's variables
AWI-SAT	Affirm Unathi, selectively reject Faku	≤5	>5	<1/3 of story's variables	<1/3 of story's variables
SWI-AAT	Selectively reject Unathi, affirm Faku	>5	≤5	<1/3 of story's variables	<1/3 of story's variables
UNSURE	Unsure of both stories	Any number	Any number	≥1/3 of story's variables	≥1/3 of story's variables
NON-SPECIFIC	Did not fit any of the above profiling criteria				
<p><i>Note: The DISAGREE range encompasses responses from 1-4 on the ten-point Likert scale; the UNSURE range encompasses responses of 5-6 on the ten-point Likert scale; and, the AGREE range encompasses responses of 7-10 on the ten-point Likert scale.</i></p>					

The decision to use these criteria was not arbitrarily motivated. Rather, this set of criteria had been proposed – and even implemented – by Cumpsty in previous research, and was motivated by the following considerations:

1. According to Cumpsty (1998), five grace DISAGREE responses were permitted in either story before it would be considered rejected. Firstly, this number allowed for a margin of error in case respondents scored in the DISAGREE range mistakenly (Cumpsty, 1998). Secondly, it was informed by natural groupings in the data (Cumpsty, 1998). And thirdly,

Cumpsty considered more than five DISAGREEs a clear indication that substantial elements of the story in question were rejected, whereas between 1-5 DISAGREE's indicated generally supported for the story (Cumpsty, 1998).

2. According to Cumpsty (1998), if more than or equal to one third ($\geq 1/3$) of the responses to a particular story fell in the UNSURE range that respondent could be considered unsure of his/her response to that story's variables (Cumpsty, 1998).
3. If respondents did not fulfill the criteria of any of the predetermined profiles, they were placed in the NON-SPECIFIC profile (Cumpsty, 1998).

A4. Cumpsty’s Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

<i>n</i> :

Please tick (v) this box to show that you have agreed to complete this questionnaire.

Thank you for agreeing to complete this questionnaire.

Please DO NOT write your name on this questionnaire. It should be anonymous.

Personal Data

Please complete the following by placing a tick (v) in the block next to the answer that you feel is correct or answering the question.

Gender: Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	Age:	Present Subject Choice: Languages <input type="checkbox"/> Mathematics <input type="checkbox"/> Natural Sciences <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Commerce/Economics <input type="checkbox"/> Art & Design <input type="checkbox"/> Technology <input type="checkbox"/> Social Sciences <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify):	
Education: Where did you attend school? Rural Urban Grade 1 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 2 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 3 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 4 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 5 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 6 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 7 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 8 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 9 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 10 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 11 <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Who lived or lives in an urban area? Your grandparent(s) <input type="checkbox"/> Your Parent(s) <input type="checkbox"/> You <input type="checkbox"/> If you or your parent(s) live in an urban area, then answer the following: How long have your parents lived in an urban area? How long have you lived in an urban area?		How would you describe the economic status of your parents/guardian? Struggling <input type="checkbox"/> Doing okay <input type="checkbox"/> Prospering <input type="checkbox"/>

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 questionnaire survey two stories will be read. The one is told by Unathi and the other by Faku. The story-tellers tell us what they consider important in life. In the questions below you will be asked to what extent **you** agree or disagree with different statements from each of the stories.

UNATHI'S STORY

Unathi tells a story

1. Unathi 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.

1.1 [U1] I am most happy when I know that I am in the process of "achieving" or "becoming" something.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

1.2 [U2] There is a great deal of pressure on me to achieve.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

1.3 [U3] I think more about what I am to become rather than simply what I am now.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

2. Unathi 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

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

2.1 [U4] I need to be a goal oriented person to achieve".

