

**UNEMPLOYMENT IN AN AFRICAN VILLAGE: A PSYCHOCULTURAL
PERSPECTIVE**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY.....	XI
OPSOMMING.....	XIV
CHAPTER 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 OBJECTIVE.....	1
1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY.....	3
1.4 THEORETICAL APPROACH.....	7
1.5 CONCLUSION.....	9
CHAPTER 2.....	10
UNEMPLOYMENT.....	10
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	10
2.2 FACTORS AFFECTING UNEMPLOYMENT.....	10
2.3 EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.....	11
2.3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	11
2.3.2 <i>The direct effects of unemployment</i>	11
2.3.3 <i>The indirect effects of unemployment</i>	12
2.3.4 <i>Unemployment as a public issue</i>	13
2.3.5 <i>Economic stress</i>	14
2.3.6 <i>The Elder studies</i>	15
2.3.6.1 <i>Oakland Study</i>	15
2.3.6.2 <i>The Berkeley study on men</i>	17
2.3.6.3 <i>The Berkeley study on women</i>	18
2.3.6.4 <i>Conclusion</i>	19
2.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH.....	19
2.4.1 <i>Introduction</i>	19
2.4.2 <i>Education</i>	20
2.4.3 <i>Youth unemployment</i>	23
2.4.3.1 <i>Introduction</i>	23
2.4.3.2 <i>Causes</i>	24
2.5 ASPIRATIONS.....	26
2.5.1 <i>The relationship between aspirations and motivation</i>	27



2.5.2	<i>Aspirations of the black youth</i>	28
2.5.2.1	Educational aspirations.....	28
2.5.2.2	Occupational aspirations.....	29
2.5.3	<i>The aspirations of women</i>	31
2.5.4	<i>Factors which influence aspirations</i>	32
2.5.5	<i>Balancing job opportunities and job aspirations</i>	34
2.6	RELATIVE DEPRIVATION.....	34
2.6.1	<i>The nature of relative deprivation</i>	34
2.6.2	<i>Conflict and relative deprivation</i>	36
2.7	CONCLUSION.....	38
CHAPTER 3.....		40
A SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE ON UNEMPLOYMENT.....		40
3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	40
3.2	BEHAVIOURAL SETTINGS.....	41
3.2.1	<i>Basic tenets of the theory</i>	41
3.2.2	<i>Application</i>	43
3.3	THE MICRO-SYSTEM.....	44
3.4	THE MESO-SYSTEM.....	44
3.5	THE EXO-SYSTEM.....	46
3.6	MACRO-SYSTEM.....	47
3.6.1	<i>Blueprint and worldview</i>	48
3.6.2	<i>The socio-historical roots of cognitive processes and development</i>	49
3.7	ACCULTURATION.....	51
3.8	GLOBALISATION.....	52
3.8.1	<i>The nature of globalisation</i>	52
3.8.2	<i>Essential requirements</i>	54
3.8.3	<i>Globalisation in the African context</i>	55
3.9	COPING.....	57
3.9.1	<i>Coping at an individual level</i>	58
3.9.2	<i>Coping at the macro-systemic level</i>	60
3.9.2.1	Political empowerment.....	60
3.9.2.2	Economic empowerment.....	61
3.9.2.3	Redistribution of wealth.....	61
3.9.2.4	Labour intensive practices.....	62
3.9.2.5	Economic growth.....	62
3.9.2.6	Full employment.....	62
3.9.2.7	Maintaining employment.....	63



3.9.2.8	Exerting pressure.....	63
3.9.3	Conclusion.....	63
3.10	CONCLUSION.....	64
CHAPTER 4.....		66
WORK VALUES.....		66
4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	66
4.2	WORK ETHIC.....	67
4.3	GROUP DIFFERENCES IN WORK VALUES.....	68
4.4	INDIVIDUALISM.....	70
4.4.1	<i>The nature of individualism.....</i>	70
4.4.2	<i>The origin of individualism.....</i>	71
4.4.3	<i>Factors related to individualism.....</i>	71
4.5	POWER DISTANCE.....	72
4.5.1	<i>The nature of power distance.....</i>	72
4.5.2	<i>The origin of power distance.....</i>	74
4.5.3	<i>Factors related to power distance.....</i>	74
4.6	MASCULINITY.....	75
4.6.1	<i>The nature of masculinity.....</i>	75
4.6.2	<i>Factors related to masculinity.....</i>	75
4.7	UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE.....	76
4.7.1	<i>The nature of uncertainty avoidance.....</i>	76
4.7.2	<i>Factors related to uncertainty avoidance.....</i>	76
4.8	AFRICAN WORK VALUES.....	78
4.8.1	<i>Botho/Ubuntu.....</i>	78
4.8.2	<i>Personalissimo.....</i>	80
4.9	CONCLUSION.....	80
CHAPTER 5.....		82
RESTRUCTURING.....		82
5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	82
5.2	CHANGES IN JOB PATTERNS.....	82
5.3	SELF-EMPLOYMENT.....	83
5.4	CAPITAL MOBILITY.....	84
5.5	REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE.....	86
5.5.1	<i>The sacred and the French Revolution.....</i>	86
5.5.2	<i>Differentiation and dedifferentiation.....</i>	89

5.5.3	<i>Liminality</i>	91
5.5.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	93
5.6	THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN.....	93
5.6.1	<i>The nature of the RDP</i>	93
5.6.2	<i>Reconstruction and development projects as a resource for employment</i>	94
5.6.3	<i>Psychological principles underlying the successful implementation of restructuring and development programmes</i>	95
5.6.4	<i>Theoretical interpretation of the RDP</i>	97
5.7	RESTRUCTURING AND TENSION.....	99
5.8	RESTRUCTURING IN A RURAL CONTEXT.....	100
5.8.1	<i>The historical context of rural development</i>	100
5.8.2	<i>Labour supply in rural areas</i>	101
5.9	CONCLUSION.....	102
CHAPTER 6.....		103
METHOD.....		103
6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	103
6.2	QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH.....	103
6.3	FIELD RESEARCH.....	105
6.3.1	<i>Introduction</i>	105
6.3.2	<i>The ethnographic approach</i>	106
6.3.3	<i>The field and ethnographic interview</i>	108
6.3.4	<i>Participant observation</i>	111
6.4	SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS.....	113
6.5	THE RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE.....	114
6.6	DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.....	116
6.7	TRUSTWORTHINESS (STABILITY AND CREDIBILITY) IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH.....	117
6.8	CONCLUSION.....	120
CHAPTER 7.....		122
RESULTS: THE PHYSICAL, HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT IN BETHANIE.....		122
7.1	INTRODUCTION.....	122
7.2	NAMING.....	127
7.3	REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN BETHANIE.....	130
7.3.1	<i>Introduction</i>	130
7.3.2	<i>The establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church</i>	131
7.3.3	<i>Resistance against Lerothodi II</i>	133

7.3.4	<i>The youth: Arson and the trial of the chief</i>	135
7.4	THE DEATH OF CHIEF LEROTHODI II.....	138
7.5	THE <i>LEKGOTLA</i>	142
7.6	COMMUNAL, SECTIONAL, SITUATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL POWER.....	144
7.7	LEADERSHIP.....	147
7.8	TIME.....	149
7.9	WORK ETHIC AND VALUES.....	150
7.10	THE INFLUENCE OF EXPOSURE TO MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIAL VALUES.....	153
7.11	EDUCATION.....	154
7.11.1	<i>Lerothodi I High School</i>	154
7.11.2	<i>Education and social mobility</i>	159
7.12	INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION.....	161
7.12.1	<i>Acculturation</i>	161
7.12.2	<i>Stagnation</i>	162
7.12.3	<i>Renewal</i>	163
7.12.4	<i>Sectional and communal development</i>	166
CHAPTER 8		167
RESULTS: WITCHCRAFT AND RITUALS		167
8.1	INTRODUCTION.....	167
8.2	<i>BOLOI</i> (WITHCHCRAFT).....	167
8.2.1	<i>Description of boloi</i>	167
8.2.2	<i>An example of an incident of boloi</i>	171
8.2.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	174
8.3	RITUALS.....	175
8.3.1	<i>Introduction</i>	175
8.3.2	<i>The phasa badimo ritual</i>	176
8.3.2.1	Description of the <i>phasa badimo</i> ritual.....	176
8.3.2.2	Christianity.....	178
8.3.3	<i>Marriage</i>	180
8.3.3.1	Introduction.....	180
8.3.3.2	<i>Magadi, go tshwaragana and lenyalo</i>	181
8.3.3.3	Marriage and women's identity.....	182
8.3.3.4	Interpretation.....	183
8.3.4	<i>Funerals</i>	186
8.3.4.1	General description.....	186
8.3.4.2	'Rou' (mourning).....	190
8.3.4.3	The sun.....	191



8.3.4.4	Funerals as a symbol system	191
8.3.5	<i>Conclusion</i>	192
8.4	<i>DIPHIRI</i>	194
8.5	BURIAL SOCIETIES	197
8.6	INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION	198
8.6.1	<i>Communalism and feminine values</i>	198
8.6.2	<i>The role of women in development</i>	199
8.6.3	<i>Time</i>	199
8.6.4	<i>Acculturation and change</i>	199
CHAPTER 9		203
RESULTS: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT		203
9.1	INTRODUCTION	203
9.2	PERMEABILITY OF THE SETTING	203
9.2.1	<i>Geographic mobility</i>	203
9.2.2	<i>Outside influences</i>	204
9.2.3	<i>Globalisation</i>	205
9.2.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	205
9.3	THE UNEMPLOYED	206
9.3.1	<i>Characteristics of the unemployed</i>	206
9.3.2	<i>Employment on the vanadium mine</i>	208
9.3.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	209
9.4	ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN BETHANIE	210
9.4.1	<i>Overview of economic activities</i>	210
9.4.1.1	Manufacturing of domestic products	210
9.4.1.2	Transport industry	210
9.4.1.3	Businesses recognised by the <i>lekgotla</i>	212
9.4.1.4	Small industries	212
9.4.1.5	Trading	213
9.4.1.6	Farming	215
9.4.1.7	Short-term and formal employment	217
9.4.2	<i>Interpretation</i>	218
9.4.3	<i>Farming</i>	221
9.4.3.1	Cattle Farming	221
9.4.3.2	Crop farming	223
9.4.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	225
9.5	RDP PROJECTS IN BETHANIE	228
9.5.1	<i>The RDP leadership in Bethanie</i>	228



9.5.2	<i>The RDP housing project</i>	229
9.5.3	<i>The RDP water project</i>	230
9.5.4	<i>The RDP electrification project</i>	232
9.5.5	<i>Evaluation of the RDP</i>	234
9.6	ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES SURROUNDING BETHANIE	237
9.6.1	<i>Economic activities in Geluk, Phokeng and Brits</i>	237
9.6.2	<i>Comparing Geluk and Bethanie</i>	238
9.6.3	<i>Rosslyn–Brits border industry</i>	241
9.6.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	243
9.7	INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION	244
9.7.1	<i>Unemployment</i>	244
9.7.2	<i>Values</i>	244
9.7.3	<i>Potential for economic development</i>	245
9.7.4	<i>Principles of development</i>	246
	CHAPTER 10	248
	CONCLUSION	248
10.1	INTRODUCTION	248
10.2	SUMMARY AND INTEGRATION OF RESULTS	248
10.2.1	<i>Values</i>	248
10.2.2	<i>Time</i>	250
10.2.3	<i>Acculturation</i>	250
10.2.4	<i>Unemployment</i>	252
10.2.5	<i>Development</i>	253
10.2.6	<i>Physical and psycho-social environment</i>	257
10.3	IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS	258
10.4	EVALUATION OF THE STUDY	258
10.5	RECOMMENDATIONS	259
10.5.1	<i>Cyclical theory</i>	259
10.5.2	<i>Differences in the dynamics for economic and social programmes</i>	260
10.5.3	<i>The effect of multiple factors</i>	260
10.5.4	<i>Long-term effects</i>	260
	REFERENCES	261

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1 : Possible economic growth in Bethanie	227
Table 2 : Comparison between Bethanie and Geluk	240
Figure 1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs	28

SUMMARY

Unemployment in an African village: a psychocultural perspective

by

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The aim of this study was to examine psychocultural factors that are related to unemployment amongst the black residents of Bethanie, which is a semi-rural village in the North West Province. The specific objectives were:

- to describe how values, belief systems and customs in the community where the study was done, are related to socio-economic development; this also involves changes in values, belief systems and customs due to the contact between the traditional African and Western cultures;
- to describe how socio-economic development is related to unemployment, and, accordingly, how values, belief systems and customs are related to unemployment;
- to describe the role of the physical and psychosocial environment with regard to socio-economic development and unemployment.

A qualitative, ethnographic approach was used. This involved in-depth interviews with people with knowledge about the cultural, economic and social context in Bethanie, participant observation and psycholinguistic analyses.

Bethanie is characterised by economic stagnation in spite of there being good potential for economic growth. Existing economic activities do not provide sufficient employment opportunities for the villagers, and they depend on the areas surrounding the village for employment.

With regard to Hofstede's four value dimensions, it was found that *individualism and collectivism* are not opposite poles on a continuum, but are in a recursive relationship. Development that is exclusively based on either individualistic or collectivistic values is bound to fail. The value system in Bethanie is predominantly *feminine* by nature and this should form the basis for development; however, the actual implementation of development projects should be based on masculine

values. *Avoidance of uncertainty* impedes new economic activities or expansion of current economic activities. In Bethanie there is a large *power distance* as well as inadequate linkages between the community and the power base that has decision-making power and control over resources that could be used for development.

A non-linear experience of time, together with using time to maintain continuity rather than to create prosperity, inhibits social and economic development. Non-linear temporality restrains the implementation of developmental projects with a long-term future-orientation, and to be successful projects should render visible, short-term outcomes.

Acculturation leads to diverse outcomes. Firstly, aspects of another culture can become assimilated with the indigenous culture, thereby creating new forms of cultural expression. Secondly, the new can be imposed on a community and replace existing customs. Thirdly, in parallelism both traditional and Western customs are followed. Socio-economic development can occur through all three these forms of change. However, irrespective of the way change occurs, during times of transition and uncertainty, and when the explanation for events is not evident, people may return to their culture. This could entail a positive redefinition of and identification with the values of the in-group, and efforts to regain control over one's own affairs.

Some aspects of a culture are more susceptible to change than others, and in addition sectors of the community are on different levels of development and acculturation. This must be accommodated in developmental initiatives. Value polymorphism can also lead to conflict and fragmentation of society.

Structural unemployment, which results from a lack of job opportunities, must be distinguished from unemployment due to incomplete transition from an educational setting to an employment setting. Unemployment is also a social problem that requires immediate action to alleviate the poverty associated with unemployment. The type of unemployment determines the kinds of interventions that are necessary.

Development can occur at either a sectional level (involving subgroups) or a communal level (involving the whole community). Development may be either evolutionary, or it could be revolutionary, or it could be based on direct interventions.

Various factors that facilitate development were identified. Change must be directed at multiple

systems and development must occur on a regional level and be linked with development in the larger context. If the larger context is accounted for, factors that influence and control local conditions, can be attended to. Developmental projects should have both an economic and social focus and be in synchrony with the community's level of development, local culture and leadership, facilitating and inhibiting factors in the physical environment, gender differentiation and the role of women in the community.

Other factors that promote development include political stability and a sense of security; permeable boundaries between the setting and the external environment; adequate links between a setting and the power base; a focus on the functional development of people so that they can be employable and take charge of economic activities; exposure to middle-class values; dedifferentiation and greater involvement of the community in decision-making.

Key words: Structural unemployment, transitional unemployment, systems theory, economic development, social development, belief system, values, culture, rural, revolutionary change

OPSOMMING

Werkloosheid in 'n Afrikastat: 'n psigokulturele perspektief

deur

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Die doel van hierdie studie was om psigokulturele faktore wat verband hou met werkloosheid onder die swart inwoners van Bethanie ('n semi-landelike stat in die Noord-Wes Provinsie), te bepaal.

Die spesifieke doelwitte was:

- om te beskryf hoe waardes, oortuigings en gebruike in die stat waar die studie onderneem is, verband hou met sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling; dit behels ook veranderinge in waardes, oortuigings en gebruike as gevolg van kontak tussen die tradisionele Afrika- en Westerse kulture;
- om te beskryf hoe sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling verband hou met werkloosheid en, dienooreenkomstig, hoe waardes, oortuigings en gebruike verband hou met werkloosheid;
- om die rol van die fisiese en psigo-sosiale omgewing in sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling en werkloosheid te beskryf.

'n Kwalitatiewe, etnografiese benadering is gevolg. Dit het die volgende ingesluit: in-diepte onderhoude met persone wat oor kennis beskik rakende die kulturele, ekonomiese en sosiale konteks in Bethanie, deelnemende-waarneming en psigolinguïstiese ontledings.

Alhoewel daar goeie potensiaal vir ekonomiese ontwikkeling in Bethanie bestaan, word die stat gekenmerk deur ekonomiese stagnasie. Bestaande ekonomiese aktiwiteite bied nie genoegsame werkgeleenthede vir die inwoners nie, en hulle is van areas in die omgewing afhanklik vir werkgeleenthede.

Met betrekking tot Hofstede's se vier waardedimensies, is bevind dat *individualisme en kollektiwisme* nie teenoorgestelde pole op 'n kontinuum is nie, maar in 'n rekursiewe verhouding tot mekaar staan. Ontwikkeling wat uitsluitend op hetsy individualistiese of kollektiwistiese waardes

geskoei is, sal waarskynlik misluk. Die waardesistiem in Bethanie is hoofsaaklik *vroulik* van aard en dit behoort die basis vir ontwikkeling te vorm; die praktiese implementering van ontwikkelingsprojekte behoort egter op manlike waardes gebaseer te wees. *Vermyding van onsekerheid* inhibeer nuwe ekonomiese aktiwiteite of die uitbreiding van bestaande ekonomiese aktiwiteite. In Bethanie is daar 'n groot *magsafstand* sowel as ontoereikende skakeling tussen die gemeenskap en die magsbasis waar besluite geneem word en hulpbronne vir ontwikkeling beheer word.

'n Nie-linêere tydsbelewenis, tesame met die gebruik van tyd om kontinuïteit eerder as vooruitgang te bewerkstellig, inhibeer sosiale en ekonomiese ontwikkeling. Nie-linêere temporaliteit kortwiek die implementering van ontwikkelingsprojekte met 'n langtermyn toekomsoriëntasie en, ten einde suksesvol te wees, moet projekte sigbare korttermyn uitkomst lewer.

Akkulturasie lei tot verskillende uitkomst. Eerstens kan aspekte van 'n ander kultuur in die inheemse kultuur assimileer word, waardeur nuwe vorme van kultuuruitdrukking bewerkstellig word. Tweedens kan die nuwe op die oue afgedwing word om bestaande gebruike te vervang. Derdens, in parallelisme word beide tradisionele en Westerse gebruike nagevolg. Sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling kan langs die weg van al drie hierdie vorme van verandering geskied. Onafgesien die wyse waarop verandering plaasvind, kan mense tydens tye van verandering en onsekerheid, asook wanneer verklarings vir gebeure onduidelik is, hulself opnuut na hul eie kultuur wend. Dit kan 'n positiewe herdefiniëring en identifikasie met die waardes van die binnegroep insluit, asook pogings om weereens beheer oor eie sake te bekom.

Sommige aspekte van kultuur is meer vatbaar vir verandering as ander aspekte. Daarbenewens is sektore van 'n gemeenskap op verskillende vlakke van akkulturasie en ontwikkeling. Dit moet in ontwikkelingsinisiatiewe verreken word. Veelvoudige waardes kan ook tot konflik en fragmentering van die gemeenskap lei.

Strukturele werkloosheid, wat volg uit 'n gebrek aan werkgeleenthede, moet onderskei word van werkloosheid as gevolg van onvolledige transisie vanaf 'n opvoedkundige na 'n werkkonteks. Werkloosheid is voorts 'n sosiale probleem wat onmiddellike optrede vereis ten einde die armoede wat met werkloosheid verband hou, te verlig. Die soort werkloosheid wat voorkom, bepaal die tipes intervensies wat vereis word.

Ontwikkeling kan hetsy seksioneel (wat subgroepe betrek) of op 'n kommunale vlak (wat die hele gemeenskap betrek), plaasvind. Ontwikkeling kan op 'n evolusionêre of 'n revolusionêre wyse geskied, of dit kan deur middel van direkte intervensies bewerkstellig word.

Verskillende faktore wat ontwikkeling bevorder, is geïdentifiseer. Verandering moet veelvuldige sisteme betrek en dit moet op regionale vlak, waardeur dit met verandering in 'n groter konteks in verband gebring word, geskied. Indien die groter konteks in berekening gebring word, kan faktore wat die plaaslike konteks beïnvloed en beheer, verreken word. Ontwikkelingsprojekte moet beide 'n ekonomiese en sosiale fokus hê en sinkroniseer met die gemeenskap se vlak van ontwikkeling, die plaaslike kultuur en leierskap, inheberende en fassiliterende faktore in die fisiese omgewing, geslagsdifferensiasie en die rol van vroue in die gemeenskap.

Ander faktore wat ontwikkeling bevorder sluit in: politieke stabiliteit en veiligheid; deurdringbare grense tussen 'n plaaslike omgewing ('setting') en die eksterne omgewing; toereikende skakeling tussen 'n omgewing en die magsbasis; 'n fokus op die funksionele ontwikkeling van mense sodat hulle in diens geneem kan word en beheer kan neem oor ekonomiese aktiwiteite; blootstelling aan middelklas waardes; dedifferensiasie en groter deelname van die gemeenskap aan besluitneming.

Kernwoorde: Strukturele werkloosheid, transisionele werkloosheid, sisteemteorie, ekonomiese ontwikkeling, sosiale ontwikkeling, oortuigings, waardes, kultuur, landelik, revolusionêre verandering

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Gergen, Massey, Bogazici and Misral (1995), the traditional aim of psychology was to formulate universally applicable theories, and these theories were then tested in different cultures to determine their adequacy, and whether they are truly universal. Thereby culture was relegated to the background, and the distance between Western and local psychology was maintained. However, some researchers explored the limits of psychology in various cultures and showed that not all aspects of Western psychology apply to different cultures, and that Western psychology in some contexts provides pseudo-understanding of people of other cultures. This led to a questioning of Western constructs to understand local realities, which in turn gave rise to a movement towards indigenous forms of psychology that does not obliterate the local culture. However, this does not imply a full abandonment of Western psychology, since there are also aspects of Western psychology that can be used to understand phenomena in other cultures. There are also aspects of indigenous psychologies that could be incorporated to broaden Western psychology. This would imply a revision of global psychology and a reconstruction of psychological knowledge so that it is socially and culturally valid, and locally relevant. The present study aims at contributing to this by examining the role of culture in a psychological perspective on unemployment.

1.2 OBJECTIVE

The aim of this study is to examine psychocultural factors that are related to unemployment amongst the black residents of a semi-rural village in the North West Province. This divides into the following specific objectives:

- to describe how values, belief systems and customs in the community where the study was done, are related to socio-economic development; this also involves changes in values, belief systems and customs due to the contact between the traditional African and Western cultures;
- to describe how socio-economic development is related to unemployment, and, accordingly, how values, belief systems and customs are related to unemployment;

- to describe the role of the physical and psychosocial environment with regard to socio-economic development and unemployment.

With reference to the aim of the study, the concept of unemployment needs to be defined: The Department of Manpower (Kantor & Rees, 1982) defines an unemployed person as someone who desires to work and in addition does not work, attempted to find work during the preceding months, is able to accept a position within one week, and is 15-64 years old (male) or 15-59 years old (female).

There is no precise definition of long-term unemployment. It can, however, be seen to refer to people in their mid-20's and above who have looked for a job over a prolonged period of time, without securing a job. According to Luca and Bruni (1993), a rise in the prevalence of long-term unemployment can be caused by lengthening of the average duration of unemployment, or increasing numbers of people becoming unemployed, or both conditions.

Employment rate and unemployment rate are not direct opposites; the employment rate may rise in an area, whilst unemployment may also grow in the same area. However, the trend most commonly found in the Western world, is that unemployment may grow, whilst employment declines (Luca & Bruni, 1993).

A distinction must be made between formal and informal employment. Informal employment includes micro-employment activities such as subsistence farming, "piece jobs" and street vending. Formal unemployment relates to entering the formal job market, and involves structural unemployment and unemployment as a result of incomplete transition from education to employment.

Structural unemployment relates to the number of jobs that are available. If there are inadequate employment opportunities due to economic factors, structural unemployment arises. However, unemployment is not only based on economic factors, but also involves psychosocial aspects. For example, unemployment includes persons who refuse work because they find the wages or status associated with a job too low (Kantor & Rees, 1982). This means that unemployment does not only relate to a lack of jobs, but that psychological factors also play a role. It also implies that there may be work opportunities, but that these are not utilised. For example, subsistence farming might provide an opportunity for work, but people may not utilise this and may opt to further their education with the view to earn an alternative form of income.

Apart from structural unemployment, unemployment can also be interpreted in terms of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory on ecological transition. During development, there is movement from one setting to another. This is called ecological transition. For example, after completion of school, people have to move into the setting of employment. An incomplete transition results in unemployment. Such incomplete transition could be attributed to a variety of psycho-ecological factors.

In this study, psycho-ecological factors involve various dimensions. It includes, for example, values, cultural belief systems, interpersonal relationships, and perceptions of the physical environment in the community. It also includes resources that are available and these resources can be divided into two broad categories, namely personal resources that make an individual employable, and community based resources, which provide employment. The former includes, for example, education, social support systems (such as other people helping one to obtain employment), and personal financial resources that can assist one, for example, to continue with one's education. The community based resources that provide opportunities for people to have employment include, for example, training facilities, job opportunities and the transport infrastructure.

1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

South Africa has a large and growing long-term unemployment problem. In 1995 one survey put the South African unemployment rate nation-wide at 33%; of these unemployed, 98% had no post-school qualification and 87% were unskilled (RDP Monitor, 1995b). Such large-scale unemployment must be perceived as a major epidemiological catastrophe for many societies (Kieselbach & Svensson, 1988). A survey regarding unemployment in South Africa (The Citizen, 27 June 2001) indicates that the unemployment figure in February 2000 was 27% and in September 2000 it was 26%. These figures exclude self-employment, whereas the 1995 figure referred to above included the self-employed.

Most countries have had to abandon the idea of full employment and accept unemployment rates of 10 - 15% or higher (Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Kieselbach & Svensson 1988; Trent, 1992). If one accepts this as a criterion, it implies that in a country such as South Africa, which has a 27% unemployment figure, about 14% of the rate of unemployment need to be solved. It may be possible to achieve such a target, if one bears in mind that other developing countries have been able to reduce their unemployment rate; Malaysia, for example, in the 1970's solved 13% of its unemployment. Whether this can be achieved depends on a variety of economic, political, social and psychological factors.

Unemployment involves more than only an economic perspective. Having a job entails more than only earning a salary that enables one to obtain essentials. In addition to a sense of security, it can serve as a source for a sense of achievement and can provide status; it helps to structure daily life and alleviates boredom; it can make people feel that they make a meaningful contribution to their families and community and it can thus give a sense of meaning to life; it can form the basis for a sense of independence. On the other hand, being unemployed can foster self-doubt, resentment and lowered self-esteem (Theron, 1992).

The world is experiencing unemployment not seen since 1930 (Ferguson, 1993). This can partly be attributed to the policies of the governments concerned. Governments are often more concerned with inflation reduction, than directly addressing unemployment. According to the International Labour Office (ILO), training and education programmes should be the first priorities, but if this is associated with actual prolonged recession, continuous training without employment opportunities creates problems (Ferguson, 1993). Another factor that could negatively affect the circumstances of the unemployed, is that governments might be hesitant to empower the unemployed, for fear that they might become a powerful pressure group; governments would then rather concentrate on issues such as inflation reduction than uplifting the unemployed (Dooley & Catalano, 1988).

As part of the solution to unemployment in South Africa, large sums of money have been used for developmental projects, such as the development of the former black homelands, but with little or no success (Cross & Hainess, 1988). Various factors should be considered when considering possible reasons for the failure of these developmental attempts, including the following:

- According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), systems are linked with each other and the exo-system (such as the government, people in power and expertise) influences the micro-system (i.e., the local people in a particular community). To be effective, the local people should be able to influence the decision-making of and resource allocation by the people in the power base. Thus if projects are not sufficiently people-centred, in the sense that members of the community are involved in decision-making and resource allocation, such projects are at risk to fail. Countries undergoing structural changes, such as is the case with the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in South Africa, must put people at the centre of economic restructuring.
- Programmes should be developed in conjunction with available expertise (such as the International Labour Organisation). Funding might be available from international and other

sources, but without expertise, little can be achieved. However, access to expertise without meeting other essential requirements, is insufficient. One should be careful to reason in anticipation and to argue that if certain factors are there, success will be guaranteed. For example, under the former Nationalist government of South Africa, when developmental initiatives such as agricultural projects failed, it was said that the programmes by the government did not favour black farmers; in the current situation, with a black government in power, black farmers are favoured, but some of the projects still are not successful. One reason for this is a lack of expertise.

- Concentration on job creation alone does not solve unemployment. Other aspects of unemployment, such as the relationship between aspirations and expectations, employability of an individual, belief systems and values, and work-related values of people must also be taken into consideration.
- Unemployment should not be regarded as only a local problem. It is a global problem and thus what happens in one country is affected by events in other parts of the world. Thus, efforts to address unemployment must take international, national, local community and individual aspects into consideration. It should be approached from a systemic approach.
- A study (Cross & Hainess, 1988) done in KwaZulu showed that although developmental projects undertaken by the government might be necessary, it might meet with resistance and create tension. People might regard it as bureaucracy, in which they have little control. Another reason for resistance could be that developmental activities might clash with local culture, and that the objectives of the government and the objectives of the local community might not be the same.

From the above, it is evident that focussing on economic considerations alone will not alleviate unemployment. To address unemployment, requires insight into the experiences of people who are unemployed. Knowledge of how they experience their unemployment, their aspirations, their perceptions of resources available to them, and their work-related values, could help in developing projects which will be acceptable to them, and which they could implement. Of importance also is that local cultural belief systems and thought patterns have to be accommodated. The aim of this study is to investigate these factors in a semi-rural village.

Some researchers (see, for example, Gergen *et al.*, 1995) are of the view that the culturally engaged psychologist, rather than working toward abstract theoretical formulations, might help to appraise various problems of health, environment, and industrial development in terms of the values, beliefs and motives particular to the culture at hand. Such efforts represent a more practical orientation to the research process. Although this study aims at describing concrete situations, it

also aims at theory development. By studying the principles involved in unemployment and socio-economic development in a particular area, insight can be gained that can be projected to other areas. It can also elucidate how factors in a larger context influence local conditions.

The present study was conducted in Bethanie, which is a village situated about 30km from the nearest town (Brits), and about 75km west of Pretoria. Various considerations lead to the choice of Bethanie as context for this study:

- Bethanie exemplifies the interface between Western and African culture and the problems related to this. Next to traditional structures (which will be discussed later), there are also products of Western influence. Traditional beliefs such as the belief in witchcraft and the role of the ancestors in the daily lives of people, co-exist with Western influences, such as school education and Christian churches.
- Religion plays a fundamental role in African cosmology and is also related to work values. Under the influence of German missionaries, the Lutheran Church gained a strong foothold in Bethanie, and the history of the church was also characterised by dissension (see paragraph 7.3.2), which lead to the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church. This provides an opportunity to investigate the role of religious factors in values, socio-economic restructuring and development, and in unemployment.
- The village is relatively close to metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg and Pretoria, and the smaller town of Brits, and is adjacent to white-owned agricultural farms, thus highlighting the interaction between the village and the broader context. Of importance here is that via these links, one can also discern how globalisation impacts on a semi-rural village.
- The presence of one high school, one middle school and two primary schools provides an opportunity to examine how values are developed through the educational system, and to describe youth unemployment.
- The RDP initiated electrification, water supply and housing projects in the village. This provides an opportunity to study the processes involved when such programmes are implemented. Other developmental initiatives have also been undertaken in the area, such as micro lending by the government, and thus one can also look at this.
- The village has a distinctive physical layout, with a river dividing it into two sections, and there are differences in religion and levels of development in the two sections (see paragraph 7.1). In addition, the village is located between arable land and uncultivated land. This, as well as other physical features of the village (see paragraph 7.1) provides an opportunity to examine the role of the physical environment in shaping the social structure, people's behaviour, and how these in turn are related to socio-economic development and restructuring.