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

2.2 [U5] It is goals which gave my life purpose and direction.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

2.3 [U6] 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.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

2.4 [U7] I am prepared to sacrifice something now for a better quality of life in the future.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

3. Unathi 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.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

3.1 [U8] I am very frustrated when I am prevented from pursuing my goals.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

4. Unathi says:

Those who are reluctant to support the community should be motivated by the knowledge that they will be rewarded rather than being disciplined for not doing what is expected of them.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

4.1 [U9] It is better to reward those who do much for their community than to punish those who do little!

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

5. Unathi says:

When things go wrong in life I don't waste too much time finding out why, I just get on with starting again.

5.1 [U10] How much do you agree or disagree with the statement?

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

6. Unathi 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..."

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

6.1 [U11] The best sort of society is the one in which individuals compete with one another for the greatest rewards.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7. Unathi 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!

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

7.1 [U12] I am determined to make it on my own.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.2 [U13] Independence is something I treasure.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.3 [U14] Family often holds one back and can stifle ambition.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.4 [U15] People should be encourage to provide for their own future.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

8. Unathi says:

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.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

8.1 [U16] I will co-operate with people if it helps me to achieve my goals.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

9. Unathi 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.

9.1 [U17] People should try to reshape the world in which they find themselves.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

10. Unathi 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.

10.1 [U18] It is exciting to be the first to do something and to discover things and to invent things.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

10.2 [U19] The investment of time and money in inventions, discovery and technological advancement is money well spent.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

10.3 [U20] I am excited about being part of the process of reshaping the future for all our children to enjoy.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

11. Unathi 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.

11.1 [U21] I would send a son of mine to the school known for teaching science and a scientific approach to life.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

12. Unathi 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.

12.1 [U22] It is important for a meeting to start on time and for people not to arrive late.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

13. Unathi 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.

13.1 [U23] History is moving forward

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

13.2 [U24] Human behaviour must now leave behind traditional ways of doing things and it must concentrate on what is to be achieved

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

13.3 [U25] It is sensible, to appoint the person who can do the job best rather than someone you feel you are obliged to help.

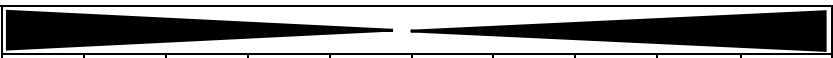
Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

14. Unathi says:

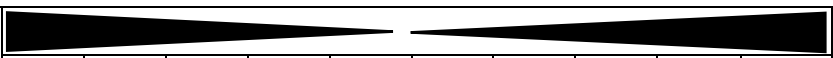
The physical world around us is just mechanical. The physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is. God is in heaven and heaven is where God is. Heaven is where I hope to go when I die. I think it would be right to say that I experience God personally. There is a saying: "God helps those who help themselves."

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

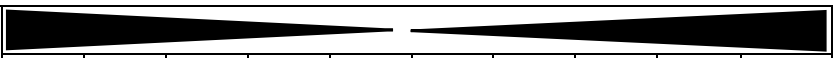
14.1 [U26] The physical world around us is just mechanical

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

14.2 [U27] The physical world is separate from the spiritual world where God is.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

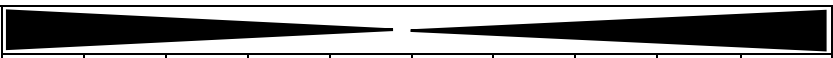
14.3 [U28] God is in heaven and heaven is where God is.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

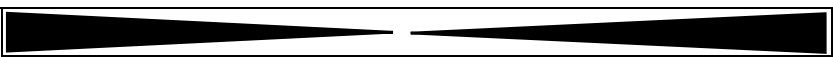
15. Unathi says:

My life will really start when I leave 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.

15.1 [U34] A person's life really starts when he or she leaves school and is as good as over when he or she retire.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

15.2 [U35] In the Western world the people who are admired most are the young go-getters who always looks good.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

FAKU'S STORY · SHITIMWITIRA SHA FAKU
Faku tells a story · Faku ku na kutimwitira shitimwitira

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.

Ame kwa kwama mu likoro lya va nane kutundilira ku vawina vavanane, vawina vavamama novo vaparukiro ku uto wavo, ovyo vyavo mbyongoli vya ya tiko mu mwande, mu vana vande va vakadona, mu vatekuru vande va vakadona na mu vana va kutunda mu vatekuru vande va vakadona. Muntu wa ku kara pa ntjendi kapi gha karanga na nkondo. Nkondo kwa tundanga mu ku kara kumwe kwa vantu oko na hamena na va kaliro vapeke na vakamaparambo, oko na hamena me ntani novo vahameno kwande - navantje ovo va na kuparuko novo vafo kare, ntani novo nga vashapuruka. Natuvantje kwa kuhuguvara-huguvara.

1.1 [F1] How much do you agree with the above statement?

1.1 *Pa nkedi ndi pa ntambo yini una ku kuwa na rughambo rwa weno?*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

1.2 [F2] How much do you agree or disagree with the statement: 'a person is a person through other people'?

1.2 *Pa ntambo munke una ku kuwa ndi una ku kushekuna na rughambo runo "muntu ku wana untu wendi morwa vantu va peke"?*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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.

Vantu ovo vadoghoroko ovo vahameno ku va nane na ku va vava mbo vampakerango mbiri. Vadimu vetu mbo va karo na shinka sha shinene ku kwande. Ntjene a ni va vhuruka, navo kuvhura ngoli va mpopere ku vimpagwa, ku mauvera, ndjara na ruhepo; ano ngoli ame na hepa ntani kurughana ndjambo pa kurenka ashi ni djamberepo sha ngandi ku kwawo. Na mbatero yavo ame kuvhura ngoli ni wane nkondo da dinene na ku wana mavango na ungawo wa ungi ogho nga u mpo nkondo no mulyo mu kurenka ashi ni damune mukamali ni kware na ku wana vanuke.

2.1 [F3] I believe that my Ancestors ensure the health and general well-being of my family.

2.1 Ame kwa pura ashi vadimu vavo kuvhura kutulitapo ukangure na ukaro wa uwa mu likoro.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

2.2 [F4] I believe that my Ancestors oversee the things that I and my family have.

2.2 Ame kwa pura ashi vadimu vetu kwa pakeranga mbiri vininke ovyo twa kara navyo mu likoro lyetu.

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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.

Mpiri momo na kara ashi mukafumu, nkwandi mpopo nga ni wana vanuke ntani ngoli nga ni kara na mulyo wa kughambaura kwavi vya ku hamena mu mudi wetu. Vana vande va vakadona nga va kayita ungawo mulipata lyetu, ano munkwara davo na ku kayita vanuke nga vi katwara likoro lyetu ku uto. Mukafumu wa ku kara na vana kapi nga va muvhurama morwashi nga va muvhurukanga mu ndJambo davo na ku muta lidina lyendi nampiri uye kare-kare a yenda ku shirongo sha vadimu. Vana va kara namulyo wa unene morwashi vavo mbo va ku tu pakera shinka pa ku kurupa tu pire nkondo mu kurenka ashi tulime mafuva gha umwetu. Vana ngo ungawo wetu ano kupira vana, mukafumu na ku kara shi na mulyo mpiri wa udidi. Ruvharo, uyuvhetwi na nkondo da mu virughana mbyo ngoli na hora me ashi mukamali ndi mo a kara ano ku kwande nga ku tunda shinka sha shinene mu ku mupakera mbiri ntani nka na ku mu pisha shi mpiri kadidi.

Thinking of the above passage, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Mu ku kwama vivarurwa ovyo vi na karo ku wiru, pa ntambo munke una ku kuwa ndi una ku kushekuna na marughambo ogho gha na ku kwamako?

3.1 [F5] Our children are our wealth for without them a man is poor indeed.