- There is a vanadium mine about 8km from Bethanie, which provides an opportunity to examine how technology impacts on unemployment and how people seek jobs.
- Bethanie is the *moshate* ('capital') of various villages. It has a distinctive history of political conflict and development (described elsewhere in this study), and this renders an opportunity to examine the nature of psycho-political factors in unemployment.
- The researcher is a resident of Bethanie. One of the debates in Psychology deals with the extent to which a discipline that originated from a Euro-American context is applicable to an African environment. The research in this field includes discussions on cultural universals and variations, the need to study the relationship between universal process and cultural systems, and the elucidation of processes of interculturalisation - how cultures conflict and reconfigure through interaction (Gergen *et al.*, 1995). Since the present study was undertaken by a member of the community, it can render an African perspective on the areas of Psychology relevant to this study.

1.4 THEORETICAL APPROACH

Unemployment can be approached from three perspectives, namely that it is an individual developmental problem, secondly that it is a community's problem and thirdly that it has a structural dimension (see, for example, Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The interpretation of unemployment from an individual developmental perspective, can draw upon relevant psychological theories such as Hofstede's (1980) value theory, which takes various cultural settings into consideration; relative deprivation theory (Appelgryn, 1991); and theories on the relationship between aspirations, expectations and how these are related to job seeking and employment.

By interpreting unemployment as a community problem, it is seen as relating to macro-systemic issues, including socio-economic restructuring and changes, such as when industries and employment move from one area to another favourable area. Although social psychology provides useful insights into the social-psychological processes involved, theories that traditionally have a stronger foothold in Sociology, such as revolutionary theory, can help to shed light on this. These include the theories of Durkheim (in Hunt, 1988) and Neo-Marxism (Jaffee, 1986).

The third dimension of unemployment referred to above, is that when structures change, such as when work becomes obsolete, people must be retrained or other job opportunities must be found. Many studies on unemployment are descriptive and are not guided by formal theory (Jahoda, 1988). Theory building is a tool in planning research and interpreting results, in other words to make sense out of the information that is available (Jahoda, 1988). In this context, studies on

unemployment elsewhere in the world, can be used to understand particular aspects of development and employment that cannot be readily interpreted in terms of psychological and sociological theories.

From the above, it is evident that unemployment cannot only be understood from an individual perspective. It must be seen in a broader context, including the family, the community and also broader systems. Aspects of the physical and interpersonal environment (including opportunities and conditions in the community) must also be considered. Since unemployment is related to macro-systemic processes, aspects such as social restructuring, social change and globalisation can be interpreted by integrating relevant economic, political and sociological theories within a systemic approach to unemployment and socio-economic development.

There are various approaches within systems theory. Barker's (in Orford, 1992) setting theory states that the individual is in a state of continuing transactions with various settings. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) systems theory states that there are various levels of systems, ranging from micro level systems (where the individual has direct control and experience), to macro level systems (where individuals have no direct control). An advantage of Bronfenbrenner's approach, is that he indicates how concepts from systems theory, can be applied in different cultural settings.

Barker's theory is useful to understand the micro-system. Whereas the micro-system helps to understand individual aspects of unemployment, such as psychological reactions, the meso-system is useful to understand a variety of interlinking physical settings and contexts, such as the incomplete transition of the adolescent from school to the work environment and the exposure of people from a lower socio-economic class to middle-class values. The macro-systemic level helps to explain and understand the bigger economic, political and social processes that play a role in individual unemployment.

The youth in South Africa pose a specific problem with regard to unemployment and the tension between aspirations and expectations, and the experience of relative deprivation. South African youths comprise more than half the population and since 1976 they have had a powerful influence on the country's development. About half of the youth are in school institutions, large numbers don't complete their education, and many become unemployed (see, for example the HSRC Draft Report, 1991). In view of the important role of the youth in the context of unemployment, specific attention will be given to this aspect.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Various factors are associated with unemployment and socio-economic development. In this study, these correlates and the relationships between them will be examined, with special emphasis on psychocultural factors. For this purpose, a setting that provides a clear illustration of the relevant factors was chosen, namely the village of Bethanie. The meaning of these factors and their interrelationships can only become clear when interpreted in terms of theoretical principles. Since unemployment and socio-economic development is multi-faceted, it is necessary to integrate principles from relevant economic, political and sociological theories within a systemic approach.

CHAPTER 2

UNEMPLOYMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, various aspects related to unemployment will be reviewed. Firstly, factors that affect unemployment will be discussed. The effects of unemployment will be reviewed next, and this will show that unemployment cannot be regarded in isolation but should be seen in a broader context - it affects not only the unemployed individual but also other systems of which he/she is part. The long-term and short-term effects of unemployment will also be referred to.

Of particular relevance in the South African context, are problems amongst the youth. The youth have played an important role in the struggle for liberation and the establishment of democracy in South Africa. Part of their role can be interpreted in terms of their aspirations, and the relative deprivation they experience in various domains of life, including the economic domain. Thus relative deprivation theory will be discussed at some length, and its relationship with social turmoil and conflict will be indicated. The problems of the youth include unemployment and this will be described in terms of incomplete transition from school to the work environment.

2.2 FACTORS AFFECTING UNEMPLOYMENT

According to Kieselbach and Svensson (1988), the following factors play a role in the growth of unemployment:

- wage and wage flexibility; a rigid wage structure may contribute to large numbers of people remaining unemployed, whilst wage flexibility implies that wages could be brought down so that more people can be employed;
- labour supply, i.e. the number of people capable of occupying jobs; a large labour supply coupled with low labour demand (i.e., the number of unoccupied jobs available), contributes to unemployment;
- inflation; high inflation generally has a negative effect on the economy, thus affecting employment; however, re-inflation of the economy is not a solution to the unemployment problem; it may give rise to temporary employment, but the problem of unemployment usually

re-emerges, because the real underlying causes of unemployment are not addressed (Mazumdar, 1986).

- region; this refers to the fact that employment opportunities differ in different regions;
- skill, i.e. the levels of education and skill training influence access to jobs, and thus the rate of unemployment;
- age (this is discussed elsewhere);
- gender (this is discussed elsewhere);
- problems related to specific sectors of society, such as the youth (this is discussed elsewhere);

Factors such as wage and wage flexibility, labour supply and inflation are mainly economic issues, whereas the employability of a person (which is related to education and skill training), age, gender and specific problems of particular sectors of society are related to individual and social factors. As will be indicated later in this study, political stability as well as cultural factors, including values and belief systems, also affect unemployment. It is thus evident that unemployment is not uni-dimensional, but comprises a complexity of interrelated factors. Interventions to address unemployment will accordingly have to take these various factors into account.

2.3 EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the following paragraphs, the effects of unemployment will be discussed with reference to direct and indirect effects. This will be followed by a discussion of its effects on the broader community, and how it contributes to economic stress. Thereafter three studies conducted by Elder (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) regarding the effects of the 1930 depression, will be reviewed.

2.3.2 THE DIRECT EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The direct influence of unemployment relates to the effects it has on the person who is unemployed. Losing one's job is one of the biggest stressors a person can experience. Research (e.g., Standing, 1986; Trent, 1992) has shown that long-term unemployment can have the following deleterious effects on a person:

- The person's mental health, and his or her sense of identity and self-esteem, may be affected negatively. Being unemployed, makes an immense difference to people's views of themselves and of their future. One of the overall effects of unemployment is that it may encourage a person to redefine himself as a second class citizen, someone with no vision of the future and

with no hope (Trent, 1992). Demographic variables mediate the nature of the effects of unemployment on mental well-being. For example, the effects of long-term unemployment on women often appear in the form of depression, while men more often tend to present with alcohol abuse, which in turn gives rise to other complications (Trent, 1992).

- Becoming unemployed may decrease a person's support system, thus depriving him or her of a resource to deal with the stress of unemployment (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).
- The person's personal financial position, and that of his or her family, is likely to be negatively affected. This in turn may influence the person's self-esteem, and lead to a loss of a sense of control. It is especially the decrease in the possibility of the individual to control his own life which causes stress and leads to increased risks for psychological and physiological stress (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).
- The person's likelihood of becoming employed again may be affected, for example by adopting a life-style that relies on social grants (Brenner & Starrin, 1988). It has been found that large numbers of long-term unemployed do not become reintegrated into the productive community, and they become converted into a very large group for whom only extensive social welfare pension is feasible, which may require that more restrictive conditions for unemployment benefits be imposed (Standing, 1986).
- Physical well-being, for example, increases in blood pressure, and immune defence reactions have been found to be associated with unemployment (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).

Stress is not only associated with actual unemployment, but also with potential unemployment. In a study (Brenner & Starrin, 1988) done on plant shutdown, the strongest stress reactions were found in the phase immediately preceding the plant shutdown, confirming the hypothesis that potential unemployment is a threatening event. Many of the newly unemployed actually recovered in the period following the shutdown. However, stress gradually increased to higher levels of chronic stress due to the daily and increasingly disturbing anxieties associated with permanent unemployment. For the group as a whole, adaptation took place, but for a small proportion of individuals, a high level of chronic stress developed, characterised by depression and negative physiological change (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).

2.3.3 THE INDIRECT EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment not only affects the unemployed, but could also affect those who are employed. An indirect way in which unemployment can influence people in general, is that they may fear of also becoming unemployed; in other words, job insecurity may arise (Iverson & Sabroe, 1988).

Several studies have shown that job insecurity affects psychological well-being and has deleterious physiological effects, such as increased blood pressure and frequent medical consultations (Iverson & Sabroe, 1988).

These findings suggest that things such as plant closure and dismissals (whether actual or potential) affect not only those who are unemployed, but also many of those who remain employed. The health consequences of unemployment, and more generally of economic instability, therefore apply not only to unemployed people, but also to the large group of employed people whose conditions of employment are uncertain or whose jobs are temporary (Iverson & Sabroe, 1988).

Since these insecure groups are numerically larger than the number of unemployed people, it follows that a considerable amount of unemployment related health consequences on a societal level can be found among employed people even though they experience less direct strain than unemployed people. It is also likely that there is a considerable overlap between unemployed people and groups in the work force whose jobs have a great deal of insecurity, and that these people will be caught in a vicious circle, alternating between direct strain of being unemployed and the indirect strain created through job insecurity (Iverson & Sabroe, 1988).

2.3.4 UNEMPLOYMENT AS A PUBLIC ISSUE

Increased unemployment is associated with societal vulnerability, social polarisation (i.e., between the "haves" and the "have-nots") and a weakening of community ties. In different regions, there are variations in job opportunities, and for different categories of workers. For example, areas surrounding larger population centres and in industrial areas, may provide work for skilled and white collar workers, but at the same time there may be many unskilled and unemployed people. The unemployed may then migrate to other areas to secure employment, thereby weakening their ties with their communities of origin. Under these conditions the community is more vulnerable to deterioration, which is associated with increased morbidity and mortality (Brenner & Starrin, 1988). Unemployment may also affect the moral fabric of society, and contribute to separation or divorce, or child abuse (Elder & Caspi, 1988).

In the context of unemployment, a vulnerable community is a community where job opportunities and control over these opportunities are strictly limited, and where the inhabitants are no longer really able to determine and influence development, because the power is in the hands of external decision makers (Brenner & Starrin, 1988). Unemployment thus indicates shortcomings in the local

community's ability to influence developments and to meet people's needs.

Unemployment can be regarded as a social problem in the sense that people recognise it as a common concern to be solved. When a community is hit by unemployment the effect is much greater than simply the fact that more and more people are out of work. The social infrastructure is transformed and this creates stress. It is maintained that the combination of lack of opportunities to influence one's life and mental strain, creates negative stress, which in turn can lead to various illnesses such as cardiovascular diseases (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).

2.3.5 ECONOMIC STRESS

Economic stress refers to the pressure and strains that arise from a substantial income loss, in contrast to the circumstances of chronic hardship or poverty (Elder & Caspi, 1988). It is generally accepted that a sudden drop in the customary standard of living from whatever level is hardly conducive to mental well-being (Jahoda, 1988).

Drastic economic changes disrupt customary ways of living and behaving and thereby establish a disjuncture between what families would prefer to have, and what resources they have to achieve these aspirations. Such drastic economic losses are surprisingly common and widespread in our modern society. Research on family income indicates that income is highly volatile over the life span (Elder & Caspi, 1988).

Economic stress can result from economic as well as social factors:

- Economic stress is not necessarily associated with unemployment; instead of laying off workers, firms may spread the work by placing all employees on a limited working hour basis with a commensurate drop in their income (Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Elder & Caspi, 1988).
- Family events, especially change in family composition (such as the birth of a child; or the death of a breadwinner), are often coupled with substantial decline in the money a family has available (Elder & Caspi, 1988).

The effects of unemployment can be further explained with reference to three studies Elder (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) conducted in the United States of America. These studies will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

2.3.6 THE ELDER STUDIES

Elder's (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) studies were based on the view that historical events affect people. These were longitudinal studies, which investigated the psychological effects of the 1930 economic depression on the youth and the family. The first study deals with children who were born about ten years before the onset of the economic decline and thus lived through the depression. The second study deals with men who were born at the onset of the depression. The third study deals with women in Berkely who were also born at the onset of the depression. Elder thus compared the life course development of those who had, and those who had not been exposed to the 1930 economic depression during their puberty and adolescent years. The first is referred to as the Oakland study and the second two as the Berkely studies.

2.3.6.1 Oakland Study

In the Oakland study, the subjects were born during the period 1920 to 1921, and the study can be interpreted in terms of the short-term and long-term effects of economic changes.

Short-term influence of economic changes

The immediate effect of the depression was emotional stress, which was also visible in the children. There was an emerging dominance of the mother in those families hit hardest by the depression. The children perceived their fathers' status to be lowering as their mothers' importance increased. These shifts were the result of the perceived failure of the father as breadwinner, and the resultant shift of economic responsibility to the mother and other family members. Within the Western culture, which emphasises individual responsibility and self-sufficiency and the role of the man as breadwinner, the male victims of the depression were blamed, and they also tended to blame themselves for the general economic problems that were experienced. The latter implies that they tended to take responsibility for events beyond their control. There was thus a diffusion of the boundary between individual and community responsibility. Jahoda (1988) also holds the view that economic problems are not only an individual's problem, but also a community's problem and that it is difficult to draw a line between the individual and the community. This illustrates how events and processes in the macro-system can affect an individual.

The families in the Oakland study responded to economic losses by restructuring resources and relationships (Elder & Caspi, 1988). In addition to the children showing a greater preference for the

mother over the father (as indicated earlier), they also expressed a stronger identification with their peer group. According to Elder (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) the children became more involved with their peers and this tendency was stronger among boys from deprived homes. The reason for this was that they found support amongst their peers, which filled the gap left by inadequate support by their families.

Peer group pressure may undermine adult socialisation effects, and encourage egocentrism, aggression and antisocial behaviour (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In this manner, increased exposure to peer group influences may have contributed to the impaired educational, vocational and psychological development exhibited by the adult males in the Berkely sample (see below).

According to Elder and Caspi (1988), income loss led to new modes of economic maintenance that included the entry of mothers and children into productive roles as earners; boys with unemployed fathers entered outside jobs, and girls took over more domestic functions. In general, children became more involved in household activities, such as food preparation, laundry and cleaning. The children became more self-reliant, adult-oriented and showed greater career maturity. There was also residential doubling-up of family units and reduction in expenditure (Elder & Caspi, 1988).

In times of hardship, such as an economic depression, the youth have meaningful roles to play both within and outside their families, for example to help earn an income for the family. However, in times of affluence this falls away and this may result in delinquency. The same may also occur when work opportunities for school-aged children decline, and youth unemployment increases: school achievement may drop at the same time that vandalism, violence in schools and juvenile delinquency increase (Elder, in Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Long-term effects of economic changes

The long-term effect of the depression depended on gender and social status at the time the family was exposed to the depression. Sons whose families were hardest hit by the depression, profited from the exposure. For both middle-class and working class, these boys arrived at a firmer vocational commitment in late adolescence, and were more mature in vocational interest than in instances of non-deprived parents. In adulthood, these boys entered a stable career at an earlier age, developed a more orderly career, and followed the aspired occupation. These trends were more marked for middle-class men. Working class boys were often unable to obtain higher education, and this restricted the level of occupation they could attain.

Outside the work context, these men were family centred, and they preferred family activities to self-centred leisure-time or community activities. They viewed children as a major source of gratification. In adult life, women from deprived families emphasised the maternal role that had been enacted by their mothers.

Adults whose families had escaped economic depression were less successful both educationally and vocationally. It seems that a childhood that shelters the young from the hardships of life, could fail to develop adaptive capacities which are called upon in life crises. To solve real life problems in childhood and adolescence is to prepare oneself for adulthood.

2.3.6.2 The Berkeley study on men

The Berkeley study on males only comprised subjects who were born in the period 1928 to 1929. It was postulated that the depression had more adverse and enduring developmental outcomes on the lives of men who encountered it as young children than at a later stage. The developmental effect of the depression was anticipated to be greater during the formative years than in the subsequent years. Because of their more vulnerable positions, boys from working class families were expected to be more adversely affected in their development by the depression than their middle-class counterparts.

The comparison of boys born about ten years before the depression, and those who were born at the onset of the depression, yielded results that showed greater vulnerability of younger children to the stresses generated by economic hardship. Whereas the family's economic hardship had a positive effect on the life course development of middle-class boys who experienced the depression as adolescents, the opposite occurred for boys who had lived through their early childhood during this period.

Sons from both the middle and working class, whose families had suffered income loss, ranked lower on high school grades and aspiration than the non-deprived and they were less likely to complete college. Thus, for the young child, the depression controlled a major gateway to success in the adult years.

Youths not in college did not show significant differences between those who were deprived and those who were not deprived. Men who came from deprived families and who were not in college:

- entered the labour force at an earlier age than the non-deprived;

- spent a larger proportion of their work life in manual jobs;
- exhibited a more unstable work pattern.

The developmental effects in the period after adolescence, presented in the form of a disturbed work pattern and psychological problems exhibited by those men from deprived homes who did not go to college. If they entered college, men with deprived histories were more likely than the non-deprived to embark on a course that produced substantial work life achievement. The men who attended tertiary education, and who were observed in adolescence as submissive and indecisive, quickly established themselves career-wise and stayed within their line of work. The successful career pattern which characterised the college entrants among the deprived group, was accompanied by evidence of positive changes in other domains of psychological functioning such as military service, a rewarding work-life, emotional support and the gratification of marriage and family life.

2.3.6.3 The Berkeley study on women

Whereas boys whose early childhood occurred during the depression were mostly adversely affected in their development, the Berkeley girls from deprived families fared well and appeared more goal-oriented, self-adequate, and assertive in adolescence than the daughters of non-deprived parents. In a more general sense, women seem to show greater staying power than men. This may be due to differences in social expectations for the two genders, for example, social pressure on males to drop out of school into either political rebellion, work-seeking or crime (Hyslop, 1999)

Boys from deprived families lost more in their affection for their fathers, and gained less in warmth towards their mothers, when compared to girls. The depression in Berkeley weakened the tie between father and son while increasing the solidarity of mother and daughter. Both outcomes were contingent on the pre-depression marital bond. When inadequate as a family earner, the father's relationship with his son and daughter depended on the strength of the marital bond and the wife's support. Under conditions of marital harmony, economic loss actually enhanced the relationship of father with son and daughter. In the absence of this precondition, deprived girls acquired closer ties with their mothers, when compared to the non-deprived, whereas deprived boys generally lost emotional support in relation to their mothers and especially their fathers (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

2.3.6.4 Conclusion

In general, it appears that children who lived through the depression as adolescents, profited from the experience in years to come. Their development was enhanced in later years, as a result of their exposure to economic deprivation. The labour-intensive economy of deprived households brought older children into the world of adults. These children had the chance and responsibility to make a contribution to the welfare of others. Being needed gives rise to a sense of belonging and commitment to something larger than the self.

Elder's studies also showed that getting an education has a positive effect on getting employment, and on people's quality of life. Thus, transitional unemployment depends on education. However, furthering one's education depends on both broader political, social, psychological and economic conditions in society. If economic conditions are poor and prospects for obtaining a job are low, and if people are not motivated to obtain education (for example, as a result of political upheaval), or do not have realistic aspirations, they may not be motivated to continue with their education.

2.4 THE SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

An overriding impression is that throughout the world unemployment, poverty and wars cause many problems concerning the youth. Also in South Africa, the unemployment figure among the youth is extremely high and far more young women than young men are without work (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). South Africa was also ravaged by revolutionary upheaval, especially during the 1970's and the 1980's, which had a negative impact on the education and employment of the youth. This reflects the interlinking of systems, and supports the views of Neo-Marxism (Jaffee, 1986) that a crisis in one domain spills over to crises in other domains.

According to Elder and Caspi (1988) economic crises, such as the depression of the 1930s, have a beneficial effect on the youth in the sense that they became involved in the running of the family, which gives them a sense of being needed and belonging. In South Africa, however, the youth did not so much fulfil an economic role as was the case in the Elder studies, but they did and continue play an important political role. The children who became politically involved in the liberation struggle, also experienced the beneficial effect of feeling that they were making a worthwhile contribution to their people. However, in the process, the authority of the father, which had already

been weakened by the political system, was further undermined.

Similar to Elder's (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) findings in Oakland, the youth found support amongst their peers, which filled the gap left by inadequate political involvement by their parents. This peer group involvement may have contributed to impaired educational and vocational involvement amongst the youth. The South African youth are often referred to as the '*Lost Generation*' (HSRC Draft Report, 1991), which refers to children who during the last quarter of the 20th Century grew up without the supervision of parents or other adults. These children refused to listen to their parents or their teachers, and also did not attend school (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

Although economic hardship contributed towards the youth's political role, other factors were also important. Their numerical strength played a part in the youth seeking political power and undermining parental authority (Hyslop, 1999). The proportion of younger people is constantly growing in relation to the proportion of older people. It is estimated that around 46% of the total African population are under 20 years old, but some put the figure much higher. The sheer numerical weight of the youth in society, has put them at the centre of crises in society (Wilson, 1987).

It is unlikely that the problems around the youth will be solved easily. Even if all social, political and economic problems were solved overnight, those who were youths during the political upheaval which occurred in South Africa during the 1970's and 1980's, may still not be able to fit in the system. Most of them have not acquired educational qualifications or skills, and they thus could only be used for unskilled labour (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

2.4.2 EDUCATION

Research in developed countries has shown that level of education is related to finding a job, to job tenure and to long-term job security. Luca and Bruni (1993) found in Italy that a university degree provided the highest chance of finding a job and keeping it; in contrast, people with lower education were more likely to remain outside the labour force.

Also in South Africa, it has been found (Van Zyl-Slabbert, Malan, Marais, Oliver & Riordan (1994) that people with low education do not look for jobs. This could possibly be attributed to the perception that they do not stand a chance to get a job that fits their high aspirations. However, those people in Luca and Bruni's (1993) study who had low education and who looked for a job

found it easily, but they tended not to keep their jobs, thus experiencing numerous unemployment spells throughout their working life.

Education pays off in terms of employment, if it is pursued to the highest level. Pursuing an advanced education and selecting technical or economic marketable fields of specialisation, provide protection against unemployment (Luca & Bruni, 1993). It is, however, not always possible to obtain advanced education. Macro-systemic processes such as economic depression may prevent people from obtaining higher levels of education (Elder & Caspi, 1988).

Although opportunities might be greater for youth with more skills and education in industrialised countries, this does not mean that completion of tertiary education is a guarantee for high level jobs (Mussen, Conger, Kagan & Huston, 1990). A rise in the number of graduates may lead to an oversupply of graduates, leaving students with little prospects of finding work (Mussen *et al.*, 1990; Trent, 1992). The danger is that a better-qualified labour supply could merely raise the educational level of the unemployed (Luca & Bruni, 1993). Not all occupations that require a degree will be overcrowded, however, because a degree is still needed for most high-paying and high status jobs. Moreover, unemployment rates are lower for college graduates (Mussen *et al.*, 1990). According to Rice (1992) studies of dropouts show that the persons who completed high school have a better chance of getting employment, than those who leave school earlier. In a South African study, 92% of youths regarded matric and a higher qualification as a necessary requirement for earning a good living (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

Poor performance in school can be explained in terms of the dynamics or processes in the meso-system. The effectiveness of public education is not only dependent on the school itself, but in its interconnections with other settings in the society. The existence and importance of these interconnections or their absence can be inferred from the observed effects. For example, in a study by Hayes and Grether (cited by Bronfenbrenner, 1979) in New York City, about half of the differences in the reading abilities and work knowledge between white and black students, were associated with the times the students were not at school. This means that a substantial difference in academic achievement across social class and race can be attributed to what goes on out of school. The role that schooling plays in transitional unemployment is thus not only dependent on what happens in the school itself, but also on broader processes in the community.

Ogbu (cited in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) studied American children's poor performance in school. He studied the interactions between the school and other settings in the larger society, which shows the impact of exo-systems on the functioning of the school. He explained failure at school as an

adaptation to the limited opportunities for social and economic mobility. This adaptation has three components:

- students' failure to perform at the highest possible level;
- patron-client relationships between personnel and parents, i.e., the existence of a hierarchical relationship, in which the personnel are regarded as at a higher level, and the parents following the directives and decisions of the personnel. (The patron-client relationship relates to the people who make the important decisions about a school, such as teachers, counsellors and administrators. In a broader sense, the taxpayer also plays a role in decision-making);
- school personnel tended to define educational problems as clinical problems, and to pursue these clinical problems in their efforts to address the academic problems.

One result of the definition of educational problems as clinical problems and of the patron-client relationship, was that various educational reforms were imposed on the community to counteract cultural deprivation, without the understanding or agreement of the parents and without touching on fundamental social problems such as discrimination and unemployment.

Ogbu also inferred from his interviews and observations of parent-child interaction that parents were communicating a double message. They urged their children to succeed in school and to aspire to high status occupations, and the children internalised these aspirations. However, the parents also told their children that they were going to be victims of discrimination and that their most strenuous efforts would be frustrated. The effects of the second message were evident not only in school failure but in the widespread tendency of children to doubt that they would attain the high goals they set for themselves.

The interrelationship between the educational setting and the broader context, can also be seen in the educational system that prevailed in South Africa during the last quarter of the 20th Century. Before South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, the policy of the government was to expand the schools so as to provide more black semi-skilled, technical, clerical and junior managerial employees (Hyslop, 1999). The above school expansion corresponded to changes in the labour requirements of an economy where overall numbers of jobs were stable, the proportion of unskilled labour required was dropping, the proportion of semiskilled and skilled labour was rising. There was thus an expansion of the number of children who were being educationally prepared for a job market that afforded less and less opportunities. Another reason for the school expansion was that it was an effective means of social control over black youth by the state, i.e., that it would be easier to control the students in schools (Hyslop, 1999).

The state's attempts to deal with problems of labour supply and social control by expanding the schools, generated problems. Teachers had to cope with growing numbers of students from a wide age range in the same class, and the high number of older pupils in relatively junior classes created tense disciplinary relations. Another issue was that school expansion helped to mobilise and unite black youths by placing them in a common institution with a common set of problems, thus making them a force within society. The schools served as a place where the children could discuss their problems and solutions after school hours, without the help and guidance of elders, and this was not a conducive for the development of the young people (Hyslop, 1999).

Progress in the school system was also inefficacious in obtaining employment, because of the great pressure on the job market. Since the mid-1970s, rapidly growing numbers of black youth passed through a rapidly growing school system, but on exiting from that system were faced with a stagnating labour market which offered few opportunities to most of them. Those who left the school system and were not able to break into the labour market thus formed a very sizeable group of people in their teens and early twenties. This social layer provided a social base for the youth movement outside the schools (Hyslop, 1999).

Economic, institutional and demographic factors conspired to generate the student and youth movement. Changes in the political arena were of great importance in sparking these movements. Thus the events of the 1976 uprising amongst the youth, must be seen and explained in the context of the fall of the Portuguese colonies, the revival of the labour movement in South Africa, and the rise of Black Consciousness ideology that occurred at the same time. Similarly, the student movements after 1984 need to be related to the crisis around the Tricameral constitution and the upsurge of community struggles (Hyslop, 1999).

The foregoing discussion indicates that education plays an important role in whether a person gets employment or not, but that education on its own is not a guarantee for employment. The reason for this is that the educational system is linked to other systems and that employment is dependent on the opportunities created by the interaction between these systems.

2.4.3 YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

2.4.3.1 Introduction

Youth unemployment is a world-wide problem and has been described as becoming worse in the industrialised countries such as Italy, Spain and Britain (Luca & Bruni, 1993; Standing, 1986). In South Africa, youths comprise the largest single component of the South African population (HSRC Draft Report, 1991), and most of the unemployed in the country are under 29 years old (RDP Monitor, 1995b). Care should, however, be taken when generalising about youth unemployment, since the role of age varies in different countries, as well as during different periods in a country's history, depending on the broader social, political and economic environment (Mazumdar, 1986).

What is regarded as youth unemployment, differs between countries, depending on the definition of youth. Mazumdar (1986) used the age range of 15-19 years whereas the RDP Monitor and Van Zyl-Slabbert *et al.* (1994) use the age range of 15 to 29 years to indicate youth. Following Trent (1992), for the purpose of this study, youth is regarded as ranging from 15 years to the mid 20's.

2.4.3.2 Causes

Many problems of the youth can be explained in terms of a breakdown of the interconnection between the various segments of the child's life - family, school, peer group, neighbourhood, and the rejecting world of work (i.e., children not having access to their parents' workplace) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The breakdown in interconnections between the family and educational institution on the one hand, and the work environment on the other hand, may have various effects on the youth. These effects include a lack of knowledge about job opportunities, a lack of knowledge about job demands, unrealistic perceptions and inadequate training. This creates difficulties to move from one setting to the other, and may thus contribute to transitional unemployment. Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes a process he calls incomplete ecological transition. This means that the person was unable to transfer from one level of development to a higher level of development. In the case of youth unemployment, this means that the person did not make the transition from home and school, to employment.

In addition to incomplete ecological transition, there are also various economic work-related reasons that explain youth unemployment. The following are some of these reasons:

- Minimum wage legislation pertaining to adult wages has priced-out young workers from employment, since the latter do not have the skills or experience to fill the positions for which minimum wages are specified (Rice, 1992; Standing 1986). In general, youths have little training, little skill, and little experience (Rice, 1992).

- Women have taken many of the jobs that would have been occupied by youth according to previous patterns of employment (Standing, 1986).
- Job structures have changed to the disadvantage of the youth (Standing, 1986).
- The policy that the last people to be hired should be first fired during recession, is to the disadvantage of the youth (Standing, 1986).
- The procedure of granting licences to operate a business, may restrict youths from entry into business (many youths do not meet the requirements with regard to age, experience and capital which are set in order to get a licence to open a business) (Rice, 1992).
- Union requirements also limit participation of the youth (Rice, 1992).
- Many jobs in transportation, construction, manufacturing and agriculture are closed to the youth because of the legal minimum ages for hazardous work (Rice, 1992).
- A Malaysian study indicated a supply-demand imbalance in the market for educated labour as the basic cause of youth unemployment. The imbalance was caused by an increase of secondary school leavers well in excess to the growth rate of low grade white collar occupations, together with a slow change in the school leavers' occupational preferences (Mazumdar, 1986).

Although economic reasons such as those given above can lead to increased rates of unemployment, they cannot, on their own, explain a given distribution of unemployment among age groups or the evolution of unemployment (Luca & Bruni, 1993). Various factors operate in interaction with each other. This can be illustrated with reference to the interaction between economic factors on the one hand, and occupational preference and aspirations on the other hand, as follows:

The structural problem of unemployment may result from a combination of rigidity in occupational preference, and limited wage flexibility when labour supply runs ahead of demand. Relative wages may drop sufficiently to enable employers to absorb larger numbers of people. If this does not happen, employers tend to adjust by upgrading the educational requirement of the labour force thus forcing job seekers of particular educational skills to lower their expectations and accept jobs

of lower skills. But the required change in occupational preference comes gradually and the speed with which the change occurs determines the period of unemployment which the new entrants into the labour market experience (Mazumdar, 1986).