3.1 *"Vana ngo ungawo wetu ano kupira vana, mukafumu na ku kara shi na mulyo mpiri wa udidi"*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

3.2 [F6] 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 *"Ruvharo, uyuvhetwi na nkondo da mu virughana mbyo ngoli na hora me ashi mukamali ndi mo a kara ano ku kwande nga ku tunda shinka sha shinene mu ku mupakera mbiri ntani nka na ku mu pisha shi mpiri kadidi".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

3.3 [F7] How much do you agree that women think they should be fertile, obedient and hardworking?

3.3 *Pa ntambo munke una ku kuwa ashi vakamali kwa ghayaranga ashi mu ku kara na ruvharo, uyuvhetwi nda nkondo da mu virughana?*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

4. Faku says:

The God of my ancestors made the earth and everything in it. He made people and the animals to live together in this world. The God of my ancestors is far away and not very active in our lives. The God of my ancestors does not normally deal with us directly nor does he normally punish us. But sometimes the God of my 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 lightning to fetch that person. When this happens we cannot complain or mourn that person for the God of my ancestors has chosen him/her. It is true to say that we pray to and praise God. The God of my ancestors 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 God and the Ancestors.

Karunga wa vadimu vetu ndje gha ghungiro livhu na kehe shino sha karopo. Ndje gha shitiro vantu na vikorama ashi vatunge kumwe mu udjuni uno. Karunga wa vadimu vetu ku ure-ure natwe a kara ano nka kapi a rughananga vintu mu liparu lyetu. Karunga wa vadimu vetu mwene-mwene kapi a yanga kwetu ndi ku tu futita ashi tu mu mone. Pamwe-pamwe Karunga wa vadimu vetu kwa tu

tuminanga maruvadi ndi lirumbu mu ku tu vhurukita ashi tu raperere na ku tapa ndjambo ku kwendi. Uye pamwe kwa shananga ashi umwe wetu a vyuke ku kwendi ano mpo a tuminanga ruvadi ru ya mushimbe. Ntjene a vishoroka vya weno atwe na kuvhurashi ku shivana ndi kulira morwashi Karunga mwene ndje a na mutovororo. Mu ndjira vene pa kughamba ashi atwe kwa rapereranga na kupandaika Karunga wa vadimu vetu. Karunga, kumwe na vadimu vetu mbo vayenditango mbuto mu ku kura kwado. Pa kumana kupurura mafuva ghetu twa hepa ngoli kupandaika na ku ndjambera mu kurenka ashi nga tu wane muyangu wa u djuni. Atwe kwa huguvara pa Karunga wa vadimu vetu na pa vadimu vetu.

4.1 [F11] "The God of my ancestors along with the ancestors controls the way the crops grow".

4.1 "Karunga, kumwe na vadimu vetu mbo vayenditango mbuto mu ku kura kwado".

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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 cannot 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.

Muno mu udjuni atwe kwa parukangamo na mpepo da vadimu vetu odo da tungango mu dimukuro, mu ndundu na mu dimutitu. Atwe kuvhura vene ku viyuvha ashi navo twa karanga nampiri momo twa diranga ku vamonu. Atwe twa hepa ntani ku hafita "vantu va mu dimukuro" ku uto wa ku renka ashi tu rute mukuro muku kandana po mahudi. Vamwe vanandunge kwa tantanga ashisi mpepo dinya da mu mukuro pamwe kwa yitanga vantu vamwe vayende ku mukuro va ka vashonge mankita gha ku yiva kuyanekeda.

5.1 [F14] 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 "Muno mu udjuni kwa rughananga na kuparukangamo va peke. Vavo kwa vatwenyanga ashi mpepo da vadimu vetu odo da tungango mu dimukuro, mu ndundu na dimutitu".

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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.

Vadimu kwa kara na mulyo wa unene mu liparu lyande. Kapi va kara na nyanya ku kwande. Vavo kwa karanga na nkalito ya shinauntu morwashi pamwe navo ku garapa, ntani pamwe navo ku yuvha ashi kapi tuna ku va fera mbiri. Ame ku viyiva ashi kapi va na hafa mu kuya ku kwande mu ndjodi ndi kundjitira uvera mu lipata lyande. Pamwe-pamwe vadimu kwa djonauranga mbuto detu mu ku tu futita ku shininke sha ngandi osho twa rughana ndi osho twa vhurama mu ku shirughana. Pamwe-pamwe ame kuvhuruka ashi ku na kuva vhurama ano mpo na vi wapaikanga mu kurughana ndjambo ya ku mfumwa yavo. Pamwe -pamwe name kwa nteturanga ashi vinke na ni vi na vagarapito. Vya weno atwe kwa vapuranga ngoli ashi va tu tantere. Kapi va tu rughanitanga vya vidona na ni ngoli vavo kwa kara ku kwetu yira momo vakara vakurona vetu ku kwetu, ku tu futita ntjene vi na kara hepero.

6.1 [F15] 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. *"Vadimu kwa kara na mulyo wa unene mu liparu lyande. Kapi va kara na nyanya ku kwande. Vavo kwa karanga na nkalito ya shinauntu morwashi pamwe navo ku garapa na kuvhura ku yuvha ashi kapi tu na ku va fera mbiri ku tu futita ntjene vi na kara hepero".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

6.2 [F16] Sometimes I know that I have been neglecting them and will correct this by performing a ritual to honour them.

6.2 *"Pamwe-pamwe ame kuvhura niyive ashi ku na ku vavhurama ano ame kuvhura ngoli ni wapaikanga po mu kurughana ndjambo ya ku mfumwa yavo".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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 the 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 diviner 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.

Kwato osho sha shorokango tupu. Oko kwa tutumukango muti, mundiro wa karangoko. Ntjene vininke kapi vi na kuyenda nawa, atwe ku yiva ashi u karo una kutjindji. Umwe wetu ndi shininke sha ngandi ntjo shina virenkito vikare weyo. Ntjene mo vi na kara, kare tu na yiva ashi vininke na kuvhurashi kuyenda ira momo vya yendanga. Ntjene tu na yiva konda ya makutjindjo gha weyo, ovyo kukara ureru mu ku viwapeka. Pa ku pira kuyiva konda, mpo ngoli twa yenderanga ku vanganga va kayanekede. Ntjene una wapeke lipuko lya weyo, mpo nka vya varekanga navintje kuyenda nawa-nawa. Ntjene vininke shimpe kapi vi na kuyenda nawa kuruku rwa ku katunda ku nganga, vino kuvhura ngoli vitante ashi varodi ndi urumba ngo wa yitopo makutjindjo na mahudi gha weyo. Lihudi kapishi shininke sha shiwa morwashi vya weno ku upa nkondo mu muntu. Ame kwa hepa ku wana nkondo (nkondo do pa shinamonyo) mbyongoli vya karera na mulyo ashi ndi na sha vera-vera morwashi uvera ku upa nkondo mu muntu. Ugara ashi ku dompita rutu rwa muntu. Litenderera, mpora, mbyo vya viwa, kuyita nkondo da dinene.

7.1 [F17] When things are not going well we know that the balance has been upset. Something has caused this.

7.1 *"Ntjene vininke kapi vi na kuyenda po nawa, atwe ku yiva ashi ukaro una kutjindji. Umwe wetu ndi shininke sha ngandi ntjo shina virenkito vikare weyo".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.2 [F18] 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 *Ntjene ndjambo ya kurenka ashi yikuverure ku uvera kapi yi na ku kuverura, vino kuvhura ngoli vikare ashi muntu wa ngandi naye ku na kara na ndjambo yendi ya kondo ngudu?*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.3 [F19] Bad luck is not good for it makes a person lose strength.