Emson-Warner and Krahn (1992) investigated whether labour market difficulties have a negative effect on the occupational aspiration of graduating high school students. They interviewed 655 Canadian teenagers in the senior year of high school and again one year later. Higher status occupations were over-represented in the responses at Time 1 with 66% aspiring to positions of middle management or higher, and only 12% of the students aspired to semiskilled or unskilled jobs. When the respondents were interviewed at Time II, it was found that those students who were in the labour force since Time 1 had reduced their occupational aspirations.

The discussion above about the causes of youth unemployment, shows that the latter is multi-dimensional and comprises personal (e.g., aspirations, education and family circumstances), social (e.g. age and gender roles) and macro-systemic (e.g. national legislation) factors. This implies that any effort to understand the nature of youth unemployment in a particular setting, must take these factors into consideration.

2.5 ASPIRATIONS

Aspirations should be distinguished from expectations. Aspirations refer to what a person would like to have, whereas expectations refer to what the person expects to get (Mussen *et al.*, 1990; Rice, 1992). In the context of this study, expectations refer to what the person believes could help him to get out of the cycle of poverty. Aspirations refer to the realism of a person's expectations regarding work. It includes aspects such as what kind of job the person would like to get, what he regards as necessary to get a job, how accurate his information is, and what resources can be utilised, and who influences the person in this regard.

In the following paragraphs, aspirations will be discussed with reference to the role of aspirations in the motivation of people, the aspirations of the black youth and of women, factors that influence aspirations and the relationship between job aspirations and job opportunities.

2.5.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASPIRATIONS AND MOTIVATION

Motivation can be described as a general cluster of factors that play a role in determining behaviour. These factors include needs, aspirations and objectives. Human motivation can be conceptualised as occurring in a series of stages. Each stage is activated by a stimulus that can be of a physiological or psychological nature, or it may come from the environment. The stimulus produces a state of heightened activity that leads to the formation of aspirations and/or objectives on a psychological level. This activation as well as the concomitant aspirations and objectives, influence behaviour that is aimed at the gratification of the aspirations and objectives. As soon as the latter is satisfied, the motivation chain is completed and a state of rest begins until a new stimulus develops (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

The intensity and direction of behaviour are determined by two factors. The first factor is the tenacity of the individual's expectation of being able to attain a specific goal or aspiration. The second factor is the value that the individual attaches to the goal or aspiration. Behaviour will therefore be more purposeful if a person aspires to an objective to which that person attaches a high value and believes that what he or she does to achieve the objective, will be successful. A person's aspiration level for a specific issue will depend on how that individual perceives the issue, the potential consequences of success or failure and perceptions of his own abilities. If success has already been experienced, the person will tend to set higher objectives and aspirations. If failure has been experienced, the tendency will be to set lower objectives. However, if a person has a very high aspiration level, even higher objectives may be set (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

Maslow's (HSRC Draft Report, 1991) theory of human needs clarifies how environmental, psychological and physiological stimuli can influence human motivation and thus also aspiration levels. According to Maslow, human behaviour is determined not only by rational thought, but also by the subjective experiences that constitute the individual's personal reality.

Maslow described a hierarchy of human needs, as depicted in Figure 1. A person experiences new needs once the previous needs are satisfied. If a person's physiological needs remain unsatisfied, they can dominate almost all objectives and aspirations. However, if the more basic needs are satisfied, the higher level needs that are necessary for psychological well-being can develop and the individual's attention will be focused on emotional needs such as security. If a person feels secure, affiliation needs develop. The need for appreciation and acknowledgement is the next to develop. If a person feels worthwhile, then needs for self-actualisation can develop (Allport, 1961).

Maslow's theory on needs can be used to interpret the implications of unemployment. The latter may lead to a person's basic physiological needs and security needs not being met, with the result that these needs dominate other objectives and aspirations. The need for affiliation may be expressed in the formation of groups amongst the unemployed, who may engage in collective action to alleviate their position. In addition, being employed can provide a sense of achievement and status, and may contribute to the feeling that one contributes to one's family and community. On the other hand, being unemployed can foster self-doubt, resentment and lowered self-esteem (see, for example, Theron, 1992). The foregoing illustrates that although Maslow's theory gives attention to internal motivation, it also makes provision for the interaction between people and their environment and the possibility that people can change in response to changes in the environment.

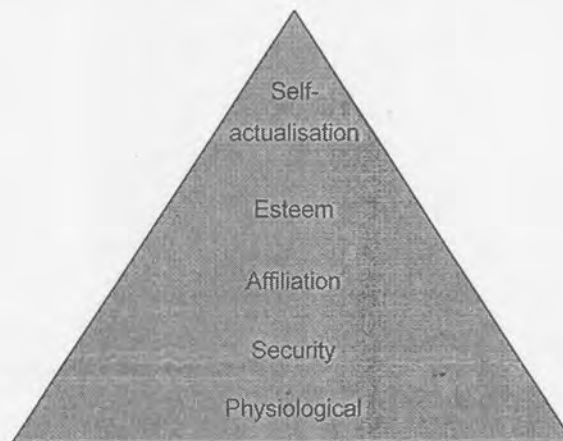


Figure 1 : Maslow's hierarchy of needs

2.5.2 ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACK YOUTH

In the following paragraphs, aspirations in the South African black youth will be discussed, with specific reference to educational and job aspirations.

2.5.2.1 Educational aspirations

In a study amongst South African black youths (HSRC Draft Report, 1991), educational matters proved to be the cornerstone on which many other expectations, aspirations and future orientations were founded. All the respondents in the study saw education as a means whereby other needs and wishes could be fulfilled. Education was not only seen as enabling people to satisfy basic needs such as getting a good job, and to pay for food and shelter, but was also closely linked to

esteem and self-actualisation needs. Education was seen as a way to overcome feelings of inferiority in relation to whites (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). Brandel-Syrier (1978) also describes how school and university training is seen as a golden key to success and happiness. It is seen as opening doors to a safe economic position, which could take one out of a cycle of poverty. It is a road to progress and academic failure is accordingly also seen as failing in life.

The importance placed on education as the means to fulfil most of their needs and aspirations and the feelings of deprivation following comparisons between the black and white education systems, could explain the intense frustration of the black youth with their educational situation towards the end of the 20th Century (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). Although black and white education is no longer separate and efforts have been made to improve conditions at the traditionally black educational institutions, the legacies of the past have not been erased fully yet.

In the same study referred to above (HSRC Draft Report, 1991), questions on the respondents' own educational aspirations revealed a tendency toward highly inflated aspirations; most wanted a degree or diploma. A new non-racist society held the promise that there would be equal opportunities for all and that most of the youth would be educated and be able to succeed and fulfil their dreams. Most of the respondents were, however, well aware that they would also have to work and study very hard in order to attain their goals (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

2.5.2.2 Occupational aspirations

When a government addresses job creation, it should also look at the aspirations and ambitions of its youth (Erwee, 1981). In one study amongst black youths in South Africa, highly inflated occupational aspirations were evident when respondents were asked what jobs they would like to have if they had a free choice. The majority of the respondents in the study mentioned white-collar jobs (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). In another study (Cloete, 1981), it was found that the vast majority of black South African students aspire to enter occupations

- at a professional level; or
- at a semi-professional level; or
- in social service such as teaching, nursing and medicine; these are higher status categories, and these occupations are also in greatest demand; or
- in the organisational field.

According to the HSRC Draft Report (1991), the social value of occupations is a major reason for certain job preferences. A sense of social responsibility was especially noticeable among the student respondents and the school-going children, but was less prominent amongst other groups such as the non-schooling respondents and street children. The poverty and unique problems of the black community often served as the motivation for choosing specific professions (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). This could be related to collectivistic values in black society which emphasise a sense of responsibility towards other members of the community (Hofstede, 1980).

Job aspirations are related to the motivational needs of people, and also differ from community to community. The cultural relativity of aspirations can be illustrated by comparing the ambitions of the South African youths with the aspirations of American youths. American young people want to combine the following in their work:

- a challenging work that promotes self-expression;
- a high income which provides economic security, and adequate opportunities for promotion; and
- sufficient free time for outside interests (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

These aspirations reflect individualistic values, which are in contrast to the collectivistic values implicit in the aspirations of black youths, as indicated above.

The occupational aspirations of the South African black youth referred to above are people-oriented. However, the country's economy cannot indefinitely absorb people in these professions and expectations will have to be shifted away from people-oriented to thing-oriented occupations (such as farming, manufacturing, and the various trades) (Cloete, 1981).

Expectations and aspirations may not coincide, and the degree of divergence may differ from group to group. When given a free choice, respondents in the HSRC-study showed there was little difference between students, school-going children and unemployed youth with regard to their *aspirations*, but there were differences between the groups with regard to their *expectations*. The expectations of the students and school-going children remained high and most of them were confident that they would obtain high-status occupations. The expectation of the unemployed youths and street children were considerably lower than their aspiration. The difference between expectations and aspirations was most evident among the street children (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

2.5.3 THE ASPIRATIONS OF WOMEN

In the context of employment, the aspirations of women can be discussed in terms of three main categories, namely full-time employment, full-time home-makers and a group between the two.

Whereas the traditional role of women was seen to be that of home-maker, many young women nowadays seek and gain entrance into jobs that previously were largely reserved for men. Nearly equal numbers of male and female high school seniors aspire to managerial and professional occupations, such as office manager, lawyer, physician, dentist or professor (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

The reasons for changes in female aspirations are (Mussen *et al.*, 1990):

- a sharply declining birth-rate;
- increased employment opportunities;
- higher salaries for women;
- changing social and gender roles;
- the desire to keep up with the cost of living by having two wage earners in a family.

Whether women seek employment, is determined by economic and socio-cultural factors. Young women who seek full-time employment may be motivated by economic reasons. Elder (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) found that during the depression, women worked because their husbands were unable to maintain their families and they thus took over the role of breadwinners. Similarly, socio-political instability may also lead to a decline in a family's income thus forcing women to seek employment.

Socio-cultural factors may also play a role in women's occupational aspirations. Women who have less traditional gender role attitudes tend to seek full-time employment (Mussen *et al.*, 1990). In contrast, the majority of young women who plan to become full-time home-makers tend to strongly endorse traditional values with respect to the occupational and domestic roles of men and women, and to have more traditional perceptions of male and female behaviour in general. They plan to marry earlier and have more children, they have lower educational aspirations and view caring for their children and husbands as important family values (Mussen *et al.*, 1990). The aspirations that motivate a person, thus depend on the values that are emphasised by the particular community to which the person belongs. A community that, for example, emphasises the domestic role of women, may cultivate the aspiration towards getting married and raising a family.

Occupying a middle ground between the two extremes are young women who plan to stay at home while their children are young but to work before having children and when their children are older. These young women are more likely to have relatively traditional occupational expectations. There is some uncertainty among these young women about how to co-ordinate their job and child rearing roles and finding the solution for this, is not easy (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

In South Africa, the Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998) provides for equity in the work place by providing equal opportunities and fair treatment, through the elimination of unfair discrimination and implementing affirmative action, to redress the disadvantages of designated groups, and to ensure their equitable representation. Unfair discrimination is defined in terms of race, gender, pregnancy, marital status etc. Affirmative action is intended to ensure that suitably qualified employees from designated groups have equal employment opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels of work. The designated groups are black people, women and people with disabilities. It thus deals with race, gender and health.

An implication of the Employment Equity Act is that women are being empowered, thus redressing the problems of the past. However, this will probably only benefit a certain sector of society, namely those women who can work in bigger companies (the Act applies to working places that employ 50 or more people and have a specified turn-over). Against this, it must be remembered that there are large numbers of unskilled women, especially black women in rural areas, who are unemployed, and that there are also large numbers of women working as domestic workers. The Employment Equity Act will not directly benefit these women.

2.5.4 FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE ASPIRATIONS

Parents have a major influence their children's interests and activities. They provide role models for their children to follow, and direct, order, or limit the choices of their children. Parents may influence adolescents to follow an occupation in the same status category or in a status category above that which they occupy (Rice, 1992). Parents also exert influence on their children by providing apprenticeship training, for example farming and carpentry (Rice, 1992).

In general, if parents set high educational and occupational goals and reward good school work, it could encourage high levels of aspirations in their children. Working-class adolescents are more likely to seek advanced education and occupational mobility if their parents urge them to do so than if their parents do not exert such pressure (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

Parents' occupation and the way parents view their work can significantly influence the career choices of their children. The father's occupation exerts a significant influence on the career choices of sons, though generally not directly on those of daughters (Mussen *et al.*, 1990). Some of the reasons that sons often choose the same occupation as their father seem obvious. These include more opportunities during the developmental years to become familiar with the father's occupation, and in some cases there are strong parental motivation and sometimes pressure to enter that occupation (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

Full-time involvement of mothers in careers that they enjoy and in which they succeed appears to have positive effects on the educational and vocational aspirations of adolescent girls, particularly when the father provides encouragement and support. However, the mother's success in a career does not appear to have such a positive effect on their sons (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

The discussion above would relate to intact families. However, in societies where families are disintegrating, for example as a result of socio-political upheaval, the influence of the mother or father on their children's career aspirations may be different. For example, if a child does not grow up with a role model that provides opportunities to develop realistic career aspirations, the child is likely to develop unrealistic views about a career. This could apply to many black youths in South Africa, who grew up without parental supervision since the Soweto riots in the 1970's (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

The aspirations of adolescents are influenced not only by parents, but also by friends (Rice 1992), but in general parental influence is stronger than that of peers (Mussen *et al.*, 1990). Boys from lower class homes have higher educational and vocational aspirations if they attend middle-class schools and associate frequently with middle-class boys than if they attend a school in which the students come from lower-class homes (Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

In addition to parents and peers, teachers also play an important role in shaping young people's job aspirations. Although teachers have a continuous influence on children at school, it is especially during the later part of their high school career that the teachers exert a major influence on the educational plans of students (Rice, 1992). This is partly because teachers serve as advisors and counsellors to children when they reach school-leaving age.

2.5.5 BALANCING JOB OPPORTUNITIES AND JOB ASPIRATIONS

The ideal situation is that there should be a balance between job opportunities and job aspirations since this will contribute towards optimal utilisation of a country's labour potential. A discrepancy between aspirations and opportunities may also give rise to relative deprivation, which in turn could lead to social unrest, as was evident in the unrest in South Africa after the Soweto uprisings in 1976 (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

If large-scale unemployment already exists in a country (as is the case in South Africa), it might prove difficult to balance job aspirations and job opportunities. The reason is that the shortfall in job opportunities may be so great, that more people might seek work than there are jobs available. This may aggravate feelings of relative deprivation and social instability. Social unrest may, in turn, lead to capital being moved out of the country, thus creating further job losses.

The synchronisation of opportunities and aspirations is also not a straightforward process, but should be seen in the context of other factors with which it is linked and which play a role in unemployment. Such factors include labour power, social wage and taxation. For example, labour militancy, high taxation and a social welfare state, work against new investments and withdrawal by existing companies. This contributes to the cycle of unemployment, relative deprivation and unrest (Jaffee, 1986). This illustrates how psychological processes in individuals and in groups, such as aspirations, are interlinked with macro-systemic political, economic and social processes.

2.6 RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

2.6.1 THE NATURE OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

Relative deprivation theory, which is based on social comparison theory, states that motivation and behaviour are not only determined by internal needs, but also by social comparison processes (Appelgryn, 1991). Social comparison theory implies that people have the need to evaluate their own abilities and circumstances. If there are no objective social criteria, evaluation takes place by comparing the person's own abilities and situation with those of other people in the environment.

Social comparison could occur on an individual or a group level. In the case of group comparison, the value of the characteristics of the person's own group is determined by comparison with those of other relevant groups. Individuals and groups that serve as criteria for comparison have to be

relevant in a specific situation. Relevancy is determined by significant value criteria, such as status and abilities (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

The term relative deprivation refers to comparison that leads to a negative assessment of the own position for an individual or group. If a comparison is unfavourable, the individual experiences relative deprivation and this tends to influence subsequent behaviour. The attitudes, motivation and behaviour that stem from the experience of relative deprivation, are determined by the importance attached to the difference identified as a result of social comparison. Perceptions of deprivation need not coincide with objective reality. A person can feel deprived with regard to his or her expectations, although an objective evaluation might not identify the person as deprived (Appelgryn, 1991).

There are three kinds of relative deprivation. The first kind, relative deprivation through output reduction, takes place when expectations of people remain constant, but society's ability to provide for their needs falls short (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). The second kind (aspirational relative deprivation) occurs when the material expectation of people rises, for example due to constant exposure to ideals of consumerism, whilst attainment of these outcomes is prevented, for example when the society does not have the capacity to satisfy such expectations. The third kind of relative deprivation is progressive relative deprivation. This occurs when progressive reforms lead to expectations of further reforms, but these reforms then stabilise or diminish (Appelgryn, 1991).

Expectations alone are not sufficient to engender feelings of relative deprivation. It is only when the gap between expectation and satisfaction is judged to be unacceptably large, and this gap is attributed to social injustice that the above mentioned gap between need and satisfaction is experienced as relative deprivation (Appelgryn, 1991).

The intensity of feelings of deprivation depends on the perceived level of deprivation. The perception that the situation is unfair or that the distribution of resources is unfair, will lead to more intense feelings of deprivation. If a person feels that most members of his or her group experience the same levels of deprivation, he or she will experience more intense feelings of unfairness and deprivation and may consequently be inclined to more violent behavioural patterns (Appelgryn, 1991).

Another factor, which plays a role in relative deprivation, is the perceived stability of the situation. The rapid changes characterising contemporary South Africa are a breeding ground for perceptions of instability, insecurity and unfairness. Instability brings about insecurity and people

would be inclined to seek the reasons for the insecurity in the unfair behaviour of the out-group. This perception of unfairness contributes to feelings of relative deprivation (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

Students who have inflated job aspirations, may become disillusioned in the real world. The difference between aspiration and expectation (i.e., the difference between what one aspires to, and what one expects to get) contributes towards relative deprivation. Although this may form a breeding ground for social turmoil and conflict, this is not the only outcome; people may also adjust their levels of aspiration. The more one unsuccessfully looks for a job, the lower the aspirations tend to become, and the closer they come to one's real expectations (i.e., what one can really become) (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

The concept of relative deprivation can be linked to the power distance value system, i.e., the degree of inequality in power between a less powerful individual and a more powerful other (Hofstede, 1980). This distance may give rise to perceptions of relative deprivation, for example with regard to access to and control over resources. These perceptions of relative deprivation may be aggravated when there are limited resources in a country, which makes it impossible to develop the masses to be on the same level as the elite. Furthermore, a powerful person tends to increase the power distance between him (or his group) and other people (or other groups). In contrast, the less powerful would tend to reduce the power distance and this may go to the extent of the less powerful wanting to destroy the powerful. In a revolutionary context, this might culminate in destruction of the economic infrastructure (Hunt, 1988), in which instance reducing the power distance does not lead to empowerment of the masses.

2.6.2 CONFLICT AND RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

As will be indicated in a later chapter, conflict played an important role in the setting where the present study was done. It is thus relevant to discuss conflict and indicate how it is related to relative deprivation. This also provides a link with cyclical revolutionary theory (Jaffee, 1986), that postulates that processes repeat themselves. This implies that events of the past could take a similar course in the current context, a view that is synchronic with the traditional experience of time in African cosmology, where the present time expresses the past time (see paragraph 7.8).

Socio-political conflicts are related to the level at which people expect to satisfy their needs on the one hand, and the level at which these needs are satisfied on the other hand. The deprivation

which results from this, is especially evident when rapid economic progress, linked to rapidly increasing expectations, is interrupted by a period of economic stagnation or recession. People then feel that the satisfaction of their real needs is not only lagging behind, but that the level of real need gratification is noticeably lower than that of socially and economically dominant sectors in society (Appelgryn, 1991; HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

The needs of less privileged persons and lower socio-economic classes rise because of modernisation and concomitant rapid socio-economic development. This process creates new expectations among the less privileged and rising expectations about a better quality of life and a greater share in the society's opportunity and reward system. Expectations therefore rise both qualitatively and quantitatively. Increasing sensitivity to deprivation is part of this process. Although this deprivation can be objective in the sense that it can be quantified according to objective criteria, it need not be objective; it can also be subjective if people feel deprived in relation to the level of need satisfaction other people enjoy (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

An upward spiral of expectations among the less privileged is in itself not enough to generate social conflict: it is when the need satisfaction, which was once at a relatively high level as a result of socio-economic development, declines fairly rapidly and the victims of this setback define the process as unfair deprivation in relation to the dominant class, that the psychosocial fuel of conflict is generated (Appelgryn, 1991; HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

The psychological foundations of conflict are found largely in the frustration that people build up during times of rising expectations, when they feel that limitations from sources beyond their control prevent them from satisfying their valid needs. People rebel if the gap between the level of their expectations and the level at which these expectations are realised, becomes so great that those involved regard it as unbridgeable and untenable (HSRC Draft Report, 1991).

Since relative deprivation develops from comparisons with relevant groups (HSRC Draft Report, 1991) it is reasonable to assume that young black South Africans would compare the level at which their needs are satisfied with the level of need gratification of the privileged segment of South African society. In the past, this privileged segment was predominantly white and this is still to some extent true in the contemporary South Africa. Although the situation in South Africa has changed during the past decade, during which the black sector of society gained more political and economic power, the legacies of the past still exist, and the majority of the underprivileged is still to be found in the black sector of society. However, there are also privileged blacks and one implication of this is that the comparison group for the deprived is no longer only white, but also

includes blacks. Since collective aggression is directed at what people regard as the source of their deprivation, this leads to the expectation that conflict, which arises from relative deprivation, may also be directed against fellow blacks. The differentiation is thus less on the basis of race, and is becoming more and more on the basis of socio-economic comparisons. Such feelings of relative deprivation is likely to increase, and to lead to conflict when the gap between expected need satisfaction and actual need satisfaction widens rapidly after a period of relatively rapid socio-economic progress (Appelgryn, 1991)

Although relative deprivation theory explains how a climate for conflict develops, it does not explain how conflict erupts. How this occurs, is described in Chapter 5.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Unemployment can be conceptualised in terms of two dimensions. Firstly, it can be developmental, in that it can be regarded as an incomplete transition from school to the working environment. Secondly, it can be seen as structural, where a person is unable to obtain a job or loses his/her job because of limitations in the economic environment. In terms of this distinction, unemployment can be seen as an individual's problem, in that a person could make him-/herself employable by acquiring skills and engaging in assertive job seeking behaviour. On the other hand, it can be seen as the government's problem, in the sense that it is the latter's responsibility to ensure economic development that will lead to job creation. This suggests that the solution to unemployment should involve both individual (developmental) and governmental (which is structural) interventions.

Similar to the causes of unemployment, its effects are also multi-dimensional and involve various systems and subsystems that are in interaction with each other. Unemployment affects both the individual and the community, and these effects can be short-term or long-term. Economic hardship that follows from unemployment, need not always be detrimental; it can also be beneficial to the individual in that it can serve as motivation to further one's education and to enter a stable career.

Relative deprivation theory sheds light on how unemployment, and the poverty associated with it, is related to social turmoil and conflict. Relative deprivation has two elements: firstly, it indicates people's perceptions of the gap between real and anticipated need satisfaction; secondly, it indicates that people's perception of deprivation is based on the manner in which they define/evaluate their needs, and specifically also the satisfaction of these needs (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). The climate that is created by relative deprivation may be conducive to political

conflict. In South Africa, the youths played an important role in political conflict, and understanding unemployment and its correlates thus requires understanding of the role of the youth.

Aspirations can have a motivating influence on the individual's behaviour, and encourage him or her to acquire skills. The extent to which aspirations differ from expectations reflects the maturity or immaturity of the individual in the sense that in the mature person, aspirations and expectations coincide. Although schooling may help to attain goals, it also inflates aspirations that in turn have an effect on unemployment and relative deprivation. It takes time for people with high aspirations to lower their aspirations to be realistic in terms of economic realities.

CHAPTER 3

A SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE ON UNEMPLOYMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Unemployment can be interpreted from a developmental perspective. According to this approach, a child develops from the school or tertiary educational institution, towards the employment setting. In this view, unemployment amongst youth is an incomplete transition from the educational setting to the employment setting.

Development in the context of this study does not only refer to child development, but also to the development of adults. This development is influenced by various factors, such as changes in lifestyles and economic activity as a result of the demands placed on adults by children, political, social and economic changes in the environment, and other factors that necessitate continuous adaptation and change.

Systems theory provides a useful way of understanding these transitions and can be used to integrate the various aspects related to unemployment. It helps to conceptualise and understand the relationship between various systems, and how the interaction between various systems plays a role in unemployment. In this chapter, a review of relevant aspects of systems theory will be given. As point of departure, Barker's (in Orford, 1992) views on behavioural settings and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) views on the different levels of systems will be used. Bronfenbrenner describes the micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-systems. In the development of Bronfenbrenner's views, he departed from the work of Barker and elaborated on it. Whereas Barker concentrated on the settings, Bronfenbrenner investigated the relationship between the settings. However, to understand the setting itself, it is more meaningful to depart from Barker's theory.

Since unemployment involves various levels of systems, coping with unemployment also occurs on different levels. This chapter is concluded with a discussion of coping at an individual (micro-systemic) level and at a macro level.

3.2 BEHAVIOURAL SETTINGS

3.2.1 BASIC TENETS OF THE THEORY

A behaviour setting is a structure that is defined in space and time (Orford, 1992; Viljoen, Van Staden, Grieve & Van Deventer, 1987). A behavioural setting contains a network of physical, social, and cultural characteristics that elicit regular patterns of behaviour, in other words, people act in response to the dictates of a behaviour setting (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). For example, people would tend to behave differently in church than they would in an airliner.

Behaviour settings consist of *standing patterns* of behaviour-and-milieu (Orford 1992), i.e., it comprises both the behaviour and the milieu. A *standing pattern of behaviour* refers to a group's collective behaviour that takes place within clear boundaries of time and space (e.g. at a funeral, a church service, or the meeting of the *lekgotla* (tribal authority)). Behaviour settings are not discrete stimuli but involve social, physical and cultural attributes that are holistically termed the '*milieu*' in which behaviour occurs. The milieu is formed from both the natural features of the landscape and the built environment. Behaviour patterns are related to, and guided by non-behavioural phenomena in the milieu in which they take place. Milieu is circumjacent to behaviour, it encompasses it, surrounds it, encloses it - behaviour occurs within a milieu (Orford, 1992). For example, the milieu for a church group would be:

- the meeting place;
- the members;
- the positions of members within the ranks of the church;
- the written dogmatic principles to which the church subscribes;
- special ritual or ceremonies such as a wedding and confirmation.

The milieu exists independently of the standing pattern of behaviour (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987) or the people present. For example, when a church meeting is over and people leave for home the milieu remains.

Behaviour and milieu are in synchrony within behaviour settings, i.e., there is a fit between behaviour and its milieu (Orford, 1992). One of the sources of synchrony (i.e., the manner in which a setting contributes towards the manifestation of certain behaviour patterns) is through the constraints on behaviour that are built in the structure of the setting. An example of this is the pews in a church that face in one direction, thus 'forcing' people to look in a particular direction (Orford,

1992). Other sources of synchrony between behaviour and milieu consist of social forces to conform, or explicit teaching about appropriate conduct within the setting, selection and acceptance of individuals who conform, and self-selection to move out of the setting by individuals who are unwilling or unable to conform (Orford 1992).

Most settings are created to serve human needs and interests. Once they are established, they become units with great coercive power over the behaviour that occurs within them. This coercion imposes a degree of uniformity on the people in the setting. This implies that they may lose their individuality within a behaviour setting and that the people who occupy behaviour settings are to a degree interchangeable and replaceable (Orford, 1992). For example, a new leader would be required to conform to certain demands and prescriptions in a setting, and if he or she fails to do so, another person may take over the leadership position.

According to Barker, there is an association between the number of people in a behavioural setting and the milieu's effect of the inhabitants. This hypothesis is the basis for manning theory. The following concepts are basic to manning theory (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987):

- maintenance minimum: this refers to the smallest number of inhabitants necessary to maintain a behaviour setting;
- capacity: this refers to the largest number of inhabitants that the setting can accommodate;
- applicants: this refers to the number of people who are eligible to become members of the behaviour setting and who want to become a part of it;
- performers: this refers to those members with clearly defined responsibilities or tasks to carry out in a setting;
- non-performers: these people do not have clearly defined duties, but play a more restricted role in maintaining the programme of the behaviour setting. The programme of a behaviour setting refers to the sequence of events that must occur in the setting.

If the number of people who want to participate in the setting falls below its maintenance minimum, the setting becomes increasingly undermanned. If the number of applicants exceeds the capacity of the behaviour setting, it becomes increasingly overmanned. An optimal level of manning exists when the number of applicants is between maintenance minimum and capacity (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987).

Orford (1992) discusses manning theory in terms of responsibility theory. The latter states that in undermanned settings, i.e., when there are relatively few individuals available for a certain setting,

then there is a greater opportunity and felt pressure for individuals to take on roles or positions of greater penetration and responsibility (Orford, 1992). Undermanned settings have fewer inhabitants to fulfil the standing patterns of behaviour in the setting. The programme of the setting is then threatened, and the people are faced with the possibility of losing the satisfaction the setting provides. The inhabitants then tend to become involved in more varied actions, are busier, more versatile, and more actively involved in the setting (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). Since the setting is undermanned, there are also more opportunities to explore and to satisfy needs. Bronfenbrenner (1979) ascribes the greater involvement of people in small communities to people feeling threatened that the larger community will absorb them and deprive them of their identity, and their involvement is an effort to defend themselves. This is related to Hofstede's (1980) concept of uncertainty avoidance.

Penetration refers to a person's degree of involvement in a setting. Barker identified six zones of penetration, ranging from mere passive onlooking to being the single leader in the setting (Orford, 1992). This can be related to Hofstede's (1980) concept of power distance, i.e., the degree of inequality in power between a less powerful individual and a more powerful other. The passive onlooker has virtually no power in the setting, whilst the single leader has a large amount of power within the setting, which implies a large power distance. In general, overmanning is associated with greater power distance, since in large settings, the power base becomes removed from the people in the setting, and the links between the people and the power base become more complicated.

Overmanning results in the application of adaptive mechanisms in order to regulate the number of inhabitants of a behaviour setting. The techniques used for this are either to alter the admission standards for applicants or to enlarge the physical milieu of the setting. As the degree of manning in a behaviour setting increases, there are decreases in inhabitants' familiarity with the setting (i.e., the people do not come in contact with the various facets of the setting), level of satisfaction, voluntary participation, group cohesiveness and productivity (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987).

3.2.2 APPLICATION

Behaviour setting theory is relevant to the present study in the sense that it can be used to explain unemployment in terms of overmanning. As stated above, the capacity of a setting refers to the largest number of inhabitants that the setting can accommodate, and if the number of applicants exceeds the capacity of the setting, unemployment may result. The concept 'applicants' refers to people who are eligible to become members of the behaviour setting (for example on the basis of

the knowledge, skills and previous experience) and who want to become a part of it, for example job seekers. In the process of trying to gain entry to a setting, people may lower their aspirations, for example when people with higher levels of education are willing to accept lower level jobs.

If there are many unemployed people, the criteria for admission to training and employment settings tend to increase, thus making it more difficult for large numbers of people to get out of their unemployed situation. People may also be excluded from an overmanned setting by procedures such as retrenchment. The alternative to this is that the size of the setting has to increase. However, whether this can be done depends on the broader situation, since other systems influence a particular setting. Barker, however, did not discuss how other systems influence a particular setting; the factors that play a role in this, need to be derived from other theories. One factor that plays a role in this regard is the state of the economy of a country. According to Neo-Marxism (Jaffee, 1986), when a society is at the stage of stagnation, creating more employment opportunities will not solve the problem; restructuring of society needs to take place.

In terms of Luria's theory (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the resolution of overmanning would involve cognitive changes in the people occupying the setting, for example by raising the standard of education and changing their belief systems. This involves bringing greater diversity in the setting that would create opportunities for people to be involved in diverse activities, which could increase the diversity of production. With regard to belief systems, there could be a change from collectivism to individualism, which would, according to Hofstede's (1980) theory, contribute to economic development and thus solving the problem of overmanning.

3.3 THE MICRO-SYSTEM

A micro-system is any context of which the developing person has immediate experience. It involves, for instance, the family that forms the primary context in which the individual develops. It corresponds to Barker's behavioural setting, but is less clearly defined than the latter (Orford, 1992).

3.4 THE MESO-SYSTEM

The meso-system is defined as a set of interrelations between two or more settings in which the developing person is an active participant (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). There are four general types of interrelations between settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1979):

- (a) Multi-setting participation occurs when the same person engages in activities in more than one setting. The existence of a meso-system is established at the point when the person enters a new setting. An example of this is when a child leaves home to go to school. Another example is when a person leaves home to go to work.
- (b) Indirect linkage occurs when the same person does not actively participate in both settings, but a connection between the two may still be established through someone who is a link between persons in the two settings. In this instance participants do not meet face-to-face and these participants are referred to as members of a second-order network between settings, unlike the first order social network in which the participant engages in activities in more than one setting. An example of this is when a child has a friend in a particular school, but the child itself does not attend the school. Another example is when a person works, for example on a mine, and comes home to a residential area and thus serves as a link between people in the work setting and people in the residential setting.
- (c) Inter-setting communications are messages transmitted from one setting to the other with the intention to provide specific information to persons in the other setting. Communication can occur in various ways, such as face-to-face, telephone and correspondence.
- (d) Inter-setting knowledge refers to information or experience that exists in one setting about the other. This is, for example, the information that is available in a semi-rural area about job opportunities in a town.

A setting transition occurs when a person enters a new environment. Examples of this are when a child goes to school, when a school leaver enters an employment setting, or when a relative helps one to get work. In childhood and adolescence, the links between home, school and peer groups are the ecological transitions and inter-setting connections that are the most important in terms of their impact on developmental processes. In adulthood, the home and family, and the world of work are key settings in the meso-system. Job conditions are perceived as potent forces affecting a person's ability to function at home and in the family (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

There are about 50 hypotheses discussed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) relating to the relationships between the settings in the four systems he distinguished. These may be divided into two sets of hypotheses. The first set is related to the experience of the developing person, and deals with the

structure of primary links and their developmental consequences. The second set is concerned with analogous considerations pertaining to supplementary links. When the developing person participates in more than one setting of a meso-system, the person is referred to as primary link. Other persons who participate in the same two settings are referred to as supplementary links.

According to these hypotheses, there are advantages for the development of children growing up in an environment characterised by certain types of interconnections between settings such as home and school. The child will develop more if there are the following interconnections (Bronfenbrenner, 1979):

- more frequent interaction between parents and school personnel;
- a greater number of persons known in common by members of the two settings;
- more frequent communication between home and school;
- more information in each setting about the other.

The above principles could also be applied to employment and unemployment. Frequent interaction, communication and flow of information between the home and work environments, may help to prepare a child to enter an employment setting. It could, for example, help people to find jobs, young people may learn from their parents what requirements must be met to become employed, what kind of people they are going to work with, and so forth.

Under certain circumstances, the interconnection between settings could have a negative effect. For example, actions by school personnel that degrade parents, or parental demands that undermine the professional morale or effectiveness of teachers are likely to have a detrimental effect. The interconnection should not undermine the motivation and capacity of the persons (who deal directly with the child) to act on his behalf. The interconnection should be bi-directional, sustain and enhance mutual trust and goal consensus, and exhibit a balance of power favourable to those acting on behalf of the developing person (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

3.5 THE EXO-SYSTEM

An exo-system consists of one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect the person. Television is an example of the exo-system. Television programmes that enter the home from an external source, form part of the child's exo-system. The influence of the media is through its effect on the child, the parent and their interaction. An example of an exo-system in a work context is a board of directors of a mine who

make decisions that affect production levels and the number of people who can be employed.

There are two connecting steps to show the existence of the exo-system. The first step involves connecting events in the external setting to processes occurring in the micro-system and the second then involves linking these micro-system processes to a person within that setting. In most psychological research, according to Bronfenbrenner (1979), these steps are not described in detail. The limitations in this research are twofold: Firstly, the investigator demonstrates the impact of external forces on processes occurring within the setting and then assumes that these processes have consequences for the people in the setting. The second tendency is to demonstrate a connection between some aspects of the larger external environment and some changes in the persons in the setting, bypassing any micro-system processes that might have been involved.

It was stated above that the linkage, communication and the availability of knowledge between micro-systems define the optimal properties of a meso-system. These same principles also define the optimal conditions for the exo-system.

The exo-system is related to unemployment in a particular setting. This occurs through the links between the exo-system and particular settings. The ability of a setting to accommodate people is enhanced to the extent that there are direct and indirect links to a power setting, through which participants in the original setting can influence decisions and the allocation of resources related to the needs of the people in the setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Unemployed people in a setting should, for example, be able to make their needs known to people in authority, and influence them, so that appropriate steps can be taken to alleviate their plight. The linkage with the power base should be in the interest of those who will be affected by the decisions taken and resources allocated. This implies a nurturing orientation, which is related to Hofstede's (1980) feminine values. The latter thus underpins closing the gap between the community and the power base.

3.6 MACRO-SYSTEM

The macro-system encompasses the blueprint of the ecological environment as it is, but also as it might become if the social order were to be altered. In the following paragraphs aspects of the macro-system that are relevant to the present study, are discussed.

3.6.1 BLUEPRINT AND WORLDVIEW

Bronfenbrenner (1979) conducted a comparative study in Russia and Israel. It was shown that young people, who had been exposed during early adolescence to Russian culture and who emigrated to Israel, exhibited, after five years in Israel, a more profound adherence to Western culture than the children who remained in Russia. The question then arises, what occurs when people migrate from one blueprint to another?

A blueprint may be likened to a magnetic field where human behaviour might be likened to the patterns of behaviour of iron particles on the magnetic field. A blueprint is thus essentially a pattern of behaviour of people in interaction with their contexts. A blueprint is also similar to Barker's milieu as described above.

One manner in which a blueprint can be constructed and transmitted is through the formation of shared social representations. The latter are consensual understandings or knowledge that members of a social group share, and which are transmitted through the family, social institutions or the wider culture. This shared knowledge and meanings develop through conversations, participation in, or exposure to, similar social activities or environments, including the mass media. Through this, the pattern of individual thoughts becomes a microcosm of the schemas of the larger society, and a person's reactions to events are related to these shared views about the nature of the events (Banyard & Hayes, 1994).

Social representations are not static, they are continuously renegotiated and changed, but they may also become long lasting, and be transmitted from one generation to another. This forms a basis for the formation of a worldview or cosmology, which relates to the shared thought patterns and symbolism of a group, through which the meaning of reality is interpreted. White (1984, p. 2) describes a worldview as "a set of assumptions, beliefs, values, ideas, and behaviour shared by a particular group of people that are transmitted from one generation to the next. This composite set of values, ideas and beliefs provides people with a way of interpreting reality and relating to others and a general design for living. The cultural ethos or worldview functions like a set of glasses that focuses reality, filters impressions, and gives meaning to events."

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), people adopt the blueprint of the area where they live. However, it is also possible that people could adopt a foreign blueprint. An example of this is when two cultures come in contact with one another, and members of one culture adopt aspects of the

other culture. This links with Bronfenbrenner's views that historical events can affect the blueprint, and such historical events involve cultural invasion. For example, when the Western world colonised Africa, the local, existing blueprint was not adopted by them, but their blueprint became the dominant pattern. However, in Africa, the incoming blueprint was adapted to include aspects of the local blueprint. This implies that the blueprint applicable in one context, cannot be directly transferred to another, new context. In the latter, different forces are at work, which contribute to forming a new blueprint. (See paragraph 3.7 that deals with acculturation).

3.6.2 THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL ROOTS OF COGNITIVE PROCESSES AND DEVELOPMENT

Departing from the view that all fundamental human cognitive activities take shape in a matrix of social history and are the products of socio-historical development, Luria (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) conducted a study on group processes that occurred in reaction to historical events. The study dealt with two villages in the Soviet Union during a restructuring project in the period 1931-1932. The restructuring concerned the following reforms:

- the elimination of illiteracy;
- the transition to a collectivist economy;
- the readjustment of life to new socialist principles;
- the removal of the Moslem influence.

Luria's study was conducted amongst underdeveloped illiterate groups living in villages. Although the people in the province where the study was conducted had a history of high levels of creativity in science, art and architecture, in recent centuries they had lived in economic stagnation and illiteracy. Since the villagers seemed to have functioned differently in different historical eras, the study aimed at investigating the socio-historical roots of basic cognitive processes. When the study was conducted, people at one end of a continuum were exposed to modern life, through experiencing the first influences of the social restructuring programme; at the other end of the continuum, the subjects had no exposure to the restructuring programme. The sample consisted of five groups ranging from collective farm workers at one end, to traditional peasants untouched by the revolution (i.e., restructuring) at the other end.

The study showed that the structure of cognitive activity does not remain static during different stages of historical development, and that the important forms of cognitive processes (such as perception, generalisation, deduction, reasoning, imagination and analysis of one's own inner life) vary as the conditions of social life change and the rudiments of knowledge are mastered.

The study further showed that the structure of thought depends upon the structure of the dominant types of activity in a culture. For example, practical manipulations of objects would be associated with practical thinking, whilst more abstract forms of theoretical activity in technological societies, would foster the development of abstract theoretical thinking. The same idea that the environment is related to development is found in the views of Hofstede (1980). According to him, all people have the potential to develop, but their development of particular cognitive abilities depends on the necessity to have those cognitive abilities that are required for survival. For example, in cold environments, according to Hofstede, development is enhanced, since human survival in colder climates requires protection against the hardship of nature, and this stimulates technological developments. In a related context, Barker (in Orford, 1992) also referred to the role of the material environment (both the natural and the built environment) in determining people's behaviour (see paragraph 3.2.1).

Transition to collectivised forms of labour and Cultural Revolution, as occurred in Russia at the time when Luria conducted his study, showed that as the basic form of activity changes when literacy is mastered, major shifts occur in human cognitive processes. This gave evidence of the inaccuracy of the notion that the basic structures of perception, reasoning, deduction, imagination and self-awareness are fixed forms of mental life and remain unchanged under differing social conditions (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). One of the implications of Luria's study is that restructuring is a precondition for changes in those mental processes that are required to effectively address unemployment in the context of a modern economy.

The methodology of Luria has relevance for the present study. He differentiated between areas in terms of their level of development. The village where the present study was conducted consists of two sections that are on different levels of development. In addition, the overall level of development of the whole village is also vastly different from that of the surrounding area. On a broader level, similar to Russia at the time when Luria conducted his study, South Africa is also in a phase of improving literacy and restructuring on social and economic levels. Since, as Luria indicated, mental processes are not fixed and unchanging, it is possible that the needs, motivations, perceptions and abilities of the villagers where this study was done, will also change over time as a result of environmental changes. However, Luria's study also revealed that belief systems could stagnate communities and inhibit development. It is thus also possible that certain belief systems in the African context may inhibit development. To the extent that belief system derives from the economic and social activities people engage in, the stagnating influence of belief systems would require that people engage in activities that are not based on the practices of such

belief systems.

3.7 ACCULTURATION

Acculturation refers to the process whereby cultural patterns (or segments thereof) undergo changes due to systematic and continuous influence by another culture(s) (Coertze, 1968). Through this process, one culture adopts aspects of another culture and this results in greater similarity between them. For this to occur, the boundaries between two or more systems must be permeable, so that there could be a flow of information between the systems.

The transfer of ideas, values, beliefs, behaviour patterns and so forth between cultures occurs through daily social interaction, contact in the work environment, the influence of the mass media, education, religious conversion, utilisation of health services, economic expansion and other acculturative agents. Education is of special importance in acculturation. Amara (1968, p. 294) who worked in Liberia, said: "The most significant single factor in bringing about changes in the African's way of life is education. All the other factors in the modern world are secondary to it. There is no doubt that education is a blessing and confers innumerable benefits and advantages. But this same blessing is a threat to primitive man's existence and it disrupts his cultural and traditional supports." Education is never merely the teaching of factual knowledge and skills. It is a vehicle for enculturation and socialisation and, in a multi-cultural society such as South Africa, it is also an acculturative agent. It transfers the values, behavioural norms, and lifestyle of the dominant culture on which the educational system is based, to the members of the subordinate culture. To the extent that education promotes the integration of members of a subordinate culture in the dominant culture, there is a potential that the power distance (Hofstede, 1980) between the two cultures could be narrowed. Education helps members of the subordinate culture to move closer to those in the dominant group, thus closing the gap between them and those in powerful positions. Education should, however not be seen in isolation and other cultural, social, political, economic and psychological factors are also important in social systems that undergo change.

Mobility due to acculturation occurs at an individual level in that it is the individual that adopts the culture of the out-group. The individual nature of acculturation implies that its effects will not be uniform for all members of society. As a result, in South African society, Africans are on different levels of acculturation, both horizontally (that is, in the same generation), and vertically (across different age groups).

In areas where there are similarities between two cultures, for example with regard to values, the process of change is facilitated. However, one must also be aware that there are some facets that are so dissimilar between cultures, that they cannot be integrated with each other. The influence of one culture on another is also never so all-encompassing that it is taken over completely and affects all spheres of life. In most instances, elements of the old culture are retained, and what is retained varies across different spheres of life. What is taken over, differs from community to community, from one geographical area to another, from individual to individual. It also varies in accordance with the specific situation in which a person finds himself at a particular time - in one context, he may present with 'traditional' psychological processes, but in another context he may use mechanisms acquired under the influence of another culture (Coertze, 1968). Black authors such as Manganyi (1973) and Setiloane (1978) point out that in the black communities in South Africa the traditional worldview still has a widespread influence on daily life. The reason for this is that worldview is so fundamental to all aspects of life, that it is resistant to change (Kriel, 1983). The extent to which recourse is taken to the traditional culture, is co-determined by how important or serious the matter is. For example, a serious, incurable illness may be dealt with by using indigenous practices whilst ordinary day-to-day problems may be dealt with in terms of the Western culture. It also appears that traditional patterns may be dormant, to be utilised when the situation requires it.

During acculturation, elements of the old may be retained and assimilated with the new; or alternatively, the new may be changed and accommodated within traditional modes of experience. One finds, for example, that traditional religious constructs are integrated with Christianity in the experiences of illness and treatment expectations of members of some of the syncretistic (independent) churches (Schoeman, 1985; Van der Merwe, 1981).

3.8 GLOBALISATION

3.8.1 THE NATURE OF GLOBALISATION

The interrelatedness between systems underlies the globalisation that characterises contemporary life. Globalisation involves world-wide economic processes and communication, and a movement towards a world culture. Globalisation on the levels of economics and communication are discussed first, followed by cultural globalisation:

On an economic level, it refers to the expansion of international trade and foreign investment and the integration of markets. It refers to a world economy in which traditional and familiar boundaries are being surmounted or made irrelevant (Yergin, 1998). In the field of communication, ever-cheaper communications and ever-faster computers, along with the Internet, are facilitating the flow of goods and services, as well as knowledge and information (Yergin, 1998). Modern transport and communication promote economic and other links between countries and thus what happens in a particular area can influence what happens in other areas. Even if an underdeveloped region does not directly participate in macro global processes, it may still indirectly be exposed to the latter via its linkage with meso- and exo-systems. Economic globalisation may, for example, influence world markets and this in turn may influence regional employment opportunities, wages and job security.

One of the preconditions for development and survival in a globalised world, is participation in this global process through integration with the world economy (Rodric, 1997). This would imply that people are trained in such a manner that they can work in a globalised world. This has important implications for the educational systems of countries. However, global trade does not necessarily mean a country will grow economically (Rodric, 1997). The extent to which globalisation will be beneficial to a country, is co-determined by the extent to which it has knowledge, technologies, raw products and other goods to export to compete on a world-wide market.

Economic growth and success in a changing globalised world, requires innovation. This relates to restructuring. Neo-Marxist theory (Jaffee, 1986) tried to explain how restructuring could solve stagnation and crises, through changing the means of production or through geographic mobility. This geographic mobility is related to globalisation from the perspective of the mother country, and investment from the perspective of the receiving country. For example, a company may expand its functioning to other countries, and the receiving country would then benefit from the investments that are made and from gaining access to new technologies. The restructuring of economies - the displacement of workers from one set of activities to another - is an integral part of this process (Rodric, 1997).

Although globalisation may benefit a country, it also has its downside. The importation of cheaper foreign goods may be detrimental to local manufacturers. The power distance (Hofstede, 1980) between the powerful developed countries and the less powerful developing countries, may also be increased through globalisation, since the powerful countries may try to maintain or increase their power. Globalisation will thus only be of benefit to the developing countries if the links between the systems are nurturing towards the developing country. In terms of Hofstede's (1980)

theory, this implies that feminine values should underpin efforts to include the developing countries in global processes.

In addition to globalisation on the levels of economics and communication, there is also a trend towards a globalised, world culture, which is essentially American, in that American cultural products are exported world-wide (Krauthammer, 1992). Not only geographic boundaries have become weak, but also values and behavioural norms that formerly distinguished between people have become similar. However, at the same time there is also a tendency for people to resist the expansion of foreign countries not only on an economic level, but also on a cultural level, and to remain loyal to the own culture (Krauthammer, 1992).

3.8.2 ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS

The Western world believes that globalisation should be based on capitalist principles and there is a general view that economic and political progress comes to those countries that adopt the following principles and practises of capitalist democracy (McGeary & Michaels, 1998; Ogden, 1998):

- a free market;
- privatisation;
- entrepreneurship;
- agricultural self-sufficiency ;
- failed economies have to be regenerated;
- decentralisation;
- women's empowerment;
- good government, caring for the welfare of the people;
- a multi-party system.

Related to the above requirements, it is generally believed that successful globalisation requires a small government and that the welfare state should be cut down, for example through privatisation. However, Rodric (1997) argues against this saying that the welfare state should be encouraged. Governments need to have some complementary policies to minimise and cushion the adverse effects of globalisation, including social welfare policies. In South Africa this takes the form of government-imitated housing schemes, public health services, education, and the principles underlying the RDP. Trade unions also do not want privatisation of companies since it does not empower the masses. Underlying this are value systems, in that privatisation is based on

individualistic and not on collectivistic values.

Economic and political progress need not be modelled only on one country, or group of countries, such as the G7. In 1977 the products of the Group 7 countries represented 90% of world products. In 1997 it represented 50% (Sachs, 1997). In other words, their overall impact declined. This implies there are other models that can be followed, for example such as China which has the second largest economy in the world and where the living standard doubles every 10 years (Sutherland, 1998). Taiwan and Korea represent another model, where the focus was on the local market first, and only after a long time it was opened to world traders at the countries' own pace.

3.8.3 GLOBALISATION IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

One of the factors that contribute towards poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa is that these countries have not been able to enter the global economy effectively. There are various reasons for this:

The principles and practises of capitalist democracy mentioned above, may not be feasible in Africa. Capitalist economies are based on democracy. A multiparty system can only be meaningful if it is based on sound education, creation of a middle-class, the rule of law and a firm economic base on which an American style democracy is based. Because these basics are often lacking in Africa, there is a tendency towards one-party states (Ogden, 1998). The problems of Africa could partly be ascribed to the exploitation of Africa by the colonial powers, for example the slave trade that weakened the continent, and mining for minerals to enrich not the local country, but the foreign powers. A similar process is taking place currently, where big countries such as the United States export to countries in Africa, which causes a flow of money out of these countries, whereas Africa has a relatively small access to the markets overseas.

Research at Harvard University (Sachs, 1997) has shown that fragile and unsuitable environmental conditions may be found in many parts of Africa, and it affects about a quarter of the world's population. Not only are people living in Africa threatened by harsh environmental conditions and infectious disease, but the regions at the greatest risk tend to be the locations with very high rates of population growth, suggesting the possibility of even greater problems in the future. One effect of this is widespread out-migration from the most disadvantaged areas to more prosperous areas, thus putting enormous strains on neighbouring countries.

One of the factors that could contribute towards underdevelopment in Africa, and the continent thus not taking up its place in a globalised economy, is migrant labour. African rural residential areas have been regarded as a pool of cheap labour for industrial urban areas. This resulted in a migration labour mentality, where villagers do not create their own jobs or generate their own viable economic activity, but rather seek what already exists. This mentality has been developed over many decades and will take a long time to be reversed. The matter is complicated in that many rural villagers are unskilled, and the need for unskilled labour has virtually disappeared, thus aggravating the unemployment problem in the villages (Cross & Hainess, 1988; Magane, 2000).

Although technology and industrial resources are available in Africa, they are of foreign origin and are not adequately utilised to ensure prosperity. The result is that Africa does not play a prominent role in world economic affairs (Theron, 1992). The problem is so big, that some regard Africa as an irrelevant continent and a problem in the modern world.

Individual African countries on their own cannot achieve becoming globalised, they need outside help. The world community will have to devote vastly greater scientific and financial resources to overcome disease and deficient agricultural productivity in sub-Saharan Africa if a demographic catastrophe is to be avoided in the years ahead. To the extent that capitalism could spread to these countries, there would be a better chance for faster global growth, and a reduction in poverty - at least for countries that are flexible enough, and geographically well placed (Sachs, 1997). "We had better start now to mobilise our skills, energy, and creativity to make sure that globalisation works for all of the world, or else we may find ourselves caught in a gale of political and economic instability made of our own neglect" (Sachs, 1997, p. 3).

To come out of their problems, the people of Africa need to do something to help themselves. The Batswana have a saying *Mokodue go tsosiwa yo o itsosang* (an emaciated cow is helped if it tries to help itself; it implies that if one does not try to help himself, nobody is going to help him). Africa needs to develop for itself systems that mesh modernisation with an African way of doing things. Although there might be encouragement from outside, good government and self-reliance cannot be done by the outside, but can only be done by Africans.

There is hope that Africa is moving in the right direction. This direction can be referred to as the African renaissance, which relates to the slow, fragile and difficult changes that are taking place in Africa through which foundations are being laid for a better future, as reflected in the following examples (McGeary & Michaels, 1998):

- some African nations use their natural and human resources to develop themselves;

- Africans are searching out their own paths for progress, relying on African customs, and rooting political and economic advances in the local culture;
- Africa has produced its own strong leaders with international repute, such as former South African president Nelson Mandela;
- by means of community projects, people are building their schools, houses and crèches, and they send their children to schools, technicons and universities;
- in some rural are, efforts are made to develop cattle farming
- through strikes and demonstrations people try to do something about unemployment.

Although Africa has been regarded as a hopeless continent, Ogden (1998) states that Africa is moving beyond the view that it is lead by authoritarian rulers who violently seized power, that its infrastructures are crumbling, and that populations are ravaged by economic problems, hunger, disease and ethnic bloodshed. He continues to say that this new view resulted from a decline of US interest in Africa and aid given to Africa, as a result of which Africa realised it had to transform itself. Legislation has been proposed In the US that will encourage trade and investment and greater access to US markets if sub-Saharan countries make their economies more transparent and drop trade barriers and implement democratic reforms.

These economic developments are, however, still at a very low level and co-operation with developed countries on a global level is needed. This co-operation should be based on what Hofstede (1980) refers to as feminine and masculine values. The motive behind assistance should be feminine, but the way in which it is implemented should be based on masculine values.

An implication of the preceding discussion is that a capitalist democracy need not be the only precondition for globalisation. Provision must be made for alternative bases and requirements. One cannot enforce foreign models onto local circumstances. Globalisation need not mean that the local values and character disappear. Local human and natural resources should be the basis for globalisation, irrespective of the political system.

3.9 COPING

Unemployment is multi-faceted. On the one hand, it is an economic problem that needs a political solution that will lead to job creation. It is, however, not only an economic and political matter. Even though there are macro-systemic processes which affect people's lives, over which most people have little control, in the end finding a job is an individual's problem and people must take personal responsibility.

The multidimensional nature of unemployment implies that dealing with it occurs at different levels, and that a comprehensive approach to coping is required. Following Dooley, Catalano and Rook (1988), primary and secondary coping can be distinguished. Primary coping relates to dealing with unemployment as such, for example by means of job creation and provision of educational opportunities for skill training. Secondary coping relates to dealing with the effects of unemployment, such as the stress experienced by an unemployed person. The former is largely a macro systemic issue, whilst the latter mainly deals with coping at the individual or micro-systemic level.

3.9.1 COPING AT AN INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Coping can be defined as the process of managing external or internal demands that are perceived as taxing or exceeding a person's resources. On an individual level, it consists of behaviours and psychological responses designed to overcome, reduce or tolerate these demands (Taylor, 1990).

Coping involves an appraisal process secondary to the assessment of circumstances as harmful, threatening, or challenging. During this secondary appraisal, people judge their resources (such as time or money), assess their coping skills or abilities and determine whether or not they will be sufficient to overcome the threat or challenge posed by stressful events (Taylor, 1990).

Coping has been classified in various ways. One commonly found classification distinguishes between the following two general categories of coping strategies (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Taylor, 1990):

- problem-focused efforts, which involves for example breaking down major problems into manageable sub-components, and linking up with people with a similar problem, sharing experiences, perceptions and possible solutions with them; and
- strategies aimed at the regulation of emotions that include, for example, avoidance, relaxation, cognitive restructuring and seeking and utilising one's social support systems.

A sense of control plays an important role in people's ability to cope with stress. The more they perceive that they can exert an influence on what happens to them, the better they are able to cope with demands (Baum, Gatchel & Krantz, 1997). This relates to the concept locus of control. People may attribute the cause of events either to themselves, or to the external environment and the influence of powerful persons in positions of authority. Those who consider their own personalities

as the causal factor of events in their lives are said to be internally inclined or to have an internal locus of control. People who are externally inclined or have an external locus of control consider outside forces (including powerful persons) to be in control of their lives (Baum *et al.*, 1997).

Locus of control is related to cognitive factors such as attributions, which influence how people appraise their lives and cope with demands (Taylor, 1990). People who attribute the cause of their unemployment and their inability to find work to individual deficiencies, have an internal locus of control, whereas those who make attributions to factors outside themselves, have an external locus of control. Those who experience a sense of control appear to be better adjusted (Taylor, 1990).

Due to the rise in mass unemployment, many countries have offered programs of counselling, care and training for the unemployed. However, since employment may result from economic processes that are beyond the control of the individual, psychological assistance to the unemployed require non-traditional types of intervention. Conventional psychological services may prove to be ineffective in dealing with unemployment. People may, for example, need help in coping with an experience that conflicts with beliefs in the inevitability of economic improvement and the value placed on the work ethic and job involvement (Dooley, Catalano & Rook, 1988).

There are, however, people who are unemployed and experience anxiety, depression and stress. These people may find themselves jobless through no personal fault. As long as the situation in the labour market continues to prolong periods of unemployment for many individuals or denies them any chance of getting a job in the regular labour market (which is a political solution to unemployment), interventions in the form of counselling, psychiatric services and psycho-social care take on increasing significance. Since the primary aim of intervention programs, i.e., improving the participants' chances of finding a job, may not be achieved due to the existing labour market conditions, the aim of psychological stabilisation moves to the foreground (Dooley *et al.*, 1988; Kieselbach & Svensson, 1988; Trent, 1992).

There is, however, a risk in assisting people on a psychological level to cope with their unemployed status. Efforts to improve coping skills to deal with the status quo, could inhibit efforts to *change* the situation and thus encourage resignation to lower standards of living. Thus, intervention programmes should not encourage participants to merely accept and deal with their unemployment, but should instead direct them, for example, towards retraining and obtaining other qualifications to make themselves more employable (Dooley & Catalano, 1988; Kieselbach and Svensson, 1988).

One way for the individual to cope with unemployment, is through the development and use of assertive job-search skills, which are specific behaviours related to the successful acquisition of employment. The behaviour includes :

- making realistic career decisions
- seeking information about job openings
- making contacts with organisations
- presenting relevant knowledge, skills and abilities in a competent manner to potential employers (Schmit, Amel & Ryan, 1993).

Assertive job-seeking skills increases the chances (but is does not guarantee) acquiring employment; however, successful "marketing" of oneself can also lead to obtaining employment beyond one's ability (Schmit *et al.*, 1993).

3.9.2 COPING AT THE MACRO-SYSTEMIC LEVEL

Various macro-systemic interventions can be implemented to alleviate unemployment. The following steps are commonly considered:

3.9.2.1 Political empowerment

It is desirable to integrate psychological help into a context of political action aimed at a collective strengthening of the control which unemployed people have over their own living conditions. This implies going beyond the concept of prevention starting at an individual level and moves towards the goal of social empowerment. In this process, individual problems are shown to be embedded in a social context, and collective solutions are sought for collective problems. Such an approach should help overcome the perspective that regards the unemployed as merely a social victim of the capitalist economy (Kieselbach & Svensson, 1988).

Trade unions can play a significant role in political empowerment. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the working place is the second most important primary setting in a person's development and the trade unions could thus have a significant impact on people's lives. The unions are in a position to put pressure on employers and government with regard to various factors related to retaining or finding employment, including resistance against steps (e.g. privatisation, plant closure) that could lead to job losses. They can lobby for better job-training schemes run by employers, and

in local schools and training facilities, so that a more democratic character can be given to these facilities (Hyslop, 1999).

3.9.2.2 Economic empowerment

Economic empowerment of communities that are subject to large-scale unemployment is another macro-systemic intervention. Thus, in South Africa, bigger companies owned by blacks could play a role in alleviating the problems of unemployment. However, there are only a few big companies that are in the hands of black businessmen and although this is important, it does not solve the unemployment problem. Informal, small businesses also do not seem to be a viable solution, unless such businesses are incorporated into a larger economic plan that include skill training. In South Africa, many black people are involved in small businesses such as street vendors selling vegetables or other commodities. According to the RDP Monitor (1994c) such small black businesses do not play an important role in building entrepreneurial skills. These businesses are excluded from the mainstream economy, and are neither job creators nor a useful training ground for future development. In countries where the small business sector is not operated as an integral part of the development strategy, there is no record of success. The integration of black owned businesses into the economy requires training in technical and entrepreneurial skills, and since the informal sector does not provide this, it does not make any significant contribution towards resolving unemployment (RDP Monitor, 1994c).

3.9.2.3 Redistribution of wealth

Another coping strategy at a macro level is to pursue political action that would redistribute wealth. But since many of the institutions that sponsor programmes to the unemployed are controlled by those who benefit from the status quo, there is likely to be little support for teaching coping strategies that encourage political action (Dooley & Catalano, 1988)

A government may also want to discourage certain political actions directed at changing the status quo. There are various reasons for this, including protection of the members of the groups that the government represents. However, such resistance to change may place a government in a dilemma, because high unemployment may have political costs and this may force it to attempt to reduce unemployment. These attempts may be symbolic and ineffective, in preference to more politically threatening approaches such as empowerment and wealth distribution strategies (Dooley

& Catalano, 1988).

3.9.2.4 Labour intensive practices

Another coping approach, based on structuralist views, is the introduction of labour intensive techniques of production as a relief measure. This principle was recently emphasised in the implementation of RDP projects (RDP Monitor, 1994e).

3.9.2.5 Economic growth

Economic growth is one solution to unemployment, but it is difficult to achieve. It should be noted that there may be human costs (such as increased cost of living, or entrenchment associated with privatisation) that are related to economic expansion (Dooley *et al.*, 1988).

3.9.2.6 Full employment

The most significant reason why countries such as Austria, Japan, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland have succeeded in maintaining low levels of unemployment is that the principle of full employment was firmly established in their political and economic systems. In Sweden, for example, it has long been a generally accepted understanding that access to work is a democratic right for everybody, and that employment policies must aim at full employment. This policy orientation engendered extensive vocational training programs for the unemployed (Brenner & Starrin, 1988).

After the ANC government came to power, the RDP also set achievement of full employment, meeting basic needs and restructuring of the economy as priority (RDP Monitor, 1994a). How this 'work for all' was to be achieved, apparently rested on the principle of labour intensive production so that more people could be employed. At the same time there was a re-expansion of educational opportunities. However, this is a long-term project which depends on various factors, including economic growth and job creation, and which is subject to changes in the labour demand. Change may also be hampered by an economic blueprint (based on apartheid, where only certain areas of the country were developed) that developed over an extended period of time and which may continue to have an effect even when reforms are introduced.