7.3 *"Lihudi kapishi shininke sha shiwa morwashi vya weno ku upa nkondo mu muntu".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

7.4 [F20] 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 *"Ntjene vininke shimpe kapi vi na kuyenda nawa kuruku rwa ku katunda ku nganga ano nka ntjene una kwama nawa-nawa nkango dendi, vino kuvhura ngoli vitante ashi varodi ndi urumba ngo wa yitopo lihudi olyo".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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.

Mu mayuva gha ukurupe wande ame kwa shana tupu mpora, kapi na hora ku kara na liguwo ndi maghano gha madona mu ku kara na unkore ku vantu vangandi, kwa shana ku kashungira na ku kengera vana vande omo va na kurughana na omo di na ku kura mbuto na kutimwitira na vakurupe vaunyande mbudi da mulyo. Vakurupe ndi vahepa ntani ku vafumadeka morwashi vakara na unandunge, vayiva nkalito na vininke vya mpo, vayiva mbudi da ntundiliro ntani vakara pa pepi na vadimu ovo va vapango nkondo kehe liyuva. Vakurupe vahepa kushuvira vanantjoka upingwa wa udjuni wa mpo ya shikuru sha kare.

8.1 [F21] 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 *Vakurupe ndi vahepa ntani ku vafumadeka (va nantjoka) morwashi vakara na vininke vya mpo, vayiva mbudi da ntundiliro ntani vakara pa pepi na vadimu ovo va vapango nkondo.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

8.2 [F22] The old are expected to pass on the ancient traditions and rich heritage.

8.2 *Vakurupe vahepa kushuvira vanantjoka upingwa wa udjuni wa mpo ya shikuru sha kare.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

9. 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.

Kehe mukafumu, mukamali ndi mwanuke kwa kara na livango mu mbunga, ano kehe uno gha yiva livango lyendi. Yira momo vene vya kara ashi vininke navintje vya kara na mavango ghavyo ano nka kwa kupanga mukatji kavyo mulyo. Mu kupisha kehe shino shininke ovyo ku upa nkondo mu liparu lya mbunga. Vya kara na mulyo wa unene mu kurenka ashi vininke vya mu udjuni navintje vi rughanene kumwe, ano kapishi vantu va kurughanene tupu pwa naumwawo.

9.1 [F24] Every person and thing has its place and they give importance to each other.

9.1 *Kehe muntu ndi shininke kwa kara na livango ano vyavyo kwa kupanga mukatji kavyo mulyo.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

9.2 [F25] To treat something or someone with disrespect is to weaken all things.

9.2 *Mu kupisha kehe shino ndi muntu vya weno ku upa nkondo mu vininke navintje.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

9.3 [F26] It is better that all people and things work together rather than people working only for themselves.

9.3 *Vya kara na mulyo wa unene mu kurenka ashi vininke virughanene kumwe ano kapishi ashi vantu va kurughanene tupu pwa naumwawo.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

10. 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.

Vya kara na mulyo ashi kehe uno ndi a hepa kurughana na ku kara na nkedi ya yiwa. Ovino mbyo vahora vadimu. Vadimu ku kenga na ruhafo ku muntu ogho gha piro ku kara na unkore mu mutjima wendi ano muntu wa weno kehe pano nga karanga na ruhafo morwashi uye nga yiva ashi kuna kara mundjira oyo vashana vadimu vetu. Ntjene vininke a vi vareke ku djonauka pa katji ka vantu, vininke vya peke navyo ku vareka ku vipa; mbuto kuvhura di vareke kugehera ndi ruteni kuvhura ru ye. Vya kara na mulyo wa unene ntjene kehe uno pwa mwene tupu a vareke kurughanena kumwe na vaunyendi papo pa hana vishivana kehe ruvede.

10.1 [F27] 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.

10.1 *Vadimu ku kenga na ruhafo ku muntu ogho gha piro ku kara na unkore mu mutjima wendi ano muntu wa weno kehe pano nga karanga na ruhafo morwashi uye nga yiva ashi ku na kara mundjira.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

11. 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 diviner. 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.