3.9.2.7 Maintaining employment

Maintaining employment rather than ameliorating unemployment (Brenner & Starrin, 1988) is another option to deal with unemployment (Brenner & Starrin, 1988). In South Africa, efforts have been made at maintaining employment through reducing working hours, for example, a four-hour a day and four-day working week. Instead of laying off workers, work may be spread by placing all employees on a limited working hour basis with a commensurate drop in their income (Elder & Caspi, 1988).

3.9.2.8 Exerting pressure

Whether the estimated psychological effects of unemployment are strong enough to warrant public action to increase employment is a political question. Psychologist could become involved in efforts to convince politicians that the effect of unemployment is detrimental to mental health. However, attention by the government to unemployment research results differs considerably in various countries, and in many a case governments do not take these results seriously (Dooley *et al.*, 1988).

3.9.3 CONCLUSION

Various alternative solutions to unemployment have been tried. Not all of them are effective. Methods used in one country do not necessarily solve unemployment in another country. The various techniques can also come at some cost such as

- increased inflation (unemployment is thought to restrain inflation by reducing unions' eagerness to demand pay increase and consumers' ability to pay price increase);
- increased taxes;
- economic stress and its detrimental effects on well-being (Dooley *et al.*, 1988).

In this section, coping was looked at from the perspective of the individual (micro-system) and the government (macro-system). However, it must be realised that it is a global issue, with an evading solution. It is an interdisciplinary problem that requires inputs from various sectors in a community.

3.10 CONCLUSION

In terms of Bronfenbrenner's theory, contextual factors such as culture affect all the systems that constitute the reality in which people live. Similarly, Luria's study revealed that social, economic and cultural changes affect the individual's mental processes, such as perception, generalisation, deduction, reasoning and imagination. In South Africa, an important process of change involves acculturation, whereby the products of the dominant Western culture are adopted by Africans. Another important process of change in contemporary life, is globalisation. As the macro-system undergoes development, all its composite systems, down to the level of the person are changed. The studies by Bronfenbrenner and Luria give recognition to individual processes, but also indicate that the individual must be understood in terms of the broader contexts in which he or she lives. Coping with unemployment accordingly also involves interventions at various systemic levels.

Elder's studies discussed in Chapter 2 also showed how the economic dimension of the macro-system could affect the development of children and their families. Elder's studies enable us to identify some of the ecological conditions that can bring about changes in the development of the person well beyond the childhood years. Elder demonstrated that events in one setting exert their influence on a person's competence to deal with the environment and on relations with others in other settings, even decades later, i.e. experiences in one setting carry over into other settings, over extended periods of time.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) the roles, activities and relations occurring in a primary setting (such as the family, the workplace and the peer group), serve (over a period of time) to set in motion (and sustain) patterns of motivation and activity in the developing person that acquire their own momentum. The persisting pattern of motivation and activity that these settings induce could be called developmental trajectories.

Elder's studies also shed light on how these earlier developmental trajectories occur through a succession of ecological transitions from home to school, and from school into the work-place. The effect of processes occurring in one setting may not be observable until the person enters other settings later in life. This implies that the enduring developmental effects of a setting cannot always be effectively assessed within that same setting; i.e., as long as a person remains in the primary setting, one may not know with any assurance whether that setting is having a beneficial or baneful influence. For example, the full effects of school education may only become evident when the person leaves school to enter a job. Similarly, environmental situations that may in fact be harmful to psychological growth may be endured, and the undesirable effects may remain undetected as

long as people remain in these situations. In the same manner situations conducive to growth may be overlooked because of sleeper effects (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). For example, the effects of the South African Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) may not be visible in the context of its programmes, because of sleeper effects; the outcome may only become evident in later years and perhaps also in other settings.

CHAPTER 4

WORK VALUES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The intensity and direction of behaviour are determined by the ability to attain a goal and the value attached to the goal (HSRC Draft Report, 1991). Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, p. 551) define values as "(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance." Once a value is internalised, it becomes a criterion for guiding behaviour and determines concepts and actions. Values thus define what is desirable and influence the way people act and evaluate events. Values are ordered hierarchically according to their importance and this hierarchical order forms the framework for behaviour and evaluations (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

Values operate at the level of individuals, or at different levels of group formation (e.g. organisations, nations). The goals of individuals and those of organisations and nations need not be identical (Burgess, Schwartz & Blackwell, 1994), nor need the hierarchy of importance of values be identical (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987).

Value systems differ from one cultural group to another (Theron, 1992). In this chapter, Hofstede's (1980) cross-cultural studies on work-related values will be discussed. He divided values into four dimensions, namely masculinity/femininity, uncertainty avoidance, power distance and individualism/collectivism. These values tend to be stable, but can change over time; however, masculinity is more resistant to change than the other values. Hofstede conducted his studies in industries and he thus focussed on work-related values. Wollack (in Theron, 1992) defines work values as an index of a person's attitude towards work in general as contrasted with attitudes towards a specific job. It differs from job satisfaction insofar as job satisfaction refers to an employee's attitude toward his job. Work gives meaning to one's life, provides opportunities for social contact and promotes personal fulfilment (Vecchio, in Theron, 1992) and the reasons why people work are closely related to their work values. Although the values described by Hofstede are work-related, they can spill over into other spheres such as family life, schools and other

domains of life.

The initial part of this chapter deals with the work ethic and group differences in values. This is followed by a discussion of individualism, power distance, masculinity and uncertainty avoidance. The last part of this chapter deals with African work values.

4.2 WORK ETHIC

Hofstede (1980) relates religion to values and discusses various biblical interpretations of work. Based on Hofstede's work, Theron (1992) also describes how work values are based on biblical interpretations. According to Theron (1992) the concept of the work ethic and the values implicit in it, are rooted in the Protestant tradition. The work ethic revolves around four value dimensions:

- the good provider: this links up with the masculine value that 'the man who provides for his family is a real man';
- independence: according to this, work is of importance because it helps one to be independent of others; independence ties in with efficaciousness and the belief in oneself to bring about changes in one's environment and to control one's life (i.e., an internal locus of control);
- success: this refers to a belief that hard work always pays off;
- self-respect: this implies that hard work is an inherent dignity.

No studies could be traced which describes the relationship between traditional African religions and economic activities. It is possible that slow economic growth in Africa could be related to traditional religious beliefs. Unlike Christianity which has a linear time concept, reverence of the ancestors (which is central to African religions) is not focussed on a fixed end state in the future, but involves the maintenance of harmonious relationships with the ancestors (and thus the past) (see for example, Mbiti, 1969; Setiloane, 1978; Schoeman, 1985). African culture contains, in present times, elements of both African and Christian culture and in the churches it is often preached that one should not be interested in earthly acquirement, but only heavenly acquirement.

The Protestant work ethic formed the basis from which the capitalistic ethic developed. The capitalistic ethic developed as an evolutionary process that had its roots in the free enterprise economies of antiquity. During the Middle Ages the views of the church regarding commercial activities restrained commercialism. Usury (lending money at high interest) was frowned upon as a dubious activity. However, significant cultural changes facilitated the rise of the capitalistic ethic. Urbanisation and the development of nations stimulated the growth of commerce and industry. The

values of competition and individualism were directly responsible for the growth of the market system that was vital to industrial capitalism. Competition and individualism made the product markets of the 19th Century more competitive and self-regulating. Culture also influenced the development of a machine technology that was the essence of the Industrial Revolution creating a new economy and a new society in an internationally extending environment (Theron, 1992).

4.3 GROUP DIFFERENCES IN WORK VALUES

There are similarities and differences in both the relative meaning and importance of specific work values according to racial-cultural group membership. A discussion of this is complicated because in South Africa, socio-economic status and racial-cultural strata are intertwined (Claassen & Schepers, 1990).

According to Theron (1992), research findings indicate a high degree of similarity between the work values of newly hired white and black university graduates. Both race groups stress the importance of job satisfaction and achievement. Both groups rate hygienic factors less important, although blacks give significantly higher priority to security needs than whites. Theron (1992) also cites research that blue-collar black employees and people from lower socio-economic levels assign more importance to lower order needs as described in Maslow's hierarchy. In contrast, the black managerial sample in Theron's (1992) study emphasised higher order needs such as autonomy and self-actualisation. It was found that blacks became more task orientated and exhibited achievement values when they expected that their own behaviour (internal locus of control) can determine the occurrence of rewards. Lefcourt (in Theron, 1992) postulated that with gradual changes in blacks' opportunities for upward mobility, blacks would increasingly respect and value middle-class goals and therefore accept middle-class values and consequently display more achievement orientated behaviour.

According to Theron (1992) it can be expected that blacks' value systems will transform to that of the whites. However, this transformation is hampered by various factors. South African blacks as well as other members of lower socio-economic classes usually grow up outside the mainstream of middle-class work values and are deprived of the meaning and inherent significance of work as reflected in the work ethic. Related to this, black youth often do not have significant others who can serve as models with whom they can identify as desirable occupational models. Blacks are relatively deprived of work-related cultural training and socialisation during their formative years. This can partly be attributed to the racial discrimination that prevailed in South Africa over many decades and which still has an impact on the country.

The cultural-racial and socio-economic differences in work values can be interpreted as different settings, according to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) systems theory. This means that different cultural and socio-economic groups constitute different settings, based on different blueprints containing different values.

Development from lower to higher socio-economic status assumes that individuals move from one setting to another, and the relationship between the two settings must be conducive towards such a change. Moving from one setting to another could bring about changes in value systems. This can be understood in terms of Barker's (Orford, 1992) theory about behaviour settings. As was described in Chapter 3, a behaviour setting contains a network of physical, social, and cultural characteristics that elicit regular patterns of behaviour. This means that people act in response to the requirements in a behaviour setting (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). Since values are inherent in settings, and since people tend to avoid dissonance (Baron & Byrne, 1997), behaviour that is in harmony with the values in a setting is likely to occur.

In order for blacks to move from lower to higher socio-economic classes, there must be links between these levels in society. However, if the boundaries separating the settings (i.e., social classes) are rigid and impermeable, this link may be inadequate and not conducive towards change. As a result, certain rules which facilitate change, such as having information about the alternative setting, being accompanied by somebody who knows people in both settings, etc. (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) are not met. This means that changing from lower to higher socio-economic levels becomes difficult to achieve.

As was indicated above with reference to Theron's (1992) study, exposure to a higher socio-economic environment would change work values, but the relationship between socio-economic status and work values is not straightforward. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) education is the most significant factor that determines socio-economic status, whilst things such as residential area and type of job play a lesser role. However, socio-economic status in the first place co-determines whether a person has access to education. The effect education has on determining a person's socio-economic status is further complicated by double messages associated with it; on the one hand, children are often taught that improving their qualifications will lead to socio-economic improvement; but at the same time, they are also told that education alone will not ensure success (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

4.4 INDIVIDUALISM

4.4.1 THE NATURE OF INDIVIDUALISM

According to Hofstede (1980) individualism describes the prevailing relationship in a given society between the individual and the collectivity. It relates to the way people live together, for example in nuclear and extended families, the community or tribes. The extent to which either individualism or its opposite, collectivism, is valued, differs from culture to culture. Individualism can be seen as a blessing, and a source of well-being in some cultures, while in others it is seen as alienating. This does not mean that a culture is either individualistic or collectivistic. According to Triandis (1990) all cultures have both collectivist and individualistic tendencies.

Collectivism means that the individual's well-being is dependent on the group's well-being, which implies that collaboration should get preference above competition. There is a greater emotional dependence of members on their group (for example, the members in an organisation) and the latter takes a broad responsibility for its members (Theron, 1992). Family integrity and the interdependence of family members are aspects of collectivism. Self-reliance and separation from the in-group represent aspects of individualism (Triandis, 1990).

In-group fate, in-group achievement, and interdependence within the in-group are emphasised by collectivists. Personal fate, personal achievement, and independence from the in-group are emphasised by individualists (Triandis, 1990). In a communal society, the society emphasises a community value system and that earthly riches are to be equally distributed, whereas individualistic societies independence from others is emphasised.

Hofstede (1980) points out how different cultures place different emphasis on achievement. In some cultures, children are encouraged to be socially responsible, where one's goals should benefit the group and self-centeredness is discouraged. Achievement should benefit the whole community. In a collectivist culture, in-group goals have primacy over individual goals. Appelgryn (1991) distinguishes between individual and group goals; these two may coincide, but may also differ. When such differences occur, dissonance may occur, and as a resolution to this the person may either take responsibility and change his or her goals, or place the responsibility on the group.

The self is defined as an appendage of the in-group in collectivist cultures and as a separate and distinct entity in individualistic cultures; in individualist cultures attitudes play a more important role

than norms, whereas the latter are important in collectivist cultures (Triandis, 1990).

Collectivists emphasise hierarchy, i.e., vertical relationships take priority whereas relationships between equals are emphasised in individualistic cultures. Harmony and saving face are important attributes among collectivists whereas in individualistic cultures, confrontations within the in-group are acceptable and are desirable (Triandis, 1990).

4.4.2 THE ORIGIN OF INDIVIDUALISM

Two factors contribute towards the development of individualism:

The major determinant of the shift from collectivism to individualism is individual affluence (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990). According to Triandis (1990) social mobility and geographical mobility contribute toward individualism, which in turn is associated with affluence.

Family composition and child rearing practices also play a role. If the emphasis falls on the nuclear family instead of the extended family, individualism is fostered. In individualistic cultures, child-rearing practices emphasise the child's autonomy, self-reliance and independence. In collectivist cultures the emphasis is on obedience, duty and sacrifice for the in-group (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990).

4.4.3 FACTORS RELATED TO INDIVIDUALISM

According to Beteille (in Theron, 1992) there is a relationship between political democracy, capitalism, competition and individualism. A capitalistic economy fosters individualism whereas the various socialist economies foster collectivism. This implies that there is likely to be a link between individualism, and the extent to which a country can participate in a global economy. As was indicated in Chapter 3, a capitalist democracy is regarded as a precondition for globalisation. From this would follow that the extent to which countries, or a group of people in a country, endorse individualism, will play a role in whether they become globalised.

With regard to the black community, South Africa's recent history emphasised concern for the collective fate of one's group, instead of individualism. This was evidenced, for example, in the formation and active role of political and labour groups (e.g. the United Democratic Front) which

had an important impact on transformation in the country (Theron, 1992).

A further aspect of the South African context is the existence of different ethnic groups. The main groups are the Nguni (including Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi), the Ndebele, the Sotho-Tswana group, Shangaan-Tsonga and Venda. In addition to these, are the whites (who also divide into different ethnic groups), the Indians (with their subdivisions) and the coloured community. These groups place differing emphases on individualism and collectivism, and within each of the groups there are also variations (Theron, 1992). Hofstede (1980), based on his study of IBM, described South Africa as individualistic; but this does not reflect the complexity and diversity of value systems in South Africa.

There is also an association between the degree of collectivism/individualism in a society and its degree of modernity and level of economic development. Technologies developed in Western individualistic settings presuppose an individualistic mentality that is part of modernity (Hofstede, 1980; Theron, 1992). Countries' wealth is also correlated with individualism (Hofstede, 1980). However, there are also exceptions; for example, in African countries such as Libya, and Arabic countries such as Kuwait, there is a lot of wealth but they are not necessarily individualistic. It must be borne in mind that the above differences between countries cannot be attributed to different value systems only. The economic development of a country also depends on other factors, such as the natural resources that are available.

In wealthy countries, individualism does not guarantee continued economic growth. If countries become too wealthy they become too individualistic to grow any more (Hofstede, 1980). This suggests that there is a stabilisation of wealth among affluent countries: the rich countries, after having reached a certain standard don't become any richer. This can also be interpreted with reference to Jaffee's (1986) views on economic growth, followed by economic stagnation, crisis and restructuring. According to him, growth is followed by stagnation. This leads to a crisis that necessitates restructuring by means of either capital mobility (i.e., the movement of capital and people from one area to another) or changes in methods of manufacturing.

4.5 POWER DISTANCE

4.5.1 THE NATURE OF POWER DISTANCE

Mulder (in Theron, 1992) defines power as the potential to determine or direct the behaviour of

another person. According to Hofstede (1980) there are various kinds of power, such as reward power, coercive power, legitimate power (based on rules), referent power (based on personal charisma of the powerful and identification with him by the less powerful), and expert power (based on the expertise of a specialist).

Power distance relates to the degree of inequality in power between a less powerful individual and a more powerful other. Hofstede (1980) defines power distance as a measure of the interpersonal power or influence between two people, as perceived by the less powerful of the two. In addition, there is also a power relationship between an individual and a group (for example between a leader and his subjects), as well as between groups (for example a ruling and a subordinate group).

Power distance is a value that deals with the desirability and undesirability of inequality and of dependence against independence in society. Values about inequality are associated with values about the exercise of power (Theron, 1992), i.e., if inequality is emphasised, power over others is also emphasised.

Power distance is based on the following hypotheses (Hofstede, 1980):

- the mere exercise of power will give satisfaction;
- the more powerful individual will strive to maintain or to increase power distance with regard to the less powerful person;
- the greater the distance between the powerful and the less powerful, the stronger the striving by the powerful to increase the distance;
- less powerful individuals will strive to reduce the power distance between themselves and more powerful persons;
- the smaller the distance between the less powerful and the more powerful person, the stronger the tendency amongst the less powerful to reduce it; although Hofstede does not specify it as such, it can be hypothesised that as the distance between the powerful and the less powerful becomes smaller, the former will try to increase it.

In summary, there is a downward tendency of the powerful to maintain the power distance and an upward power distance reduction of the less powerful, which both reinforce each other (Hofstede, 1980).

Power distance spills over from one setting (e.g. work organisations) into others. It is thus likely that inequalities in power in a particular system such as the economic sphere, would also be reflected in inequalities in other areas such as social status and prestige, wealth and rights (Hofstede, 1980).

This can be interpreted in terms of systems theory. Different settings often share a common blueprint, and are linked with each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The extent to which this spilling over occurs, partly depends on the permeability of the boundaries between systems and subsystems. However, although there may be similarities in power distance in various settings, it is also possible that, in the case of rigid boundaries, power distance may be salient and prevalent in one system but not in another.

4.5.2 THE ORIGIN OF POWER DISTANCE

The origin of the value of power distance lies in the early socialisation by the family, the school, and other institutions of society. This value need not manifest itself immediately in youth, but may only become manifest in later life. This can also be interpreted with reference to systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The macro-system is like a blueprint that manifests in various systems, and every environment (including the family) has its blueprint that is partly derived from the macro-system. During development, the child makes this blueprint his own, and this helps him to fit in with the environment.

4.5.3 FACTORS RELATED TO POWER DISTANCE

Greater wealth in a country presupposes higher technology, and higher technology presupposes a higher educated and a better paid labour force. Thus wealth will be more equally distributed and power will also be more equally distributed. In contrast, the greater the power inequality, the greater the wealth inequality (Hofstede, 1980). This implies that if there is small power distance in a country, it is likely that there will be economic development that positively affects the whole community.

Economic restructuring may entail a change in power distance. Jaffee's (1986) discussion of social classes and the Marxist struggle between classes is related to this. The struggle entails, from the side of the subordinate group, an effort to eliminate the power distance and to restructure the economy of a country. Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes a situation in the USSR where the restructuring of the economy of the country required a change in the power relations between the community and the leaders. The leadership corps was removed so that there was a virtual absence of power distance; however, the original culture (including power distance) subsequently re-emerged. The reason for the latter was possibly the existence of a blueprint in the macro-system

which emphasised power distance.

4.6 MASCULINITY

4.6.1 THE NATURE OF MASCULINITY

In Hofstede's theory, the words masculine and feminine do not refer to personality traits or to gender in a narrow sense, but to the learned styles of interpersonal interactions that are deemed to be socially appropriate to specific social contexts (Hofstede, 1980; Theron, 1992). Masculinity and femininity refer to the dominant gender role pattern in most traditional and modern societies, where the role of the male is assertiveness and the role of the female is nurturance (Hofstede, 1980). Much of societal masculinity-femininity differences are historically and traditionally determined. These differences are stable, and even in modern nations masculinity and femininity remain differentiated.

The importance of males and females in the transfer of values differ, depending on the specific value involved. For the transfer of power distance the role of the father is most crucial; for the transfer of masculinity and femininity the role of the mother is crucial (Hofstede, 1980). According to Hofstede (1980), the value of individualism is not systematically linked to masculinity or femininity.

4.6.2 FACTORS RELATED TO MASCULINITY

Greater importance is attached to achievement in masculine societies. This is also evident in the school system. School performance is emphasised in Germany (which is a masculine country); there is a strong pressure for performance that in extreme cases can lead to suicide attempts among students who fail. In the Netherlands (a feminine country), on the other hand, there is less pressure for performance; suicides among young people occur but rarely because of failed exams (Hofstede, 1980).

Women's liberation movements in more masculine countries tend to be more aggressive. In more feminine countries, women's liberation movements are less aggressive and want to reform the entire society along traditionally feminine ways (Hofstede, 1980).

The masculine value system is associated with high stress levels and individual decision-making rather than group decision-making and also with preference for large corporations that have a right to interfere in the lives of their employees (Theron, 1992).

The masculine value system is also related to religion. Catholic cultures tend to be more masculine than Protestant cultures (Hofstede, 1980). This view of Hofstede must be interpreted by taking the particular context into consideration. In a particular culture, masculine values may be predominant with regard to certain spheres of life (for example in a family context), but in other domains feminine values may be dominant (for example, in a community service context).

4.7 UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE

4.7.1 THE NATURE OF UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE

Hofstede (1980) describes uncertainty avoidance as a value that refers to the level of anxiety about the future in a country and the consequent need to protect society through technology, rules and religion. *Technology* includes all human artefacts. It helps people to defend themselves against uncertainties caused by nature. *Rules* include all formal and informal guidelines for social behaviour; they help people to defend themselves against uncertainties in the behaviour of others. *Religion* includes all revealed knowledge of the unknown; it helps people to accept the uncertainties they cannot defend themselves against. The knowledge of a life after death is the ultimate certainty of the believer which allows people to face uncertainties in this life (Hofstede, 1980; Theron, 1992).

Ways of coping with uncertainty belong to the cultural heritage of societies and are transformed and reinforced through basic institutions such as the family, school and state. This implies that different societies deal with uncertainty in different ways. The above-mentioned three ways of coping may thus lead to collective behaviour in one society which may seem aberrant and incomprehensible to members of other societies (Hofstede, 1980).

4.7.2 FACTORS RELATED TO UNCERTAINTY AVOIDANCE

Uncertainty avoidance is related to a number of factors. These are described in the following paragraphs.

Anxiety: The way in which anxiety is released, depends on the general level of uncertainty avoidance in a particular country. On the high uncertainty avoidance side, anxiety is released more through aggressiveness and emotions for which society has created outlets. On the low uncertainty avoidance side, anxiety is released more through passive relaxation, whilst aggressiveness and emotions are not approved of socially (Hofstede, 1980).

Aggression: The higher level of aggressiveness on the high uncertainty side makes conflict and competition more threatening than is the case in the low uncertainty countries. People in high uncertainty countries feel a greater need for consensus, group decisions are ideologically popular, although not necessarily more frequent (Hofstede, 1980).

Tolerance: Tolerance toward people with different ideas or who show deviant behaviour and toward people from other countries, is more prevalent on the low uncertainty side. This tolerance also stretches to young people and their ideas, which are believed to be more of a potential threat in high uncertainty countries. Changes in these high uncertainty countries are resisted more emotionally, there is a greater desire to conservatism and a desire for law and order (Hofstede, 1980).

Achievement: Achievement in life in the high uncertainty countries is defined in terms of acquired security, while achievement is related more to social recognition in low uncertainty, which is also associated with a greater willingness to take risks (Hofstede, 1980). A strong achievement motive indicates a low uncertainty and thus a willingness to take risks. A strong preference for group decisions and consultative management disclose risk avoidance for the individual decision-maker (Hofstede 1980; Theron 1992).

Ritualistic belief in experts: The high uncertainty side looks for the absolute, both in science and in legislation; relativism and pragmatism belong more on the low uncertainty side (Hofstede, 1980). The ritual element in the high uncertainty societies is represented in a belief in experts. This reliance on experts discourages lay citizens from taking initiative, for example in their jobs. This is associated with feelings of incompetence among ordinary members of organisations (Hofstede, 1980).

4.8 AFRICAN WORK VALUES

In this section, two aspects of the African value system and its relationship to the work environment will be discussed. These are *botho* and *personalissimo*. The relationship of these two to Hofstede's value system will also be indicated.

4.8.1 BOTHO/UBUNTU

In the following paragraphs, the concepts *botho* and *ubuntu* are discussed. Where no source references are indicated, the information was gained through discussions with elders in the community where the study was conducted.

Botho is a Tswana word, and *ubuntu* is a Nguni word. The elders in the community where the study was conducted, explained the concept *botho* as follows to the researcher: *Botho* is derived from *motho* (a person), with *batho* (people) the plural. *Botho* has the connotation of referring to someone who is perfect. The BaTswana also use *bokreste* as a synonym for *botho*. This means, be like Christ, and with regard to a person who has this characteristic, it is said *konyana ya Modimo* i.e., lamb of God; this refers to having the qualities of Christ, such as not to take revenge, to be kind, to regard other people as your children and to look after them, even to the extent that one can die for them. In a sense *botho* reflects the person one aspires to be, which is similar to the concept of the ideal self.

Someone who is *botho*, is also regarded as *lekgoanyana*, a term to denote English speaking whites. It relates to the tenderness expressed by a person. One of the reasons for this positive feeling towards the English speaking South Africans, is probably that the latter protected the BaTswana against other tribes and also gave them their queen (the white wife of the former president of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama).

In African thought patterns, *botho* is not regarded as exclusive to blacks. People from other groups can also have this quality. *Botho* is an ideal human characteristic that is taught at home. Children are taught values such as respect for others, obedience, and humanness. True *botho* is regarded as a rare quality, which not all people possess. Not all people from Africa have this quality. This is evidenced, for example in crime, a lack of concern for street children, and other things that indicate an absence of *botho*. Whether one has it or not, depends on the way one is brought up and one's personality.

Theron (1992) used the term ubuntu and said it is an African value related to collectivism. It entails humanness, consideration for others, helping others, working as part of a team, maintaining friendly relationships with other people and sharing with others. Individualism is opposed to collectivism (or communalism). In the African context collectivism may be seen as African socialism of which there are different versions, which implies that there are various forms of ubuntu, differing from country to country. African socialism does not imply any class struggle but draws its inspiration from the spirit that has imbued clans and tribes from long time ago. The spirit is a driving force that compels every individual to community service. It is capable of adapting itself to the circumstances usually prevailing in developing societies (Theron, 1992).

According to the Tswana culture, botho is a feminine concept as is shown by the name *Mmabatho* (literally: mother of the people), which is a female name; there is not a male name for botho in Setswana. The legend is that during a famine the queen Mmabatho breast-fed her people, thus symbolising feminine nurturing. It thus appears that in the Tswana culture, botho refers to both feminine and collectivist values. Common between the two is the obligation to care for others. On a practical level, according to Hofstede (1980), feminine values can be expressed for example in donations to non-governmental organisations, caring for others, and protecting the weak.

On the level of international relationships, botho implies that when one country overpowers another country, the powerful one must protect the weaker one, and not ill-treat the conquered. According to the elders of the village where the present study was conducted, this form of botho is illustrated in the history of Lesotho, when weaker tribes went to Lesotho for protection against the Afrikaner and other tribes. This view was extended to England when it protected Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and formed the former Protectorates.

In recent South African history, the freeing of Nelson Mandela by the then president, De Klerk, and Mandela's forgiveness are expressions of botho. Mandela's botho can also be explained by Van der Post's (1976) theory of living with your capturer during wars. If one is captured during war and lives with one's enemies, one learns to understand them better and this could decrease ill-feelings towards them.

Botho can also be interpreted in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Allport, 1961). Self-actualisation implies that the person becomes involved in issues that transcend his own personal life and that he lives for a bigger cause involving the well-being of other people. This is related to a sense of social responsibility, which is essentially what botho means.

The above discussion reflects the positive side of botho. However, there is also a negative side to it. It could encourage practices that undermine good government, such as corruption (Ogden, 1998). The latter can be explained as follows: according to traditional African values, one is expected to protect and assist close friends and relatives, and this could lead to turning a blind eye to corruption.

4.8.2 PERSONALISSIMO

Personalissimo is related to botho, but differs from it. It refers to a communalistic system of obtaining jobs. It means that somebody in employment has a moral obligation to find jobs for relatives or friends (Theron, 1992). It thus facilitates the ecological transition (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) from a home setting to a work setting.

The familial culture of personalissimo leads to ethnic homogeneity in the work setting, which improves organisational effectiveness and organisational control, facilitates socialisation in the work place, promotes commitment to the organisation, and reduces turnover and damage to company property. Being a member of an ethnically homogeneous work group that shares the same values is beneficial to the individual. In crisis situations and in circumstances of severe economic, social and political pressures, ethnically homogeneous groups could lend both psychological support and security to their members, which are necessary conditions for effective performance. Psychological security reduces uncertainty, such as could occur in societies when people move away from subsistence agriculture to supply and demand economies. However, the practice of personalissimo can also have adverse effects. It could lead to inefficiency if people without the necessary knowledge, skills or motivation are employed (Theron, 1992).

4.9 CONCLUSION

Values reflect the adaptations that people have made to their environment and people tend to behave according to the values they hold. Because values influence behaviour, they also have an effect on social and economic development, and thus on unemployment. In terms of Hofstede's (1980) theory, individualism and masculinity encourage development, and the latter decreases power distance. However, it is possible that a communalistic and nurturing (feminine) approach may also contribute to development. Efforts at development that are based on values that do not fit with those of the community, are less likely to be successful than interventions that link with the

community's values (Orford, 1992). Since communalism and feminine values would be in synchrony with African values such as botho and personalissimo, it is possible that developmental interventions based on these values, could initiate and sustain development. It is also possible that certain aspects of developmental interventions should be based on individualistic and masculine values, whereas other aspects should be based on communalistic and feminine values. To what extent this is the case, will be explored in this study.

There are indications that the value systems of groups, such as socio-economic, racial or cultural groups, differ. This can be conceptualised in terms of the blueprint of the group, which relates to a pattern of behaviour of people in interaction with their contexts, where values play a central role in determining the pattern of behaviour. Because of these multiple value systems, people may interpret the same phenomenon differently, and behave accordingly, depending on their value systems. However, education and modernity appear to have an equalising effect in that it tends to contribute towards the development of a common value system, irrespective of racial or cultural background. This implies that values are changeable, and consequently people may also change their behaviour if their value systems change. However, although some values may change, there are also values that do not change easily. In Chapter 4 it was indicated that worldview is so fundamental to all aspects of life that it is resistant to change. The values imbedded in a worldview would accordingly resist change. These values might not be immediately evident and may be dormant, but may guide behaviour when the situation requires it. It is possible that such values might oppose social and economic development. To what extent this is the case, will be investigated in this study.

CHAPTER 5

RESTRUCTURING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the relationship between restructuring and unemployment will be discussed. Restructuring takes place when the social and economic structure of a society becomes ineffective, and the society initiates steps to change it, so as to address its socio-economic problems. To resolve these problems, restructuring of major sectors of the economy is usually done; however, these steps may bring about additional problems, such as widespread plant closure and increases in unemployment (Hansen, 1988).

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that was initiated in South Africa after the 1994 transition to democracy, was aimed at socio-economic restructuring of the country. In this chapter, the RDP is used as an example to illustrate the principles that must be adhered to for community interventions to be successful.

Economic changes are often associated with social problems. To interpret this, as a theoretical basis for restructuring, Durkheim's theory is also discussed in this chapter. He interprets restructuring from both a revolutionary and a social perspective. With regard to Durkheim's theory, specific reference will be made to liminality and dedifferentiation. The Neo-Marxist cyclical, evolutionary theory on restructuring is also discussed.

5.2 CHANGES IN JOB PATTERNS

Restructuring changes the available job opportunities. Jobs may also become obsolete as a result of restructuring. It may lead, for example, to a decline in job opportunities for unskilled industrial workers and farm workers, whilst the demand for professional, technical, clerical, sales and services spheres may increase (Mussen *et al.*, 1990; Standing, 1986). In the American economy, restructuring led to the creation of jobs in the area of high technology and services (the latter includes, for example, health and tourism.) (Hansen, 1988; Mussen *et al.*, 1990). Also in the United Kingdom, a substantial shift took place from manufacturing to services (Standing, 1986).

Restructuring is, however, not always related to alternative job opportunities; it may also lead to a decline in total employment (Hansen, 1988; Luca & Bruni, 1993). In South Africa, restructuring within the top 100 South African companies during the early 1990s reduced staff by 20%. During this period 169 000 jobs were lost and more than 800 000 employees were affected by restructuring (RDP Monitor, 1994d).

As a result of restructuring, the composition of the labour force may also change. It may result, for example, in males losing their jobs and an increase in the youth and female labour force, which thus necessitates that the women and children take on new roles (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Mussen *et al.*, 1990).

5.3 SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Restructuring may result in unemployment and one possible solution to this could be self-employment. A number of factors could influence self-employment. These include gender, marital status, race, educational level and family background. With regard to gender, Standing (1986) found that in England, self-employment was more often opted for by females than by males. In America, Boyd (1990) found that marital status did not play a mediating role in self-employment amongst blacks, and there were no differences in the rates of self-employment amongst married or unmarried persons.

Formal education influences self-employment amongst American blacks since this provides them with the necessary knowledge and skills to run their own businesses. However, it does not play a major role amongst American Asians. The latter frequently grow up in homes where self-employment forms the basis for the families' economic activity. They thus have an informal family support network, where they obtain the necessary knowledge and skills, and which then also promotes further self-employment. The economic activities of American Asians do not seem to limit the opportunities for self-employment amongst American blacks, because the two races do not compete directly but cater for different clients (Boyd, 1990). In South Africa, however, the situation is different since Asian families often cater for black clients.

Affirmative action in America has led to an increase in the number of government jobs held by blacks. This affected self-employment amongst American blacks, in that the latter preferred appointments in the government and became less inclined to become self-employed (Boyd, 1990). This could cause problems in a country such as South Africa, where blacks form the majority group. Affirmative action could create an attitude of expecting the government to take responsibility

for providing employment, and not taking initiative, thereby people not doing much for their own upliftment and not contributing much to the economy. In addition, jobs are a scarce resource for which people compete and the latter may bring about tension in a community.

5.4 CAPITAL MOBILITY

In a previous chapter, it was indicated that systems theory forms a focal point of this study. In this section, theoretical perspectives that can form a basis for interpreting unemployment in terms of macro-systemic structures and processes are discussed.

Employment in manufacturing plays an important role in working class mobility. Because growth and expansion of this industry has been the leading source for improvement in the living standards of the working class, loss of jobs in this sector has serious implications for them. Changes in employment in manufacturing, are partly the result of variations in the socio-economic characteristics of geographic regions. A theory specifically relevant to explain such variations, and interregional shifts in capital and employment in manufacturing within and between countries, is the Neo-Marxist theory (Jaffee, 1986). This theory is discussed in the following paragraphs.

According to Neo-Marxist theory, industries grow, but reach a point of stagnation, in other words the methods that initially promoted development, begin to inhibit development (Jaffee, 1986). Hofstede (1980) holds a related view. According to him, individualistic countries grow up to a certain level, and then stop developing. This means that individualism does not guarantee economic development, and it is possible that communal methods might also stimulate further development.

Neo-Marxist theorists consider the mobility of capital and employment to be a leading feature of the larger process of capital accumulation. Because capitalist accumulation requires conditions of profitability, and these conditions tend to vary temporally and spatially, capitalist growth is expected to be spatially uneven (Jaffee, 1986). According to Neo-Marxism (Jaffee, 1986) capital investments tend to be directed towards those activities and geographic areas where costs are lowest and net profit the greatest. As a result, capital accumulation shows uneven growth and uneven spatial expansion. In practical terms, this could mean that urban centres and their immediate environment where there is an existing economic infrastructure, may attract more investment for development, than rural and semi-rural villages, where there is a lack of infrastructure and where people are less affluent. As a consequence, there may be fewer employment opportunities in rural and semi-rural areas as compared to urban centres.

Phases of rapid capital accumulation (the expansion phase) are facilitated by the institutionalisation of a set of favourable productive and social arrangements (this social structure of accumulation can also be referred to as the economic system in a country). These favourable conditions include the cost of investment capital and material inputs, the cost and organisation of labour power, the accessibility and depth of markets and the character of state activity. However, as social and productive relations are transformed during the expansion phase, these once favourable conditions become obstacles to sustained capital growth. This gives rise to economic slump, stagnation, and general crisis. This is similar to the view in systems theory (Schwartz, 1997), that positive feedback, which stimulates change and development, may eventually lead to a disintegration of a system. Such stagnation and crisis can only be resolved when new social structures of accumulation are established, to produce a renewed period of capital expansion and growth (Jaffee, 1986).

Capital mobility and industrial restructuring are important responses to economic crisis and falling profit margins, and are the first steps toward the establishment of a new social structure of accumulation. Industrial restructuring involves that either existing modes of production are improved, or new modes of production are introduced. Capital mobility occurs when capital is moved from a less favourable to a more favourable area, and geographic relocation is thus a means to re-establish profitability. The movement of capital and the restructuring of industries are influenced by various factors, including technological advances in transportation and communication, the replacement of natural with synthetic materials which makes it unnecessary to relocate an industry closer to natural resources, and the size and concentration of productive units. As the costs of capital mobility are reduced, the velocity is enhanced. (Jaffee, 1986).

The introduction of new modes of production may make the skills that workers have obsolete, and this may lead to unemployment, unless some form of retraining occurs through which marketable skills are obtained. The movement of capital from one region to another may also affect employment in that workers who are employed at an existing site, may lose their jobs; in contrast, however, people in the new setting will gain in employment opportunities.

The theory on capital mobility has a different emphasis than Barker's (in Orford, 1992) theory about behavioural settings. According to Jaffee (1986), when there is stagnation and crisis, people have to change the means of production or change the production from one area to another area. Barker says that when a setting becomes overmanned, it has either to be extended, or the criteria for entrance must be changed to make entry more difficult. Thus, where Jaffee states that in cases of economic crises, capital must be moved to another favourable area, or the economic/industrial

setting must restructure itself, Barker states that the setting must be made smaller. Smaller settings are, according to Barker, more profitable than the larger settings. These different views need not be mutually exclusive. It is feasible to assume that under certain conditions, the principles proposed by Barker may lead to an optimal solution, whereas in other situations those proposed by the Neo-Marxist approach would be applicable.

5.5 REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

5.5.1 THE SACRED AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Neo-Marxist theory describes how change occurs due to economic processes. Change may, however, also occur due to other factors, such as acculturation (see paragraph 3.7) and revolution. Revolutionary change means that the total system changes as a result of concerted and directed actions of a group of people, which mobilise the participation of other groups in society. The struggle for the establishment of democracy in South Africa bears similarity to revolutionary change, and the semi-rural village where the present study was conducted, did not escape this. Emil Durkheim's theoretical understanding of the French Revolution proved to be particularly useful for interpreting events in the area where the present study was conducted, especially since he emphasised the religious dimension of a revolution, and since religion is a central aspect of African cosmology (Mbiti, 1969). In the following paragraphs Durkheim's views about religion and revolution are discussed.

There are periods in history when social interaction becomes more frequent and active. This state of heightened activity and energy, which is also associated with a sense of power, generates what is called effervescence (Hunt, 1988). The sacred has its origins when such a surplus of energy, that occurs during extraordinary high levels of social interaction, becomes attached to an object that people can see and understand. Such interaction during collective gatherings create a sense of belonging to and participating in something greater than the individual life (Tiryakian, 1988). The act of uniting in collective assemblies, generates societal consciousness in people, which provides them with a feeling of force or energy which, on an aggregate basis conveys a sense of power - the power to do things, to transform the social order (Tiryakian, 1988). A revolutionary movement also has its origin in the increased energy and the increase in force which individuals feel when they assemble together, and it is linked to sacredness in the sense that the revolutionary movement becomes the sacred object.

Revolutions are periods of creative effervescence, where new ideas and new formulae are found which guide people's behaviour for a period of time. A revolution can thus be seen as successful to the extent that it leads to new bases of societal organisation and restructuring. According to Durkheim, social renewal is the genesis of the sacred, and religious effervescence provides guiding principles for the society of tomorrow (Tiryakian, 1988).

The energy tapped by this intense social exchange is then invested in some object, which is taken to represent collective ideals. Collective ideals become concretely realised in material objects that are communally shared. These objects can take various forms, such as special kinds of clothing, natural objects or symbols such as emblems (Hunt, 1988). Such a new symbolic system constitutes a revolutionary religion. The French Revolution was political in origin, but functioned on the lines and assumed many aspects of a religious revolution, for example the messianic quality that it would bring 'the good news' to people everywhere (Hunt, 1988). The revolutionary religion was sacred, because it derived from the political institution itself and was thus closely tied to the state. Even if the forms of this political institution changed over time, the faith in revolution remained fundamentally the same (Hunt, 1988).

The revolutionary festivals during the French Revolution were visible acts of coming together and doing things together. They served the function of forming a revolutionary community, and reflected a sense of oneness and equality, which homogenised the new society (Hunt, 1988). Through these festivals, the previous French ceremonial notions of space and time were transformed. This occurred, for example, by removing or avoiding spatial reminders of the Catholic past, such as the religious processional routes of the past. The festivals were also held in large open spaces. Open spaces were well-suited for the expression of new values because open spaces had no memories associated with them. Verticality was disliked since it was associated with hierarchy and the domination by the church, which were symbolically expressed in the church towers over the urban landscape. Horizontality, on the other hand, was preferred because it is essentially egalitarian (Hunt, 1988). During the French Revolution, the experience of time also changed. Catholic feast days were abolished, new ones instituted and the entire calendar was rearranged. Reminders of the previous regime were eliminated and new festivals were created to celebrate the change (Hunt, 1988).

The new space and time concepts provided a new cognitive basis for the community. It implied that new social values were instilled, which emphasised consensus and unity, thus promoting a feeling of solidarity. Participation in the revolutionary movement, i.e., participation in the sacred, provided the religious and political bonds which bound people together into a nation, and formed the basis

for political mobilisation (Hunt, 1988; Tiryakian, 1988).

The French revolution destroyed patriarchal society. The revolutionaries declared the 'father' (king) guilty, killed him and thereby destroyed the traditional framework of authority. With the king's death, it was hoped, went the legitimacy of the old regime, and its social, political and cultural authority. In its place came political liberation and equality of people, similar to a family run by brothers, that did not have parents. In this new social order the role of women was symbolised in the figure of Liberty, who appeared sometimes with children, but most often as a young woman, fragile and in need of the protection of her brothers. She did not have a husband or a father (Hunt, 1988).

The king's execution can be compared to a religious festival that celebrated the people's deliverance from oppression. It was followed by the September massacres during which hundreds of prisoners were executed after kangaroo-court hearings. The massacres were the result of a general insurrection resulting from the people's desire for justice and protection. Violence was necessary to break with the past, defend the present and assure hopes for the future (Hunt, 1988).

The execution of the king was similar to a ritual sacrifice. The king had to pay not only for his own crimes and those of all French monarchs before him, but also for the guilt of the revolutionaries as well (Hunt, 1988). Interpreted in terms of psychoanalytic theory, killing the 'father' (king) resulted in feelings of guilt and remorse among the revolutionaries. According to Freud, such a sense of guilt can only be allayed through the solidarity of the people who participated in the killing of the 'father'. Thus everyone had to share in the guilt if no one was to be guilty. Hence the execution, according to the revolutionaries, had to take place in a large public space, which implies equal involvement of everybody (Hunt, 1988).

After the sacred object (i.e. the king) was removed, another concrete object was required. However, the elected representatives did not remain constant over time and could thus not be a concrete sacred object. Nor was there a persistent sacred document, since the constitution changed from time to time. Thus, finding a concrete sacred object became a problem. As the sacred become more difficult to locate - revolutionary festivals never succeeded in replacing the old regime's sacred institutions - violence and constraints became more pervasive (Hunt, 1988).

The sacrifice of the king was an act of violence without risk of vengeance - similar to a sheep that was sacrificed, which will not return to kill its murderer. This act nevertheless generated anxiety and ambivalence, and this had to be repressed, as was symbolised in officials not wanting to dwell upon the execution and the violence thereof (Hunt, 1988). These repressed feelings were then

displaced. During the festivals the themes of speeches and oaths were to hate both royalty and anarchy. Throughout the revolutionary officials tried to displace, contain and dissipate violence even as they recognised the need to remember the violence which inaugurated revolutionary history (Hunt, 1988).

Violence and the sacred are intertwined. Revolutionary leaders hoped that the king's execution would serve to protect the entire community from its own violence. The purpose of sacrifice was to restore harmony to the community. Instead, the execution made the crisis more acute than ever. Afterwards, the basis of moral and political authority was uncertain, the sacred seemed to evaporate, and a struggle for power took place on social, political and cultural levels. The Revolution had moved masses, but the message of the revolution was not accepted by all. Many French people continued to practice Catholicism and to reject the efforts of revolutionaries to displace the sacred centre of the community from church/king to state/people. Obligation under the revolution had to be enforced by terror, because the new society had not succeeded in setting itself up as a god for everyone (Hunt, 1988).

The history of the French revolution shows that the sacred has a social dimension. The new society tried to set itself up as a god through new rituals (such as festivals), a new relationship between the individual and the community (embodied in the various oaths) and new symbolic representations. Religion was looked upon from a functional perspective, i.e., as promoting social solidarity through moral obligation, which in turn was based on conflict, change and violence (Hunt, 1988).

5.5.2 DIFFERENTIATION AND DEDIFFERENTIATION

During revolutions, the hierarchy in society is destroyed, but to return to normality, a new societal hierarchy is needed. Revolutions are thus closely linked to the processes of differentiation and dedifferentiation (Tiryakian, 1988). Differentiation means that differences are established between social sectors; dedifferentiation means the establishment of equality.

Dedifferentiation at the societal level involves that individuals join with others in a common situation and a common enterprise, to form a bigger unit. It is characterised by equality, and an absence of obligation towards authority. Dedifferentiation places people on the same social plane, emphasising social equality between actors. A genuine social revolution tends to devalue social ranking, and this occurs in a setting of high affectivity and enthusiasm. The process of

dedifferentiation is attended by a high level of energy release, and once underway, it tends to accelerate (Tiryakian, 1988). Dedifferentiation could be linked to Hofstede's (1980) views on a decrease of the power distance, i.e., it brings the people without power closer to those in power, with a more equal distribution of power.

The years preceding a revolution are often marked by sharply deteriorating economic conditions for the masses, and by the ruling elite using widespread cultural and physical repression - ranging from media censorship to the brutal use of security forces (Tiryakian, 1988). Such conditions are likely to give rise to a revolutionary movement, which entails the sustained interaction of large numbers of persons who have the collective purpose to transform the social order. The intention is to drastically alter, rather than reaffirm and renovate, the present order. To achieve this, it unites against the existing social order and in this uniting a sense of power or collective force is created, which is essential if the collective behaviour is to succeed in overcoming an established social order. This sense of power includes a conviction that the overthrow of the established social order is morally right and just. To maintain the solidarity and power of the movement, periodical reunions are necessary, lest commitment to the group falls into destitute (Tiryakian, 1988).

Dedifferentiation can take a negative form, which includes kangaroo courts, anarchism or 'mob rule' which may occur in some collective uprisings. Dedifferentiation may also lead to violence. Religious and political systems may react against dedifferentiation, by setting up careful, institutionalised rituals to regulate interaction between people, or by instituting procedures to regulate or control access to political power. However, the revolutionary movements are likely to resist such rituals or institutional procedures and this may be attended by great violence (Tiryakian, 1988).

Tiryakian (1988) describes situations where religious leaders co-operated with the secular ones in denouncing the immorality of the regime. In such instances, the catalytic agents of the revolutionary movement were thus not only religious figures, but also secular ones. The presence of recognised religious leaders in the midst of the opposition is significant in welding the opposition into a cohesive, committed social body, and encouraging individuals to oppose the regime (Tiryakian, 1988).

The collective effervescence of a revolutionary movement involves demoralisation of the existing regime, and a welding together of strands of the opposition into a single moral community. It occurs before success is achieved in overcoming the regime, and the peak of the collective effervescence does not achieve the task of the revolution. Neither does dedifferentiation succeed in defining a

new moral community which will renew the nation. Dedifferentiation has to be complemented by a new phase of differentiation during which the societal movement is restructured in accordance with the principles of the movement (Tiryakian, 1988).

5.5.3 LIMINALITY

The concept of liminality can be used to understand how changes occur in societies. Social structures have prescriptions with regard to behaviour. However, there are also exceptions, when people do not behave according to the prescriptions of the social structure. These exceptions are called liminality. Liminality thus relates to times and places when some subgroup of a society acts in ways which are different from the normal social categories, i.e., when the prevailing social structure and usual behaviour patterns lose their meaning. An example would be when the youth, who normally have a subordinate position in society, become the dominant group during a revolution. Under certain conditions, such changes in the customary way of living, can take the form of revolutionary change. Not all categories of unaccepted behaviour can be regarded as liminal; it does not, for example, include those types of social deviance, such as criminal behaviour, for which society already has a name (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

In a liminal zone community, genuine relations develop in which status, role distinctions and social prescriptions lose their governing force, and in which the latitude of permissible activities is wider and the force of prescription and proscription less. In such conditions, social relations are conducted between people of relative equal status. This leads to descriptions of the liminal with such words as relief, escape and liberation. Liminality can thus be functional and the maintenance of social structures dialectically requires occasional relief from the structure (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

Some forms of liminality are socially sanctioned and are thus accepted. An example of this would be young people who find it difficult to adjust to society. However, there are also unsanctioned liminal activities, i.e. factional liminality, which are seen as dangerous to the social order because of the threat they pose to society. When members of a society reside in a liminal zone that is not a part of that society's legitimate ritual code, the meaning of their behaviour cannot be derived from the dominant social structure. In such instances, their liminal existence constitutes a threat to the social order, and efforts will be made to either interpret their liminality within the social structure, or to deny it of any meaningfulness (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

Factional liminality may be recognised when members of a normal social structure move out of the

structure and their actions come in conflict with the society at large. This can be illustrated with reference to industrial strikes. During strikes, the workers become non-workers and they are doing so in a manner that is often not accepted by the larger society. These workers are neither respectful of the social order nor lawless (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

In reaction, the actors of the social order counter the threat which factional liminality poses to their meaning system. This can be done by interpreting the actions of the fractionally liminal group within the categories of the dominant social structure. To fail to do so is to admit that the social order represented by the liminal group is a viable alternative to one's own. Thus, for example, liminal strikes could, on a cognitive level, be interpreted as wage-motivated strikes, or the strikers could be branded as criminals or as revolutionaries. The activities of the liminal individuals may, however, continue to challenge the order, which would require renewed efforts to understand it. This in turn may yield further challenging behaviour, which requires another attempt to understand (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

There are four possible outcomes of a period of factional liminality (Rothenbuhler, 1988):

- society may rid itself of the liminal group;
- society may give the liminal group a name and assign it a place in the social order such that its activities can be understood and accepted, for example in the form of innovation (e.g., artist) or deviance (e.g., "Hells Angels");
- liminal individuals or groups may achieve a recognised personal or social value in the period of factional liminality and in so doing voluntarily give up their liminal activities and return to society. In this case factional liminality is functional for the society as a whole. An example of this would be participation in recreational activities;
- the liminal faction may defeat the dominant society, i.e. the establishment gives up its sense-making rules and adopts those of the liminal group. In this case, the liminal group is genuinely revolutionary. In order to be so, they must propose a new order, sanctioned by new myths and performed by new rituals (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

In liminality, people from different backgrounds can combine to resist those in power. This could give rise to conflict, in which people and groups from diverse backgrounds combine to act together. Conflict itself then becomes superordinate to the particular interests of the members of either of the conflicting camps and produces and integration among them. During such integration, ritual plays an important role. The members of a group struggling together against another are all the more a group to the extent that they do so ritually as well as materially (Rothenbuhler, 1988).

Liminality applies to conflict as well as consensus situations; that is, it appears in challenges to the social order as well as in the rites of passage that re-create the social order. In threatening the meaning structure of the social order, the sacred beliefs and values on which that order was founded and which placed the social order beyond interdiction, is being questioned (Rothenbuhler, 1988). Liminal periods can contain challenges to a given social order. These factionally liminal activities imply alternative structures, which challenge the facticity of the dominant social structures. As such they can violently change the foundation of society (Rothenbuhler, 1988). This has a creative potential, in that it can lead to renewal of society.

5.5.4 CONCLUSION

Revolutionary change, and the societal renewal that results from liminality, can pave the way for the implementation of social and economic developmental programmes. During revolutions there is a general conviction that what the revolutionary movement stands for is morally right and just, and that it will lead to a new societal organisation and restructuring. The latter can include the social and economic empowerment of communities that can improve their standard of living. If particular projects are implemented, it can create job opportunities.

However, revolutionary change also has a potentially negative side. Not all people may endorse the views of a revolutionary movement, and this may cause social instability which can negatively affect employment. In addition, such opposition may cause the new milieu envisioned by the revolutionaries, not materialising. The change in authority during a revolution may also cause problems in maintaining the good functioning of society, including law-enforcement. The instability that might result from this can negatively affect development and thus also employment opportunities..

5.6 THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN

5.6.1 THE NATURE OF THE RDP

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is an example of restructuring after revolution. At the time when the RDP was introduced in South Africa in 1994, all political parties, the private sector and civil society agreed on the need in South Africa for the implementation of such a programme (RDP Monitor, 1994a). The RDP is a social programme that could be regarded

as a resource that was potentially accessible to all peoples in South Africa. In the following paragraphs, a brief exposition is given of the RDP from the perspective of interpreting it as a resource.

The main aims of the RDP were the upliftment of the community, to alleviate unemployment, to meet basic needs in the community, and to restructure the economy. It was aimed at various community levels, from central government to provinces and local government. It also touched various aspects of development in the RSA, including housing, education, sanitation, water and other spheres of life (RDP Monitor, 1994a, 1994c). In the practical implementation of the programme, approved projects were to be implemented by relevant government departments, but approval for spending on these projects had to be obtained from the appropriate RDP structures (RDP Monitor 1995a). The latter arrangement introduced some ambiguity in the structure of responsibility.

The funds to achieve the above objectives, were envisaged to come from a cut in state expenditure and from an anticipated economic growth which would have made more money available for development (RDP Monitor, 1994a).

5.6.2 RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AS A RESOURCE FOR EMPLOYMENT

It is possible that job opportunities could be created through the implementation of large-scale restructuring and development projects. For example, in 1994 it was estimated that to meet South Africa's housing needs, 600 000 people would have had to be trained for the RDP housing project to succeed. It was also estimated that 900 extra civil engineers and 300 engineers in construction would have had to be trained or recruited overseas (RDP Monitor, 1994b).

Although the RDP projects could have played a role in addressing unemployment, a number of factors should be considered with regard to its effectiveness to alleviate unemployment (RDP Monitor, 1994a, 1994b): Firstly, the RDP could provide employment for only a portion of the total number of unemployed and this would not be able to keep the overall rate of employment at the same level, or to decrease it significantly. Secondly, projects such as housing, road construction and water supply often require semi- or unskilled labour, and people who had lost jobs because of restructuring (e.g. in education), would be unlikely to take up such jobs, because of the low status associated with it.

Thirdly, there were forces working against the successful implementation of RDP projects and thus against the possibility of creating jobs through the RDP. The RDP must be seen in the broader context of a society characterised by violence, problems for securing finance, and an environment of non-payment and skill shortage. It is also expensive to provide rural areas with an infrastructure where such an infrastructure is virtually non-existent, and the funds available for development and restructuring are not unlimited. In addition, local authorities are often weak, without the necessary infrastructure and experience to implement large-scale programmes. Specific RDP projects were faced with unique problems. With regard to housing, for example, state subsidies are provided for freehold land, whereas much rural land is community owned. There are also problems regarding land ownership when housing is provided for farm workers. When the RDP was initiated, the detail policies for some of its projects had not been clearly worked out yet. It was not always clear who would implement the projects, nor how it would be implemented (RDP Monitor, 1995b). To the extent that such forces hampered the implementation of reconstruction and development projects, employment opportunities were compromised.

5.6.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF RESTRUCTURING AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Community psychology (e.g., Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, Wandersman & D'Aunno, 1984; Orford, 1992) provides principles that must be adhered to for initiatives such as the RDP to be successful.

Successful implementation of projects such as those of the RDP, requires an effective link between the authorities responsible for the RDP and the local communities where the projects are implemented. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the link between the power setting and the community setting should be such that people in the community are able to influence those in the power base. The RDP made provision for the identification of needs at a local level, and the submission of plans to central government for approval and financing. These plans could be turned down by RDP officials if they were not regarded as viable enough to warrant the allocation of resources. Such a situation holds the risk of the RDP becoming prescriptive, and that the community not having effective influence on the power base. This would point to an approach of imposition, which was one of the problems that led to the failure of the *Ujamaa* social developmental programme in Tanzania (RDP Monitor, 1995b). Issues such as the foregoing emphasises the necessity to base reconstruction and developmental programmes on sound theoretical principles, including that the importance of communication and flow of information

during the interaction between different systems must be taken into consideration.

For community projects to be successful, it is essential that the local community should accept the people who are responsible for implementing the programme. During periods of transition and transformation, the acceptance or rejection of leadership and authority can become very complex. This can be linked to the concepts of dedifferentiation and differentiation (Hunt 1988). Dedifferentiation refers to the process whereby, during a revolution, inequality between people is destroyed and equality established. After a revolution, inequality is again established, for example in an authority structure. According to Durkheim (in Hunt, 1988), such a re-establishment of authority is likely to be associated with problems, because people do not readily accept the new structure of authority that replaces the old. In terms of developmental projects, this could mean that sectors of society might not accept the authority of the RDP officials, as representing the government, when it comes to decisions about implementation.

Successful implementation of restructuring and developmental programmes further requires that members of the community understand the processes that are involved, since lack of understanding may evoke resistance. The RDP required a bureaucratic system, which was a source of tension (RDP Monitor, 1994c). It often takes time for those who are to be bureaucratically administered to develop sufficient understanding of the new structure to be able to comprehend and cope with it (Gilbert, 1988).

The values underlying initiatives such as the RDP should fit with those of the community. If an authority wants to implement a programme the community is more likely to give their support if it regards the aims of the programme as compatible with their own values and the goals that are derived from these values (Maruyana, 1981). However, due to the diversity of the South African society, this is difficult to achieve. It seems as if the blueprint for the country includes multiple value systems, and since values differ across socio-economic, racial and cultural groups, initiatives such as the RDP have to take the values of different communities into consideration. Projects cannot be applied in the same manner in all communities and this creates the possibility that projects might not fit with the values of particular communities. This could lead to projects not being implemented with uniform success in all communities.

However, it must be borne in mind that although the value systems that various groups adhere to may be different, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The same person or a community might, at the same time, hold values from different worlds, and move from one system to the other, depending on what is regarded as appropriate to a particular context. With regard to this, Brandel-

Syrer (1978, p. 157) says the following with regard to the black elite she investigated: "These people have change and changeability built into them. Their behaviour changes in line with the changing conditions of their lives and with the different networks of personal relationships in which they are expected to operate." It is furthermore possible that a person or a group might not accept particular views if these are conveyed by a member of the own culture, but might accept it from people of another culture.

Community projects must take the broader context in which they are implemented, into consideration. The RDP operated in a context characterised by high expectations and a culture of entitlement. Such expectations and entitlements included: lower income communities not wanting to pay for services, and expecting it to be provided for free; the white privileged group continuing to demand state payouts such as subsidies for farmers, to maintain their standard of living; businessmen wanting the government to subsidise their profits or lack of profits; black small entrepreneurs wanting to be subsidised and public servants wanting pay increases. Blacks also want to be recompensed for the years of oppression under apartheid. Whites, who gave political power to the blacks, expect to be rewarded. What was lacking is a sense of common purpose and commitment (RDP Monitor, 1994c). The foregoing reflects high expectations, which were based on different reasons in the different sectors of society. Such high expectations are likely to lead to frustration and relative deprivation (Appelgryn, 1991). (Refer to paragraph 2.6).

The RDP did not only function in a national context. In a globalised world, grand schemes such as the RDP need to take cognisance of global trends, and international involvement may be required to make developmental programmes successful in particular countries.

5.6.4 THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE RDP

The RDP was not explicit with regard to the theory on which it was based. It was similar to the Marshall plan that was introduced to reconstruct Europe after the Second World War. However, in the Marshall plan, there was already a blueprint in the sense that the people had the expertise to rebuild their countries, whereas in South Africa this expertise was not to the same extent present in all sectors of society. Some sectors had the know-how and could engage in reconstruction, whilst in other sectors this was not the case.

According to Durkheim (in Hunt, 1988), values can be changed through revolution. The RDP could be seen as part of revolutionary process, since it came in the aftermath of a prolonged social,

economic, political and military struggle to establish true democracy in South Africa. Similar to the RDP, social and economic developmental programmes, such as *Ujamaa* in Tanzania, were also implemented in other African countries after revolutions and independence. It seems that such restructuring fits into the revolutionary cycle, although revolutionary theories such as those of Durkheim (Hunt, 1988) and the Neo-Marxists (Jaffee, 1986) were not explicit on this.

According to Durkheim (Hunt, 1988), revolutions are religious in that people must have a religious base for their dissatisfaction. In a contemporary context, Durkheim's reference to religion could be reinterpreted in terms of a moral base for revolutions. Durkheim (Hunt, 1988) postulated that the destruction of a regime is followed by redress, through which the wrongs of the past are corrected, and this includes, for example, upliftment through social programmes. In the South African context, correcting the wrongs through the RDP implies a religious or moral basis for deciding what is right and what is wrong. Underlying this, are values that guide people's behaviour to achieve desirable end-states (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). This implies that social and economic programmes such as the RDP must have a religious, moral or value basis.

The RDP was based on African collectivistic values since it endorsed the equal distribution of resources among all groups in society. To the extent that the RDP expressed the principle of taking from the more affluent sector of society, and giving to the underdeveloped sectors, it bears similarities to a class struggle, which Theron (1992), however, regards as not being inherent in African socialism. In so far as the RDP aimed at a more equitable distribution of resources, it can be interpreted in terms of changing the structure of the power distance (Hofstede, 1980) in the country. Decreasing the power distance in turn is linked with dedifferentiation (Hunt, 1988), i.e., the establishment of greater equality between people.

According to the Neo-Marxists, the change in production that results from crises that occur when there is economic stagnation, includes social and economic restructuring – and the RDP was also a mechanism of the government to restructure the society. According to Marx's theory, change in economic production spills over into other spheres of life and this results in social change, which is a revolutionary process (Richardson, 1997). This can be interpreted with reference to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) view that the blueprint of a society determines the behaviour of people, and restructuring changes the blueprint. The blueprint is similar to Barker's (in Orford, 1992) concept of the milieu of a setting. According to Barker, the behaviour of the people is determined by the milieu, which prescribes certain patterns of behaviour. For example, people are taught how to behave in certain settings, the milieu indicates how people could join the setting, and how people could leave the setting, and the constraints in the settings place limits on the behaviour of people.

The blueprint and the milieu that resulted from the RDP are not clearly defined. This could create uncertainty as to how people should perform their responsibilities, and it is thus also related to the value of uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980). (Refer to paragraph 4.7).

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the effect of restructuring might become visible either in the long-term, or the short-term. Furthermore, the outcome of efforts aimed at restructuring, might either be a success or a failure. Similarly, the RDP would be expected to have both immediate and long-term effects, and both these long-term and short-term effects can either be a success or a failure.

5.7 RESTRUCTURING AND TENSION

Restructuring in the form of developmental projects such as those of the RDP can create tension. This is because systems and subsystems are linked to each other, and the boundaries between systems are often permeable. If changes take place in one context, it affects other parts of the system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and if this creates dissonance, tension is likely to arise. This is illustrated by a study on sugarcane development in Natal (Gilbert, 1988).