Kehe shininke nkondo dasho kwa tundilira ku vadimu mo nka vakafumu, vakamali, vanuke, vikorama, vitondo na mankumpi gha mu mukuro. Mmo vene ashi vimwe vya kara na nkondo da dinene kupitakana va unyavyo. Ano ngoli ntjene ame ani shwaurapo kehe shino, ame ku upamo nkondo dimwe mu mwande. Ntjene ame ku na ku papara nkondo na mukumo na lipopero, ame kuyenda ku vanganga. Mukafumu gha hepa ntani ku kara nkondo, mo nka mbunga naintje nga yi kara na nkondo na kuyenda ku uto, na ngombe, vanuke na mbutu. Ntjene kapi ni na kuvhurama vadimu vetu, vavo nga va mbatera mu ku kara na nkondo.

11.1 [F28] 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.

11.1 *Kehe shininke nkondo dasho kwa tundilira ku vadimu, mo nka vakafumu, vakamali, vanuke, vikorama, vitondo na mankupi gha mu mukuro. Mmo vene ntundilira ashi vimwe vya kara na nkondo da dinene kupitakana va unyavyo. Ano ngoli ntjene ame ani shwaura po kehe shino, ame ku upamo nkondo dimwe mu mwande.*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

11.2 [F29] When I am seeking strength and protection I go to the diviner.

11.2 *"Ntjene ame ku na ku papara nkondo na lipopero, ame kuyenda ku vanganga"*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

12. 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 God has made goes on forever.

Ruvede ame kwa ruyuvhanga ashi kwa kuwa kumwe na udjuni ntani nomo wa yendanga mu mashampuruko, mu ku kura na mu mfa. Pa kara ruvede rwa kupurura na ruvede rwa ku keshantani ngoweyo. Maparu naghantje gha pa livhu mo gha kara nagho ngoweyo. Maparu naghantje kwa gha pangeranga ngovera ya undjuni. Muntu ku mu shampuruka ndi ku kuyita, kufa na kuyenda a ka kare mudimu. Ano ngoli kushampuruka, ku kura, kufa na ku kakara mudimu ngoweyo vya karamo muno mu udjuni ntani ngoweyo nga vitwikira ku uto. Ame na hepa ngoli umwande ku kuwa ntani na ngovera ya undjuni mu ku renka ashi nikare na liparu lya liwa. Kehe muntu na kehe shinike kwa kara na shitambo mu ku wapaika ruvede rwa mwene ndi rwa shene. Ruvede rwaro kwa twikiranga kuyenda ku uto nampiri kuruku rwa mfa. Liparu, ruvede na navintje ovyo a rughanine Karunga kwa twikiranga kuyenda ku uto dogoro ku naruntje.

12.1 [F30] A person is born, grows, reproduces, dies and goes to be an ancestor. But birth, growth, death and becoming an ancestor go on forever.

12.1 *"Muntu ku mu shampuruka, ku kura, ku yita, kufa na kuyenda a ka kare mudimu. Ano ngoli kushampuruka, ku kura, kufa na ku ka kara mudimu ngoweyo vya yendanga muno mu undjuni dogoro ku naruntje".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

12.2 [F31] I need to fit into these rhythms of nature to have a good life.

12.2 *"Ame na hepa ngoli umwande ku kuwa ntani na ngovera ya udjuni mu ku renka ashi nikare na liparu lya liwa".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

12.3 [F32] Every person and thing has a purpose to work out in its own time.

12.3 *"Kehe muntu na kehe shininke kwa kara na shitambo osho a kuwapaikiranga ndi osho sha kuwapaikiranga pa ruvede rwa mwene ndi rwa shene".*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

12.4 [F33] Life, time and all that God has made goes on forever.

12.4 *“Liparu, ruvede na navintje ovyo a rughanine Karunga kwa twikiranga kuyenda ku uto dogoro ku naruntje”*

Strongly Disagree											Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	