According to Gilbert (1988) modernisation can lead to what he calls the 'homeless mind', i.e., an experience of alienation and insecurity. In the sugarcane project, modernising influences lead to a change in social relations between people in the community. This can be illustrated as follows:

This sugarcane development project had the effect of introducing new tensions into the home that accentuated the inapplicability of some of the traditional roles of family members in a modern context. It introduced a source of income that was generated by women, but that was not administered by them but by their husbands. Since their husbands had the final say about the income which the women generated, it meant that their work made new demands on their time and energies, for which some of them received little or no compensation (Gilbert, 1988).

In the sugarcane study the new and the old lifestyles clashed. Parents in this community, most of who earned some income from cane, collected money to build a school on their own, independent from the chief. The local chief, however, refused to give the parents the land they wanted for the school unless the money collected and the control of the school came under his jurisdiction. The parents refused, arguing that they had done all the planning and hard work and they wanted to keep control (Gilbert, 1988). This illustrates that the development that was imposed on the indigenous culture brought about a clash between the ways of Western culture and the ways of

African culture, and how difficult it is to integrate different cultures.

While the community desired to grow sugarcane, it made only a limited commitment to it. One reason for this paradoxical response was that development has a far-reaching impact at levels other than those readily observable. Changes with regard to earning an income may, for example, affect marital relations and political control, as was indicated above. These indirect effects may mobilise resistance that could affect commitment. Development is disruptive, and awareness of this disruption should lead to an integrated approach to development in which all relevant facets of life are considered (Gilbert, 1988).

5.8 RESTRUCTURING IN A RURAL CONTEXT

5.8.1 THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Historical events might change the blueprint of a society (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and current situations must thus be viewed against the background of such events. Such historical events and the blueprint associated with them, may mitigate against efforts to restructure the society. One such historical event was the effort by the former Nationalist government in South Africa to develop agriculture in the homelands. This was not very successful and fundamental issues responsible for the decline of homeland agriculture were a series of political measures taken by those with political power that resulted in people leaving the homelands. These measures were:

- land appropriation through conquest and legislation;
- the imposition of compulsory levies (e.g. to reduce the size of a herd to a specified number of cattle);
- overt discrimination in favour of white farmers (Lenta & Maasdorp, 1988).

Education also did not succeed in promoting agricultural development. Lenta and Maasdorp (1988) are of the opinion that the education structure in the homelands focussed on preparing young people to be better migrants (i.e., to serve as labour pools for the urban areas) rather than better farmers (Lenta & Maasdorp, 1988). In the agricultural schools youngsters were taught practical farming skills based on Western methods of farming, and which were thus applicable to white farmers. Furthermore, in some black areas there were no such agricultural schools.

The above implies that the development initiatives were not based on feminine values. The latter would imply that those who are in a position of power, should try to develop the community to the

same status as their own. It should be like a mother caring for her own children. Instead, the developmental initiatives maintained the power distance between those in power and the developing communities. Closing such a power distance, requires feminine values (Hofstede, 1980). The conclusion that can be drawn from this, is that the broader approach towards economic development should be based on feminine values. However, the actual implementation of specific programmes may require some enforcement of change, which would reflect masculine values.

It could be argued that the homeland policy of the Nationalist government is something of the past, and that it may no longer affect society. However, the historical background of rural development as described above, might have changed the blueprint of developing communities. Due to their land having been taken away, such communities might have lost confidence in agriculture as a viable, long-term option for development. It might also have instilled mistrust in those in power. This might then adversely affect further efforts by, for example, the present government to stimulate rural development.

5.8.2 LABOUR SUPPLY IN RURAL AREAS

Overt unemployment in rural farming areas, such as the former homelands in South Africa, could create the impression that there is a surplus of labour. However, a large number of households are headed by women and most domestic activities (to keep the household going), are labour-intensive, which reduces the labour available for economic activities such as agriculture (Lenta & Maasdorp, 1988). This creates a paradoxical situation, in which unemployment outside agriculture, instead of stimulating the full use of available land, in fact leads to land wastage.

There are a large number of people in rural areas who have little or no interest in agriculture production (Lenta & Maasdorp, 1988). They also do not have the financial resources to develop farming. They in fact need to be employed elsewhere, to obtain funds to use the land. It thus seems that agriculture is supplementary to other employment, since many of those who are involved in agriculture, are also employed elsewhere. The reason is that people cannot make a decent living from agriculture alone. People involved in this type of farming thus remain in a marginal position, not really expanding and not really making a contribution to the country's economy. They remain in a hopeless situation, remaining being poor. When they get money, such as a housing loan, they are more inclined to use it for their basic needs.

5.9 CONCLUSION

Economic activities are social means of production, which in most instances are aimed at being profitable. Economic activities are cyclic, in that there are phases of profit, decline, stagnation, and crisis. The means of social production may become obsolete. Stagnation may be changed through new modes of production, restructuring or geographic mobility. Stagnation may also be changed by means of revolution, or by means of developmental interventions such as the RDP.

There are, however, factors that may work against efforts to end stagnation, such as the nature of the labour supply, and local belief systems. To address factors such as these, requires accurate understanding of the situation and approaching it from an alternative new perspective.

A distinction can be drawn between revolutionary changes and developmental changes. Developmental changes can be either evolutionary or they may require directed interventions. The principles underlying revolutionary and developmental change differ. Evolutionary changes take the form of natural development according to the needs of society,. Revolutionary changes are cyclical by nature since the needs of people and the context in which they live change over time. For the revolutionary cycle to be completed, the differentiation (i.e., the differences that exist in society), must be followed by dedifferentiation which brings about equality. However, after this follows a period during which differences are reintroduced. Revolutions are religious in the sense that there are leaders, who confirm what the revolutionaries are doing. The religious atmosphere reinforces the people's belief in their cause.

Periods of liminality refer to times when people do not behave according to the social structure. Such liminal existence can be a threat to the social order, which evokes sanctions against it. If it leads to a destruction of the social structure through revolution, it can lead to new forms of organisation, which can be invigorating. This kind of development is a normal occurrence.

CHAPTER 6

METHOD

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the method used to conduct this study will be described. Since a qualitative approach was used, an introduction is first given to the nature of qualitative research. This is then placed in the framework of field research.

Different kinds of data were required, and thus different methods of data collection were used. Field interviews were conducted with key informants who were knowledgeable about the culture and living conditions in the village where the study was conducted. In addition, data were also collected by means of participant observation. Psycholinguistic analyses of the words and expressions that people use, were also used to examine cultural meanings.

A core problem in qualitative research, is to obtain trustworthiness of observations and the interpretations of these observations. This involves questions about procedural stability (reliability) and the credibility of the findings (validity) (Stiles, 1993). In recognition of these issues, a section of this chapter deals with a discussion on the trustworthiness of reports of qualitative studies. One aspect of this revolves around the researcher's personal position in collecting and interpreting data. To explicate this, this chapter also contains a description of relevant aspects of the researcher's personal context and his experiences in his community during the course of the study.

6.2 QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Quantitative research can be described as positivistic, realist and rational, whereas qualitative research can be regarded as interpretative and idealistic. A realist, quantitative approach to social and psychological research means that the subjects or phenomena that are being investigated, are seen as objectively existing. This means that what is being studied, is regarded as having an existence apart from the investigation itself, and thus also from the researcher who studies it. The focus is on the object that is known, and thus objectivity has its reference point outside the researcher. Being objective means seeing the world free from one's own personal place or

particular situation in it. The realist truth theory accordingly postulates that a statement will be true if it corresponds to an independently existing reality, i.e., the truth depends on reality (Smith, 1983).

From an interpretative and idealistic approach, in contrast, it is recognised that the researcher's involvement in the investigation will affect what is being investigated. Qualitative researchers are sceptical of the notion that a scientist can stand outside his or her own personal frame of reference to view behaviour, events or objects in a neutral way (Stiles, 1993). In contrast to the realist approach, the idealist interpretative view of reality is concerned with the realm of the knower. It departs from the point of view that our view of the world and knowledge of it, are based on our interests, values, disposition, and so forth. Our values and interests will influence how we study and discuss reality (Smith, 1983).

The intimate involvement of the researcher in constructing meanings raises the question, to what extent he is able to set aside his own preconceptions and assumptions about what the world of the participants is like in order to understand it from their perspective. Such impartiality is not fully possible. The researcher can never rule himself out of the process of research. His cultural experience, interests, values, disposition, and personal history play a role not only in what he investigates, but also how he collects his data and interprets it. In qualitative research, the process of constructing meaning is always contextualised, and the researcher who constructs meanings is firmly placed in this context. In view of this, the researcher's subjectivity is approached in a positive sense, "as an asset to be exploited rather than a calamity to be avoided" (Meulenberg-Buskens, 1997, p. 112). He accordingly has to account for his own position, and through rigorous self-reflecting aim at presenting his research results as a credible perspective of the interaction between the people or events he studies, and his own orientation.

With regard to the goal of investigation, empirical studies from the quantitative perspective rest on the desire to find general laws of human behaviour, which can form the basis for predicting future behaviour (Smith, 1983). This is based on a linear view of causality. However, most systems involving human behaviour are non-linear, in which people's thoughts and intentions feed back to influence subsequent behaviour (Stiles, 1993). As a result, the interpretative, qualitative approach to research rejects the possibility that laws will ever be found (Smith, 1993). Since causality is non-linear, future behaviour cannot be predicted with certainty, although one can form expectations about the possibilities and limits of what people may do in similar circumstances (Stiles, 1993). Instead of searching for laws of behaviour, there is rather an attempt to achieve a sense of the meaning that others give to their own situations, and this is done through interpretative understanding of their behaviour, language, art, gesture and other expressions of their lives. The

essence of understanding is to put oneself in the place of the other (Smith, 1983).

To a realist data collection instruments are used to achieve an accurate measurement of an independently existing object. This typically renders quantified results. The qualitative researcher, on the other hand, tend to express results in words, rather than numbers, and to the extent that instruments used to collect data, they are seen as extensions of the knower. A primary means to collect information is by means of empathy. This means that investigators use their understanding of the meaning of events, and their understanding of participants' thoughts, feelings, beliefs and perceptions as data. Such empathic understanding is based on the investigator's own experience and self-knowledge, and on intersubjective meanings that are shared in the community, as well as on participants' speech and behaviour and observations of what occurs during an event in the community. Such empathic understanding implies that the researcher moves beyond that what is externally observable, to inferences about the meaning of experiences (Stiles, 1993). The process of empathic understanding thus occurs in two steps. The first is *What*, which is the level of direct understanding which involves the immediate apprehension of a human action without any conscious inference about the activity. The second is the *Why*, which means that the investigator seeks to understand the nature and the meaning of the activity (Smith, 1983).

An observation or statement may have many meanings, depending on the context in which it occurs. As a result, the meanings that are derived through empathic understanding are always bound to a particular context, and the latter must be taken into account when interpreting results. The context includes the cultural and personal histories of both the researcher and the participants, as well as the immediate setting in which an observation occurs. Research also takes place in a temporal context, and as values and belief systems change over time, psychological interpretations that are currently accepted as credible, may later appear biased and misleading (Stiles, 1993),

6.3 FIELD RESEARCH

6.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Field research is appropriate when the phenomena that the researcher wants to study, can only be investigated through the direct involvement of the researcher in the natural setting where these phenomena exist. This includes, for example, when events that occur during rituals such as funerals, wedding ceremonies and sacrifices to the ancestors, need to be described, and the meanings attached to these events need to be examined. Field research would also be appropriate

when the researcher wants to determine the view of people regarding historical events in their community, religion, employment and unemployment, and other aspects of daily life in the community.

Field research is the study of people in their daily lives. The researcher ventures into the worlds of others in order to learn how they live, how they talk and behave and what captivates and distresses them. Field research is based on naturalism, i.e., it involves observing events in a natural setting. The people that are studied are insiders or natives in the field and belong to a group, subculture, or social setting that the field researcher wants to learn about. By studying the behaviour of these people, the researcher tries to understand the meanings that they attach to events. To achieve this, the field researcher has to get inside the viewpoint of the people he studies, but subsequently he has to leave this again to understand the phenomena from his own perspective. The researcher thus constantly switches perspectives, and sees the setting from inside and outside (Neuman, 1994).

In field research there is a direct, face-to-face interaction in a natural setting. The researcher directly talks with and observes the people being studied. Through interaction that could be brief, or which could last months or years, the researcher learns about the people, their culture, their conditions of life, their life histories, their interests, their habits, fears, and hopes about the future. The intensity of the involvement required to conduct this kind of research, makes field research time-consuming and emotionally draining (Neuman, 1994).

The spatial focus of field research can be narrow, or it can be broad. It can focus on the behaviour of a particular group or sub-group in a specific location, or it can focus on a whole community. It can also be used to study amorphous experiences that are not fixed in place, such as belief systems, and where interviewing and observation are the only way to gain access to the experience (Neuman, 1994).

Field research includes field interviews, participant observation and ethnography (Neuman, 1994). These are discussed in the following paragraphs. After these methods have been dealt with, comments will be made about the present researcher's position in conducting the research.

6.3.2 THE ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

The present study required that unemployment and factors related to it, had to be interpreted in

terms of cultural variables. These expressions of culture included symbols, sayings, factual events, ways of behaving and objects (Neuman, 1994), from which belief systems and thought patterns could be derived. To the extent that the present study investigated these expressions of culture to understand the meaning of unemployment, it was ethnographic by nature.

Ethnography is a modern extension of field research. *Ethno* means people or folk, while *graph* refers to describing something. Ethnography thus involves describing and understanding the culture and way of life of a group of people from their native point of view, in an effort to understand how other people see their own experience (Heller *et al.*, 1984). When the ethnographic approach is used by a researcher who is not a member of the community that is studied, a basic supposition is that the subjects have their own way of life and a culture of their own, and live in a cultural world different from that of the researcher. However, a researcher may also come from the same cultural background as the people he studies, as was the case in the present study. In such a case the research is not cross-cultural in the strict sense of the word, but could rather be described as endogenous research (Maruyama, 1981; see paragraph 6.5).

In ethnographic studies, inferences are made that go beyond what is explicitly seen or said, to what is meant or implied. People display their culture through speech, behaviour, and the way they deal with their material world. Ethnographers make inferences about underlying meanings from listening to what people say, observing how they act and by studying various objects or artefacts in the cultural setting (Heller *et al.*, 1984). Inferring meaning from what is heard or observed to what is actually meant is at the centre of ethnography.

In cross-cultural ethnographic research, statements by participants usually have to be translated from one language into another. This requires particular competencies, since it involves that an informant translates his or her own experience into the language of the researcher rather than retaining the cultural meaning of the setting itself (Heller *et al.*, 1984). In the present study, the researcher spoke the same language as the informants. However, in writing up what informants told the researcher, what was said had to be translated. In this translation, the meaning of the words and the actions that occur in everyday life had to be captured. Although this was relatively easy in some instances, in other instances it was found that direct translations failed to convey the meaning intended by the informants, or that certain concepts could not be translated from the language of one culture to that of another. In this context, the words of Vera Bührmann (1980, p. 818) must be heeded: "Language, even with the best interpreter, can be a barrier to understanding. There are phrases and concepts, which are not translatable. Even if a literal translation can be given, much of the meaning can be lost." For example, *go nna le badimo* literally means, "to have

the ancestors” but to translate it as such, does not convey what the experience is all about. *Go nna le badimo* could be a religious experience of being possessed by the ancestors, but it could also mean, from a Western psychiatric perspective, to be mentally disturbed.

6.3.3 THE FIELD AND ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW

Ethnographic and field interviewing requires that an informant who lives or works in the setting that the study deals with is located. The researcher should not approach informants with preconceived notions, but should adopt a stance of ignorance about the meaning of events in the cultural scene of the informant. As such, informants are viewed as experts about the cultural scene from which a great deal can be learned (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

Field and ethnographic researchers often use unstructured, non-directive, in-depth interviews. Good practice in interview research requires gaining the trust of the participants, so as to be able to move past superficial information, to gain understanding of the participant's perspective in depth (Stiles, 1993). To understand the participant's perspective, the researcher does not force answers or use leading questions but encourages and guides a process of mutual discovery. These interviews can be formally arranged, or they may be informal conversations in the course of daily life. However, the field interview differs from mere friendly conversation because it has an explicit purpose to learn about the informant and his or her setting. It involves asking questions, listening, expressing interest and recording what was said. In a field interview, members express themselves in the forms in which they normally speak, think and organise reality, and their insights and feelings reveal the meanings they attach to events (Neuman, 1994).

Before an interview is conducted, the researcher must have an explicit purpose in mind, and be clear where the conversation is to go. When the actual interview is conducted, the informant should be provided with an explanation of the research; the interviewer must explain why he or she is asking the questions that are being asked (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

Field interviews typically occur in a series over time. A researcher begins by building rapport and it is advisable in the initial phases, to steer the conversation away from evaluative or sensitive topics. These topics should only be addressed when intimacy has been established and even then one can still expect apprehension. It is often only after several meetings that it becomes possible to probe more deeply into sensitive issues. In later interviews, one may return to topics and check past answers by restating them in a non-judgmental way and asking for verification (Neuman,

1994). Interviews may thus involve repetition, asking again and again about the meaning of particular terms or ideas and expressing "ignorance" about things that might otherwise seem obvious, so as to obtain detailed explanations from the point of view of the informant within his or her cultural context.

Communities may attach particular meanings to communication, and this has to be borne in mind when conducting interviews (Maruyama, 1981). The researcher has formed the impression that one of the important functions of communication in Tswana culture is to perpetuate comfortable and harmonious relationships, and to maintain the structure of society. For example, the way of greeting demonstrates this. The person is usually addressed in the plural, which is a sign of respect, and it is regarded as appropriate to enquire into the well-being of the person and his or her relatives. The hierarchy in society must also be shown, for example addressing the person in terms of his or her position, such as *malome* (mother's brother), *rakgadi* (father's sister) etc. The type of discussion one can have and the looseness of the language one can use is restrained by one's relationship with the other person. For example, with elderly people one may not discuss sexual relationships. At rituals, young people remain separate from elderly people so that their conversations can fit with their group. Young people are not expected to openly argue or disagree with elderly people, and are also not expected to make a direct request for assistance from an older person. There is a saying *motho o mogolo o romiwa a eme* (an older person can be requested for assistance when he is standing, in other words when he is on his way, he must not make an effort of standing up to get something for you). Related to this is the saying *mafura a ngwana ke go romiwa* (a child who is fat is one who is sent, in other words a child becomes healthy if he is asked for assistance). If someone is in distress and asks for assistance which one cannot give, one should not bluntly refuse but answer in such a way that the possibility of future assistance is left open. This is expressed in the saying, *tsholofelo ga e tlabise kgala*: hope doesn't bring shame, there is always faith in everything in life – in other words, even if one asks for something which cannot be received, it does not bring shame and one should not lose hope

Maintaining comfortable and harmonious relationships is of course not the exclusive function of communication; for example, factual information about matters in the village can also be exchanged, where appropriate. Communication can also be directive, as an attempt to get someone else to do something. The expressive use of communication relates to statements about one's psychological state (Sternberg, 1999).

Not adhering to the meaning of communication in Tswana society could result in problems and difficulty in collecting information. The following example could illustrate this: It is not regarded as

appropriate to talk openly about sensitive issues concerning the *kgosi* (tribal chief). When the researcher made enquires about such issues, he came across people who did not want to divulge information in case it would leak out that they had said something, fearing that it would be detrimental to them. At one stage, the researcher spoke to an elderly person in the community about the funeral of Chief Lerothodi II, and said that 'the same people who were against the chief during the revolution, were also the ones who grieved when he died'. The participant took this up as if the researcher meant that they were double-tongued (*meno masweu ba go bolaya ba tshega*, i.e. 'white teeth people will kill you laughing'; this means that when you communicate with people, you must be aware that even though their appearance may be good, they might also be dangerous to you). When such sensitive issues concerning the chief's funeral were discussed, informants did not want to give information, and said, "You are the one who should have known". In general, such caution hampered efforts to get certain information and eventually, due to inadequate data, certain topics had to be excluded from the study.

It is also possible that informants might give false information. This is what Maruyama (1981) calls "criticality dissonance", i.e., when people give fake information to the researcher for the purpose of self-protection, and not necessarily for the purpose of deception. In other words, the informant could be afraid that he might divulge information, which might be detrimental to him or her, and thus gives incorrect information. In the present study, however, it appeared that respondents were more inclined *not* to give information, rather than to give false information. For example, at the funeral of Chief Lerothodi II there was no washing of hands as is customarily done after a funeral. When enquiries were made about this, the elders made remarks such as "why did you not do it?"

The above shows the methodological problems that can be encountered when conducting research in an African setting, and how important it is for the researcher to be familiar with customary patterns of communication.

Maruyama (1981) also refers to "relevance dissonance", which refers to the discrepancy of goals between the researcher and the community. For example, the researcher's aim might be to gather information which could be used to the benefit of the community, whereas the participants may see it as him wanting to obtain information which could benefit the academic community, or to further his own ambitions. If the researcher and the participants do not have the same goals, it is possible that one may obtain incomplete or inaccurate information. In the present study, for example, some of the unemployed regarded the researcher's enquiries only as gathering information for his studies, and not to improve their situation. It was also difficult to discuss unemployment with the unemployed, because they did not want to be regarded as unemployed since the community

looked down on unemployment.

Maruyama (1981) also warns that poor people are skilled and sophisticated in the art of survival, and may give information in such a way that the researcher becomes convinced that his research is useful for the community. They might give the researcher information to keep him busy and happy with himself, but without really contributing to the generation of scientific knowledge. Being aware of this, placed the researcher on guard to the possibility that this might occur. However, as far as could be determined, this did not happen in the present study.

6.3.4 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

A part of the data that was collected for the present study was obtained by means of observation which, in varying extent, involved the participation of the researcher in events in the community. These events included, for example, information about rituals such as weddings, funerals and confirmation in church, and observations about the physical environment.

Participant observation refers to an inquiry in which researchers observe and participate in the day-to-day life of the communities, organisations and groups they study. Participant observers maintain face-to-face relationships with those being studied and share in their daily experience. This minimises the social distance and language differences that exist between researcher and subject. The researcher is then able to gain an intimate qualitative understanding of complex social phenomena from the perspective of a person who is experiencing it (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

The participant observer begins to collect data with more tentative, less detailed hypotheses than in quantitative research. The purpose of loosely defining hypotheses and working in a field setting is to enable observers to take advantage of their firsthand experience of the phenomena being studied, so that they can develop, revise, and test hypotheses as they learn more about a setting (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

By its very nature, participation and observation must occur in a particular setting. However, as the enquiry progresses and the pattern of relationships between phenomena becomes clearer, researchers may redefine and extend the site (geographic area) in which data are to be collected. The following examples from the present study illustrate this: It is customary to slaughter a cow during various occasions, such as during a marriage or for religious reasons, as a sacrifice to the ancestors. Observing this ritual in various settings, contributed to a better understanding of its

meaning. Initially the economic activities in Bethanie were observed, but this was later expanded to include surrounding areas such as Geluk and Hebron.

Researchers can choose either to reveal or not to reveal their identity to the members of a group or community, and there are thus different degrees of openness in participant observation:

- (a) In *complete participation*, observers entirely conceal their identity as researchers as they attempt to become full-fledged members of the group under study (Heller *et al.*, 1984). Complete participation gives researchers access to settings where they would not be accepted. There are various problems with this approach: First, it is difficult for observers to conceal their lack of experience in the setting. In addition, observers often find that they cannot control the anxiety that results from the fear of being exposed and of the guilt of misrepresenting themselves. A further problem relates to the ethics of complete participation, i.e., of not informing the observed (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

Complete participation with concealment did not really apply to the present researcher. As a member of the community, he was known to be conducting research and he could never really be a complete participant concealing his intentions.

- (b) In the *participant as observer* approach, observers make their presence as researchers known and attempt to form relationships with members of a setting. The crucial task in this approach is minimising the effects of their presence on a community's usual behaviour and social processes. This can be done by behaving in accordance with accepted custom. However, researchers must resist being drawn into relationships and patterns of behaviour that are not conducive to their research (Heller *et al.*, 1984). The observer must have a balance between too little participation and too much. Researchers who remain passive and aloof may find that subjects are reluctant to share information. On the other hand, observers who participate fully in the life of a group may find that their activities limit their ability to collect data. Subjects also react to the presence of the observer, and may attempt to place constraints on when, whom, or what could be observed. People may also keep one at a distance because of fear that one would not understand them; for example, in the present study, a group of unemployed rioters said they did not want the researcher to become involved and only other unemployed would understand their situation.
- (c) *Only observation*: This means not to become involved in activities in a setting, but merely to watch and record what happens. In Setswana, this is described by the word *go bogela*

which means to be an onlooker. In some settings, the present researcher was more involved than in other settings. Some settings lent themselves to more direct participation, such as a funeral; others, however, necessitated less involvement, and observation from a greater "distance", such as occurred when data was collected about riots by the unemployed, an incident of alleged witchcraft and when information was collected about the educational system in the village where the study was done.

To promote the stability and credibility of the data that was collected, the researcher repeatedly attended selected events that could shed light on the indigenous belief system, thought patterns and symbolism. This enabled the researcher to refine his observations, examine hypotheses formed on the basis of previous observations, and to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the events. The data collected by participant observation was also often supplemented by interviews with informants who could help to clarify the meanings of events. For example, during a riot by the unemployed, the researcher went to observe the events, but knowing people who participated in the riots, he also interviewed some of them.

6.4 SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Overall, the way in which participants who provided information for the present study, were selected, depended on the particular topic that was being investigated. Depending on the information that was needed, criteria were set to purposefully select particular participants. For example, in the study of the families that were regarded by the community as prominent and successful, the criterion was that there had to be a graduate in the family. The criteria for selecting the unemployed were that they had to have finished school, were not working and were not pensioners, or had another disability that prevented them from working, and who were between the ages of 20 and 35 years old. To compare people who stayed in Bethanie and looked for work around the area with people who left Bethanie to live and work elsewhere, a particular area was chosen because the researcher was familiar with the area and the families that stayed there.

At other times, specific people were deliberately selected on the basis of their knowledge about an issue, and because they were articulate and had the ability to elucidate the issue investigated. There are specific people who are generally known in the community to have in-depth knowledge about particular matters, such as family trees, cattle farming, earlier social turmoil, etc., and such persons were purposively selected for interviewing.

In addition to the above, a snowball sampling approach (Orford, 1992) was used where appropriate. In situations where individuals were likely to know others in the same position (e.g., being unemployed) then it was possible to ask one interviewee to provide an introduction to others in the same situation.

The nomination technique refers to when individuals with particular needs are likely to know others in a similar position. Those with whom the researcher can establish contact, can be asked to describe friends or other acquaintances with similar problems or needs, and to provide information about them (Orford, 1992). For example, an unemployed person may provide information about a relative that is also unemployed.

It was not predetermined how many participants were to be used for the various topics investigated, nor how many times particular events were attended. Information was collected until a relative point of *saturation* in the data was reached. This is a point where the phenomenon was sufficiently understood and the information became repetitive, and little new information was obtained through continued interviews or continued observations.

6.5 THE RESEARCHER'S PERSPECTIVE

The present researcher is a member of the community he studied and is Tswana-speaking. The study could thus be referred to as endogenous research, which refers to research which is conceptualised, designed and conducted by someone who is an insider of the culture, using the native epistemology and meaning structures (Maruyama, 1981).

The advantage of endogenous research is that the researcher knew the people in the community and their customs and this made it easier to determine who should be contacted for certain information. It also contributed to understanding phenomena from the indigenous perspective. However, remaining in the indigenous frame of reference, made it difficult to understand the meaning of events in terms of Western psychology. Thus the meanings had to be translated into the concepts of Western psychology. Although this study cannot, in a narrow sense, be regarded as a cross-cultural study, the Tswana perspective had to be interpreted in the language and concepts of psychology, which are based on a Western framework. Through interpreting issues in terms of Western psychology, they become accessible to the wider scientific community. However, such interpretations also hold the risk that the indigenous, experiential meanings that certain phenomena have for people in the community, may become lost. The immediate, lived experience of witchcraft or rituals may, for example, not be fully reflected when it is described in

a scientific research report.

Magico-mythical experiences, which cannot be rationally explained, pose a special difficulty for the Western-trained psychologist. Such phenomena are not readily accessible through the constructs of Western psychology, or through the experiential modes of Western culture and a rational approach may in fact inhibit understanding: "At some point the intellectual process may, in fact, inhibit the quality of life by cutting off the sources of information that do not fit comfortably into the logical constructions of a rationally organized and intricately compartmentalized life style" (Pedersen, 1979, p. 84).

Since magico-mythical experiences are essentially a-rational (Van Niekerk, 1982), they are difficult to grasp through positivistic and rationalistic scientific schemata. They are based on an experience of time and space which defy understanding through linear thinking. A qualitative, descriptive, empathic, and participating approach is better suited to grasp the meaning of these modes of experience.

A researcher may also be faced with a particular ethical dilemma. There are things that a community may not want outsiders to know, whilst the researcher may have direct knowledge of it. For example, sensitive issues regarding the chief's family are not discussed openly, and the community might not like the outside world to read about it.

One implication of the researcher being a member of the community he studied, was that he was at times so absorbed in the community and culture, that he failed to recognise the significance and relevance of certain issues. Discussing his experiences and observation at length with his supervisor counteracted this.

Obtaining a doctorate, also has the risk that one could become marginalised in the community. People suspect that if one obtains a higher status, one might look down upon them. If one is perceived as someone with higher status, people also tend to become less helpful to assist in daily events, such as when one's car gets stuck in muddy roads during the rainy season. At the same time, when conducting research at this level, one's values change, so that differences develop between one's own values and those of the community. This in turn influences one's ability to gather information by taking indigenous values and behavioural norms into consideration, and to interpret the data in terms of the meanings the community attach to the information.

If one conducts research for a higher degree and one gives oneself out as someone who does not

have any knowledge about an issue, or that one does not understand something, people tend to be more open. However, if one gives one's own point of view, people tend to close up. This evokes the question in one, whether the people are against the individualism which is implicit in giving one's own opinion in general, or whether they are against a particular individual.

6.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Throughout the study, field notes were made. Afterwards, these field notes were analysed as follows:

In qualitative research such as participant observation, data collection and data analysis go hand in hand, i.e., researchers examine the notes they compile in the field on a daily basis to identify themes, revise hypotheses and plan for further data gathering. In addition, observers' accounts of their own behaviour, experiences, emotional reactions, and thoughts are also an important source of data (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

In the present study, notes were compiled of interviews that were conducted, or observations of events. Such notes could be regarded as a protocol. These protocols were analysed to identify themes, and these themes were then compared across protocols, to identify common themes or patterns in the data. These common themes were then described and the meaning thereof interpreted. Such interpretations usually also involved that the relationship between different phenomena were examined. As an example, the description of the burial societies given in paragraph 8.5 was based on the following: First, the researcher had a general knowledge that people were members of burial societies. He started with one person who gave him a description of the nature of the society he belonged to. Asking various members from various societies, a large amount of information could be gathered which on subsequent analysis showed that there were typical characteristics of the societies. These characteristics were then related to other aspects of the local culture, and brought into relation with unemployment and socio-economic development.

The analysis and the interpretation of the data often evolved through a series of steps which progressively brought one to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being investigated. In certain instances, the interpretation relied on essential meanings which could be of a universal nature for mankind. For example, the cardinal points of east and west were interpreted in terms of the essential human experience of life and death. This at times lead to new interpretations enriched by cultural practises. For example, after determining the meaning of east and west, the meaning of north and south was examined. This lead to the discovery that the grazing land,

uncultivated land, as well as an area for wild animals were on one side of the village, and the agricultural land on the other side, a typical pattern found in Tswana villages. This led to a further discovery of the polarity of wild and tamed natural features of the environment - as if human society contains both. This is described in more detail in Chapter 7.

In many instances, the meaning of a phenomenon was also examined by determining the meaning of words or proverbs. This relates to psycholinguistics. A language is never merely an abstract, worldless system of symbols. It is anchored in a culture and reflects the consensually validated worldview of a particular community. A language gives expression to the meaningful world of a particular community (Sapir, 1970; Whorf, 1956). It co-defines the experiential world in a particular language community and thus provides categories of meaning in terms of which reality can be experienced and organised.

In a discussion of this linguistic relativity, Hoijer (1954, p. 94) emphasises that it must be seen in the correct perspective: "No culture is wholly isolated, self-contained, and unique. There are important resemblances between all known cultures - resemblances that stem in part from diffusion (itself an evidence of successful intercultural communication) and in part from the fact that all cultures are built around biological, psychological, and social characteristics common to all mankind. The languages of human beings do not so much determine the perceptual and other faculties of their speakers vis-à-vis experience as they influence and direct these faculties into prescribed channels."

6.7 TRUSTWORTHINESS (STABILITY AND CREDIBILITY) IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research methods may be criticised for so-called "observer error" or bias, and be regarded as subjective, imprecise, ethereal and undisciplined, and thus not valid. It is difficult to reconcile this kind of research with orthodox research in terms of its objectivity, reliability and validity. However, Swantz (1981), in referring to participant research, makes the following comment which could well apply to qualitative research in general: "there is no point in trying to fit the participatory approach into a formula that is not suitable for it" (p. 291). The epistemological shift of qualitative research, away from positivistic science, requires a reconceptualisation of the concepts of reliability and validity in qualitative research.

According to Stiles (1993) reliability and validity both deal with trustworthiness. Reliability refers to the trustworthiness of observations or data, and thus involves the process of collecting data. Validity, on the other hand, refers to the trustworthiness of the interpretation of the data or the

conclusions drawn from it. This view, however, still makes use of terms anchored in the traditional, positivistic approach in psychological research, and one could instead of reliability refer to *stability* and instead of validity, refer to *credibility*.

In qualitative research, there isn't a sharp boundary between observation and interpretation, and thus the methods to ensure stability and credibility become intertwined. Trustworthiness can be improved in various ways. One way is through *prolonged* study, which enables time for all the variations of the phenomenon to present themselves in different contexts. Reason and Rowan (1981) emphasise that one should cultivate the ability to recognise the complexity and interrelatedness of various aspects of the context that one studies. In this regard they refer to the Sanskrit word *sataavadhaanas*, which means 'the capability of being aware of one hundred things simultaneously' (p. 246). For the present researcher, being a member of the community, had the advantage that through many years of intimate knowledge based on personal experience, he had an intuitive and direct understanding of the meaning of events. Such intuitive understanding, however useful, could not form the only basis for scientific research. It should be tempered by rigorous efforts to investigate phenomena systematically. To this end, over a period of five years, numerous interviews were conducted with different people and community events were repeatedly attended to come to grips with the complexity of the psychocultural factors that play a role in unemployment. Direct experience poses a challenge to one's ability to portray, not one's own biased views, but those of the community. One precaution against this is to meticulously make repeated observations in different settings, and inquiries among different sources until one becomes certain that one is dealing with a broader trend in the phenomenon being investigated.

The foregoing relates to what Reason and Rowan (1981) refer to as "the systematic use of feedback loops, and by going around the research cycle several times " (p. 247). Stiles (1993, p. 605) refers to this as iteration, i.e., "cycling between interpretation and observation." Practically in this study it meant that the researcher repeatedly went back to the participants, checking his interpretations, and discussing a point until agreement was reached between him and the participants. Stiles (1993, p. 610) refers to this as "testimonial validity". The cycling between observation and interpretation did not only entail going back to the community to conduct further interviews or to observe events again, but also reading and rereading the descriptions that were compiled, and reconceptualising the meanings that were embedded in the material. This process continued until acceptable stability of the observations and interpretations was obtained.

Reason and Rowan (1981) also state that using different forms of knowledge contributes to the validity of a study. Thus, for example using experiential knowledge together with propositional knowledge enhances validity. In this study it meant that having participated in community activities,

whilst at the same time obtaining information from other people in the community and using theoretical knowledge from psychology, enhanced the credibility of the data.

One could also continuously *challenge* one's findings; one looks for alternative or rival facts and explanations that could possibly invalidate one's initial insights. One searches for *disconfirming evidence*. According to Reason and Rowan (1981) one could actively and consciously attempt to deny, contradict, or disprove the data and the propositions that have been developed about the data. This could be done, for example, by asking someone else to try and disconfirm one's findings. This also helps to explore unthought of avenues, or bring out new insights only partially formed. In the present study, the researcher and his supervisor spent many hours discussing issues, the latter person adopting the role of devil's advocate, consistently questioning the researcher's observations and interpretations.

Thus, the trustworthiness of one's data and interpretations can be enhanced through rigorous self-discipline to remain open-minded for alternative information and interpretations which may not fit with one's preconceived views. Through systematic, scientific enquiry, one can gain a new understanding, sometimes realising that what one has been told or what one has been taught, is different from what actually happens. For example, the researcher initially had the view that the Tswana culture is caring, only to realise that there are often cruelty and harshness, for example in the way people interact with children.

Reason and Rowan (1981) also suggest using convergent 'validity'. This relates to triangulation, which entails soliciting alternatives (Stiles, 1993) and is done by

- Using different *sources* (i.e., different people) to confirm or deny findings, and to determine if the data from these different sources converge. In the present study, the researcher consulted a wide variety of people, fulfilling a variety of functions, such as members of the *lekgotla*, ministers of religion, teachers, students, unemployed people, elders in the society, etc.
- Using different *methods* of data collection and determining whether the data obtained by the different methods confirm, contradict or supplement one another. In the present study, participation, observation, interviewing and psycholinguistic analyses were used.

In the essence of trustworthiness is that the results must be coherent. "Coherence includes internal consistency, comprehensiveness of the elements to be interpreted and the relations between elements, and usefulness in encompassing new elements as they come to view" (Stiles, 1993., p. 608). It thus means that the results are free of inner contradictions, plausible, fit in with people's

experience, be found convincing by others and the findings must have the power to generate workable solutions for problems. This means that the data must have contextual validity, i.e., the findings must fit with the whole picture (Reason & Rowan, 1981).

6.8 CONCLUSION

This study was conducted from a qualitative perspective. Within the framework of field research, people and events were studied in everyday life situations. It included ethnography, field interviews and participant observation. In addition, psycholinguistic analyses of words and sayings were made. Ethnography emphasises inferring meaning from what people say and do, and from the objects they create. Participant observation involves systematic involvement in the events that are being investigated, with the view to understand these events from the perspective of a participant. In field interviews, knowledgeable informants were purposively selected to provide information about specific matters. Psycholinguistic analyses involved inferring cultural meanings from the words and expressions people use.

In qualitative research, the meaning of phenomena are interpreted from the researcher's own perspective. It means that he gives meaning to what he perceives are the meanings other people attach to events. This makes it difficult to understand phenomena from the perspective of the people that one investigates. This could be complicated if the people one investigates are unwilling or unable to provide interpretations of events.

In qualitative research, the researcher interprets the meanings of the phenomena that he investigates. Thus, a particular study is always a particular perspective created by the particular researcher. The researcher's descriptions of his perspective, as these are conveyed in a scientific text, may not adequately convey the full meaning of the original experience. For example, when magico-mythical things, such as witchcraft, are translated into the language of science, meanings are attached to it that may be distant from the original experience.

Validity and reliability in qualitative research involves ensuring the trustworthiness or credibility, as well as the stability of the data. This is done by various means, and a core aspect of this is repeatedly going through the data, investigating similar cases or related phenomena, and using multiple sources of data and different methods of data collection to obtain a pattern of meanings that make logical sense.

A difficulty in qualitative research is that it does not involve fixed methodological steps that are mechanically applied in a predetermined sequence. It is rather similar to creating a structure from the pieces of a puzzle, through methods that are adapted to the interaction between the particular researcher and the phenomena being investigated. The symbol of the puzzle relates to information that is already present, and which the researcher has to detect and formulate.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS: THE PHYSICAL, HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT IN BETHANIE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study was done in Bethanie, a village about 80 km. to the west of Pretoria and close to the town of Brits in the North West Province. In the following paragraphs a brief description will be given of the physical environment in Bethanie. The relationship between the physical environment on the one hand, and the social structure on the other hand, will also be indicated. Cultural factors specifically related to stagnation and renewal will also be addressed in this chapter.

The Bethanie region (also referred to as Odi I, a name derived from the Odi River) consists of five villages, Bethanie, Makolokwe (also known as Selotsha), Barseba, Modikwe and Maumong. The people who live here, are the Bakwena ba Mogopa.

Wild animals, such as snakes, leopards, monkeys, hyenas, jackals, and small buck (such as duikers and impalas) still roam around the uncultivated northern outskirts of the village. The Rooikoppies dam, which is on the boundary of Bethanie, is infested with crocodiles. It is against this background of unchanged nature, which is preserved by the people, that this study which deals with psychocultural factors that are related to unemployment, must be seen.

The Bakwena villages are traditionally named according to two categories, viz. (a) biblical names such as Hebron, Berseba, Bethanie, and Jericho; this reflects the influence of Christianity in the area, as will be expanded upon later in this chapter; and (b) Setswana names, such as Kgabalatsane and Makolokwe. The two categories of names of the villages reflect two cultural traditions, which exist next to each other, with the implication that the name of a place is not merely a verbal label, but that it can also reflect socio-cultural meanings.

A river divides the village of Bethanie into two sections, namely the Bethanie section on the eastern side and Moseja (which literally means 'overseas', but in this case meaning 'on the other side of the river'), on the western side. The river that passes through the village is called Tshukutswe. This

river is tamed but has two dangerous pools.

The physical facilities in the two sections of Bethanie differ and this has an effect on the social structure. To explain this, the following information about the educational, religious, legal-judicial and sport facilities in the two areas is given: The Moseja section has three schools, i.e. a primary, middle and high school, whereas the Bethanie section has only one school, a primary school. All the churches, except a Roman Catholic Church, are in the Bethanie section. The graveyard is in the Bethanie section. The police station is in Moseja, as is the *lekgotla*. The latter is the tribal authority, consisting of the *kgosi* (chief), the *kgosana* (literally, 'small chiefs', i.e., the heads of sections of the community) of various *dikgoro* (clans, or groups of relatives) and some elected members from the village. The *kgosana* are traditional leaders, and the *dikgoro* are based on shared family origin. In the area of recreation and sport, people who take part in karate (referred to as *karatekas*) are all from the Bethanie section but they train in the tribal hall which is in the Moseja section. There are three soccer grounds in the village – two in the Bethanie section and one in the Moseja section, but all these grounds are used by youths from the Bethanie section. There is one netball ground in the Bethanie section.

It is interesting to note that the distribution of facilities in the two areas encourages the residents to meet. People from Moseja attend church and bury people in Bethanie. The children from Bethanie go to Moseja to attend school, to participate in karate or play soccer. The tribal affairs of the residents of the Bethanie section have to be dealt with by the *lekgotla* in Moseja.

In spite of the foregoing, the people from Moseja and Bethanie respectively are not encouraged to move residence from one area to the other. When a person has grown up, gets married and has to build his own house, he is encouraged to build in the area where he grew up. If he were to move, it is said that he undermines where he was born. At birth, a child is ritually anchored to the ground by burying the *kalanyana* (umbilical cord - literally, small branch) in the yard. This gives him a sense of "here I am, because my *kalanyana* is buried here". This attachment between a person and the area where he/she was born can be likened to the attachment between a person and his/her mother. Through the ritual burying of the umbilical cord and the norms of society a person's sense of identity becomes anchored in the physical place with which he identifies.

Amongst the Bapedi there is a saying, *tikologo ya fao motho a dulago e thuša go bopa semelo sa gagwe*, which means that the environment where one lives, forms one's character. In a related context, Mbiti (1969, p. 27) says with regard to the people of Africa: "The land provides them with the roots of existence, as well as binding them mystically to their departed. People walk on the

graves of their forefathers, and it is feared that anything separating them from these ties will bring disaster to family and community life. To remove Africans by force from their land is an act of such great injustice that no foreigner can fathom it. Even when people voluntarily leave their homes in the countryside and go to work in the cities, there is a fundamental severing of ties which cannot be repaired and which often creates psychological problems with which urban life cannot as yet cope."

Setiloane (1978, p. 38) has a similar point of view: "They are tied to the soil, body, mind and soul. A child's umbilical cord is buried into the soil, the same soil into which his ancestors are buried, thus linking him to them where they are. If he is removed permanently from that place the cord which ties him to them is broken."

A person who was born in Bethanie would say *kalana ya ka e wetse fa*: my umbilical cord is buried here. This is a constant reminder to women who were born elsewhere and married into Bethanie that they were not born there. In other words, those who are born in Bethanie have more say and more power than those who come from elsewhere. Through this the power relations between genders are maintained. Among men who were born outside Bethanie the expression *ga o wa mono* is used, which means you do not belong here. When someone who was not born in Bethanie gets into conflict with a local person, it is said *o sokodisiwa ke motho fela*. *Sokodisiwa* comes from the Afrikaans word "sukkel" (e.g., 'jy sukkel met my', i.e., to cause problems for one). The expression thus means that the one who causes problems, is a person from outside. All this reflects a bond between people who come from the same area, and that the place identity of a person transcends the individual to become a collective or shared place identity.

The level of development of the Bethanie and Moseja sections of the village differs. The Moseja section is predominantly Lutheran - i.e., belonging to the first Lutheran Church which was established by German missionaries in the last part of the 19th century. The people here are called *ma-agter*, from the Afrikaans word "agter" (behind), meaning "those who are backward". The Bethanie section is predominantly Bakwena Lutheran, which broke away from the Lutheran Church (see paragraph 7.3.2). The people in this section are referred to as *maforo*, from the Afrikaans word "voor" (ahead), meaning "those who are progressive". The members of the community regard members of the Lutheran Church as *ba ikgantsha*, *ba humile* – they are proud and rich. It is also interesting that the Lutheran Church is painted white and is referred to as *Kereke e tshweu*, i.e. the white church - whereas the Bakwena Lutheran Church is painted beige, and is referred to as *kereke e tshetlha*, meaning the 'grey' church. The Moseja section, which has a stronger association with the Western Christian world and with material wealth, is thus regarded as "backward", whilst

the Bethanie section, which has stronger ties with indigenous culture, is regarded as more “progressive”.

Whereas the people in the Bethanie section are generally liberal in their views about political and religious development, the people in the Moseja section are more conservative in the sense that they resist change and do not want to adopt new ways. In spite of this, the people in Moseja have not, like other independent African churches, incorporated traditional beliefs, rituals and behaviour in their religion. For example, ritual dancing is not allowed in the church and they also do not give recognition to the role of the *badimo* (ancestors) and *baloi* (witches). They, however, tolerate churches which incorporate these traditional beliefs, and allow members of these churches to be confirmed in the Bakwena Lutheran Church.

The foregoing description shows how the river divides the village into two physical as well as two different social environments. In a related context, Barker (in Orford, 1992) indicated that behaviour patterns are influenced by the milieu (which includes the natural features and built environment of the landscape) in which the behaviour occurs. According to Barker, people build structures according to their needs and interests; once these structures have been built, they in turn affect the behaviour of the people.

There is a range of mountains on the northern part of the Bethanie section, called *Thabana e ntlhana* (sharp koppie¹) and *Thabana ya letsopa* (clay koppie). On the southern part, there is a koppie called *Thabane ya mantsho* (black koppie). There are no mountains surrounding the Moseja section. *Thabana e ntlhana* and *Thabana ya letsopa* are acclaimed to belong to the *baloi* (witches). It is said the *baloi* live here, and the local people regard them as dangerous. These koppies are situated in communal cattle grazing land used by both Bethanie and Moseja, but it is still inhabited by wild animals. There are two large dongas, which have caves, in the Moseja section. One is called the *Legaga la diphiri* (cave of wolves) and the other Karamela (a biblical name, which in biblical times was a place of prayer). *Thabana ya montsho* and Karamela are situated in arable land and are places of prayer - people go here after harvest to thank the ancestors for the harvest and if there is no rain, they go there to pray for rain. The vanadium mine in Bethanie (see paragraph 9.3.2) is also situated in the arable land. The undeveloped land is associated more with the dark forces of witchcraft, whereas the developed land is associated with both the Christian and indigenous religions, as well as modern development. It is as if the physical environment portrays a dichotomy between the traditional African and the modern (Western-

¹ *Thabana* is the diminutive for mountain, and can be translated with the Afrikaans word *koppie*.

influenced) contexts in Bethanie. The former is associated with the wild, untamed and dangerous, whereas the latter is associated with life-promoting forces.

The arable land has black turf ground and red clay soil, which retains water for a longer period of time, and is thus used for drought resistant agricultural practices. People who live in an area where there is predominantly red sand always appear to be dirty, most likely because of the dust. The most developed people (such as the 'professionals', i.e. teachers, nurses, etc.) do not want to live in that area because of the dust and because in the rainy season, the soil colours their clothes and shoes. One of the outcomes of this is that poorer people mostly inhabit this area. This illustrates how environmental factors impact on the structure of society. However, it does not mean that people are passively delivered to their environment, since they have some control over it in that they have a choice where to live.

Bethanie has salty and sweet underground water. The Moseja section has many wells. This availability of water has bearing on a project which was launched by the Reconstruction and Development Programme to make water for household usage available in all the villages in the Bethanie Region, which is discussed in detail in paragraph 9.5.3).

Overall, the area has good natural features. However, there often are droughts, which affect animal and crop farming. According to Hofstede (1980), an unthreatening environment does not stimulate technological development. In terms of his views, the harshness of the environment in Bethanie could have served as a stimulus to gain control over the environment, thus stimulating development. However, this does not seem to occur. Instead of the people from Bethanie developing their own resources to become self-sufficient, they go elsewhere to obtain resources, for example buying crops from nearby white farmers. This has a negative impact on markets where locally produced products could be sold. The easy access to resources outside Bethanie, which is partly due to the nearness of cities and towns which are easily reached by means of various methods of transport, as well as a money-based economy, also decrease the impetus to develop the area. Since the environment is too risky for farming, people do not invest in it but spend their money on domestic needs.

Jaffee (1986) says that people tend to leave harsh areas for more favourable areas. This is illustrated by people who purchase houses in better areas such as nearby towns and cities after they have reached a certain socio-economic level. Even though they may leave Bethanie permanently, many of them tend to retain their bond with their place of origin. This is reminiscent of earlier times, when the men who worked in the cities regularly sent money home and every

Thursday transport was arranged to collect *dikokola* (dried bread) from them.

The level of care in a setting reflects the extent to which it is in a process of decay. The *lekgotla*, church buildings and the buildings of the police station are well cared for. However, not much care is given to road maintenance, waste removal, maintaining the school buildings and a previous agricultural development project (Agrico). It was especially since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, that the school buildings and the Agrico project have been neglected, and this shows how political changes can disrupt continuity in development.

Although the postal services and electricity supply function well, various other services have virtually collapsed in Bethanie. These include the police services, the school system, health services, recreation (soccer fields), water supply, and retail trade (for household goods).

The picture that arises from the foregoing description of the level of care of buildings and the quality of services is bleak. It shows a decline in the quality of life in various domains, including health, education, recreation, the transport infrastructure (roads), agricultural development, and economic activities. Coupled to this, is the tendency not to develop the resources that are available in Bethanie, but to purchase consumer goods outside the village, and better educated (and also more affluent) people leaving the area. The descriptions that were given of the names of the villages, the two sections of Bethanie and the implicit meanings attached to the mountains around the village, indicate a fragmentation of society which is linked to the impact Western culture has had on the residents. This leaves one with the impression that instead of development, there is decline and decay, and that developmental initiatives which could provide employment, would face many barriers. The discussion in this section also shows how the physical environment influences social structures, and the implication of this is developmental initiatives will have to take this environment into consideration.

7.2 NAMING

As was indicated above, the name of a place or of a person, has more significance than merely labelling it. For example, a child that is born immediately after the death of someone in the family could be called Dikeledi ("tears"). A common tradition is to name a child after a family member from a previous generation, such as a grandfather, so that 'the person can continue after death' and one will 'have the same children' as one's grandfather. This involves more than the mere continuing of the name. It is also believed that the personality characteristics of a person are continued in those that bear his name. This is related to the belief system about *leina borello* (if you name someone

after another person, he or she is believed to be likely to behave like that person). Thus, people's behaviour is co-determined by their names and the conditions under which they were born. By naming someone after the dead, those who have died keep on living. This reflects a continuation between the living and the dead, which is based on a non-linear time experience where the end of something is also its beginning, and the beginning is also the end. It depicts the rhythm of life in which the past is repeated in the present. It reflects something that does not grow, but also never dies out. It is survival, or stagnation, with no upward movement towards a long-term vision in the future.

The above practice of naming implies that the person is not in full control to determine his own destiny, nor is the environment in full control. It is the name, i.e., the family, that determines the person's destiny. This is not an external locus of control in the sense that this concept is used in Western psychology. The person is part of the family, and his existence is anchored in his family and the particular person he is named after. This is also reflected in the expression *o tshwana le mokete* (he looks like somebody - i.e., in the family). This means that a person is always likened to somebody in the family. *O goditse mokete* (he behaves like somebody - i.e., in the family) implies that the individual is not unique. This implies that the self coincides with the family, so that the control is simultaneously in the self and in the family. Internality is thus also 'located' in the 'self-as-others'. This is an alternative form of locus of control, which is different from the conventional Western view which is based on an individualistic perspective.

A person's sense of locus of control could influence whether he or she would uplift himself when unemployed and poor. On the one hand, it might motivate the person to exert himself to be like the person whom he is named after. If the person was successful, he might also try to be successful. However, if he fails, people would typically react with *o tlhaga ko ntle* (he is from outside), which means his behaviour is from outside, implying that his behaviour is predetermined. He might then not take responsibility. At an initial level, he might try on his own, but after failing he might say "I am not responsible; I'm like my uncle (or another person he is named after)."

Special naming occurs in instances of births which are problematic (these children are referred to as *ngwana wa ngwako*). This is the case when a woman does not bear a child during, for example, the first five years after marriage, or if before the birth there were many miscarriages, or the child's older siblings died before his birth. One still occasionally comes across these children, whose hair is cut in a particular way, or they wear particular beads, indicating that they are *bana ba ngwako*. They are not named after a family member, but are given any other name so that the ancestors should protect them. The belief is that if they are named after a family member, they will die

similarly to their brothers or sisters, and that one should not become very attached to the child (*o se ke wa mmaya mo pelong*, one should not put him in your heart), because then you might lose him. Words, thus, are more than mere naming; words also contain meaning.

Tswana people often have a Tswana name as well as a Christian name. This implies that self-identity can be intercultural. At times, the names originating from the two cultures can become integrated, symbolising the broader process of cultural integration. For example, the name Vivian can be "Tswanalised" to become Bebe (from Vivi). Even between African cultures, there can be integration - for example, Thandi (Zulu) can become Sethanthane in Setswana. Although the name changes discussed in this paragraph may appear to be trivial, it does symbolise the way in which people react when two or more cultures meet and the impact it has on a person's identity. According to Gergen *et al.* (1995), the community not only describes a person's identity but also constitutes it and it should be understood through local or everyday modes of understanding. This goes beyond the positivist position, and proposes that the ways in which people interpret their lives, and knowledge in general, are relative to the setting in which such understanding and knowledge are developed. In the context of naming practices in Bethanie, this means that one of the ways people react to multi-cultural settings, is to integrate the various cultures in one's experience of the self, and this can be done by assimilating the new with that what is familiar. However, such assimilation does not always occur - at times two cultural worlds exist next to each other, symbolised in the co-existence of both a Christian and a Tswana name, with people moving from one to the other depending on the context. Similarly, villages are also sometimes referred to with either Tswana or Christian names, such as Bethanie, which is also referred to as Mmantabole - which means to scoop up something with two hands.

The question that arises, is what bearing do the naming practices have on the topic of research, namely unemployment and socio-economic development? These practices highlight the following:

- The non-linear experience of time that is expressed in naming a person after another family member, contrasts with the linear time concept of Christianity, where there is a fixed beginning with the Creation, and a fixed end state with the Resurrection of Christ. It is possible that a non-linear experience of time might inhibit social and economic development, which requires a vision of change from the present to reach future goals, growth, and exploration of new methods or movement into other domains.
- Bringing something new into a community which has its own cultural context, does not automatically mean that it will be integrated. It might remain as a relatively separate

domain, or it might be assimilated. On a different level, this might imply, for example, that bringing democracy and a free market into a community, does not *necessarily* mean that it will prevail; on the one hand, it might exist next to indigenous patterns, but it might also be adapted to fit in with local conditions.

- The person exists in his or her name. That with which a person is represented (i.e., the name as symbol), is not different from that which is represented (i.e., the person). The symbol and the reality are the same. This might have the implication that the names of developmental projects must be carefully chosen, since it might evoke certain attitudes. An example of this is when an airport was built in the early 1990's near Kgabalatsane, a village near GaRankuwa. The airport was called Odi, but local people wanted it to be named Kgabalatsane. During the riots which occurred in the area in the early 1990's, the airport was destroyed.

7.3 REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN BETHANIE

7.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Change in a community can occur in various ways, including evolutionary and revolutionary change. Both of these forms of change can create an environment that that is conducive to either socio-economic stagnation, or to renewal and economic development. In this section the revolutionary background of Bethanie will be described, and its role in socio-economic development will be indicated.

At various times, there occurred what could be regarded as revolutionary change in Bethanie. First, there was turmoil that led to the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church in 1939/1940. This coincided with the Second World War. Thereafter, under the reign of Chief Lerothodi II, conflict broke out in 1958, a time when there was broader social and political upheaval in South Africa, which lead to the banning of organisations such as the ANC and PAC in the early 1960's. It seems that the upheaval in Bethanie was influenced by the political unrest in the country. During 1994 a series of events occurred in Bethanie which could be described as revolutionary action by the youths in the village. Although the latter events were initiated by the Women's League of the ANC, the youths did not identify themselves with any particular political party. Their actions formed part of a wave of uncertainty and unrest that was running through the country around the time of the installation of the first black democratically elected government in South Africa. The revolutionary

changes referred to above are discussed in the following paragraphs.

7.3.2 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAKWENA LUTHERAN CHURCH

In 1939/1940, there were radical, revolutionary changes in Bethanie that involved the royal family and the church. This must be seen in terms of the history of Bethanie, as related to the researcher by the elderly people in the *lekgotla*:

During the Mzikilikazi wars in the first half of the 19th Century, the mother of the later Chief Lerothodi I was sent to Lesotho for protection. She gave birth to a son there, and was given the Sotho name of Lerothodi. He was subsequently sent to Potchefstroom, where he was raised by a certain Dr. Pronk and he also lived with a minister of religion, Rev Swartz, in Pretoria. He thus spent his formative years in a Western, Christian environment. It is said that he could read and write Dutch and that he knew the president of the ZAR, Paul Kruger. He became chief at the age of 19 years, and early in his reign he sent people to Port Shepstone in Natal to recruit German missionaries to come and live in Bethanie. When his emissaries arrived in Port Shepstone, they found that the missionaries had already left for Zeerust, a town about 200km to the south-west of Bethanie. They then went to Zeerust and arranged that the missionaries settled in Bethanie, where they established the Lutheran Church.

When the Germans came to Bethanie, they introduced doctrines and codes of conduct based on Western Christian religion. They also introduced better health care, enabled the Bakwena to buy some land, taught them how to make clothes, taught them basic agricultural practices, introduced education, a canal system was developed, a mill was built, and a post office was established. The German influence however did not go any further. The people were negative towards the Germans, whom they regarded as cruel, and as wanting to destroy what they (the Germans) regarded as an inferior race. They did not teach the people German, and did not marry the Batswana - some degree of cultural difference was thus maintained.

During Lerothodi I's reign, at the end of the 19th century, he also sent a group of people to Transkei, together with his children (twins, one of whom, Kapeng, later became the chief), to be trained as teachers. Another group of his relatives went to Lesotho, also to be trained as teachers. When they came back, those who went to Transkei wanted to rule in the traditional way together with the chief. Those who went to Lesotho wanted to be independent of the whites, especially of the white missionaries, who had great influence on the chief. They said that they had seen in Lesotho that

black people could rule themselves. They formed their own *lekgotla*, chose their own chief, and appointed their own *moruti* (minister of religion). They also chose their own school principal and took over part of the local school. However, their revolt against the Germans cut them off from access to the necessary resources to run the school effectively.

Years later, the breakaway culminated in the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church towards the end of 1939, beginning 1940, when Kapeng, one of Lerothodi I's sons, was the chief. As indicated above, the people who went to Lesotho tried to establish their own school but initially they did not have money for teachers and facilities, and even today the culture of learning is stronger among members of the Lutheran Church than among members of the Bakwena Lutheran Church. Generally, the people who belong to the Lutheran Church are regarded as more developed than the members of the other Bakwena Lutheran Church.

At the time of the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church, there was already a division between what became known as *maforo* and *ma-agter* - which referred to people with progressive and conservative orientations respectively. The *maforo* fell under the authority of their own *lekgotla* and the *ma-agter* accepted the local chief. The latter was an acting chief in the place of Kapeng, who had fallen ill, and he was greatly influenced by a white minister of religion. During this time a group of *diphiri* (gravediggers) who belonged to the *maforo*, during a funeral decided to burn down the Lutheran Church and carried out their plans. This resulted in widespread conflict between the *maforo* and the *ma-agter*. The conflict was eventually resolved in the regional court in Rustenburg, and the conflict subsided when a new acting chief, who supported the *maforo*, was appointed and brought calmness to the area.

The events described in the previous paragraphs show that the process of change, whereby Christianity and Western culture were introduced into Bethanie, was initiated from within the community by Chief Lerothodi I. Through his own role and by sending people to different environments, new views and patterns of behaviour were brought into Bethanie. The role of Lerothodi I in initiating change illustrates the importance of leadership in development. The chief was familiar with both the traditional context, as well as the Western context. In his efforts at development, he brought in both a religious dimension and the more concrete skills people needed. Through this the blueprint (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) of the community was changed. This comprised that the way people lived, their religion, education, economic activities and the way they perceived development, were changed. It shows important factors that play a role in development, especially the church, economic activities, education, and the *lekgotla*.

However, this development took diverse directions, some people worked together with the chief, whilst others worked against him; some people readily embraced Western influence, whilst others resisted it. This confirms Durkheim's (in Hunt, 1988) view that the effect of revolution is not foreknown, it might be either positive or negative.

One outcome of the changes that took place in Bethanie, was the formation and the building of the Bakwena Lutheran Church. Through the establishment of this church, the people created something for themselves, which was not controlled by the white, German missionaries. It thus reflected pride in their cultural heritage, and since this revolved around the church, it shows the important role that religion plays. In spite of breaking away from the Lutheran Church, they did not want to reject the original church doctrine completely. This shows that when two cultures meet, differences in belief systems may occur, which requires some form of reconciliation between the two worlds.

It is noteworthy that the changes involved the political, economic, educational and religious domains. Elsewhere (see paragraph 8.3.2) it is indicated that religion forms an integral part of life in Bethanie, and the way in which the changes in Bethanie revolved around the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church, confirms this. It must be understood that the breakaway was not only of religious origin. There was also resistance to the system of authority: a part of the community wanted to have their own *kgosi* and *lekgotla*, and also their own school principal. Not only did those people who went to Lesotho to obtain education instigate revolutionary political change, but they also wanted to have their own educational system. It appears that their exposure to education and the political system in Lesotho, brought about a rise in expectations, and greater awareness of what they lacked, a dynamic that is also described in relative deprivation theory (Appelgryn, 1991)

7.3.3 RESISTANCE AGAINST LEROTHODI II

In 1959 another series of revolutionary events occurred in Bethanie. When Lerothodi II came of age, and it became the time for him to rule, his uncle who was acting chief did not want him to take over, since he was regarded as not being in line to become chief. Lerothodi II's father was childless from his wife, and he then married his cousin who gave birth to Lerothodi II. The father had a twin brother who had a daughter and according to custom she could not rule. The village then became divided as to who should be the chief, but in the end Lerothodi II was installed.

Lerothodi II was harsh in dealing out punishment and when he one day took furniture from a woman who belonged to the Bakwena Lutheran church, conflict broke out, during which women played a leading role. Some houses, which belonged to the *dikgosana* (headmen) were stoned and some people were killed. The conflict also involved a conflict between the Lutheran Church and the Bakwena Lutheran Church. It is important to reiterate that the conflict between the two churches involved people with different levels of development, and people who differed in terms of their acceptance of Western influences.

Important to note is that the outbreak of conflict was triggered by a relatively trivial event – taking furniture away from somebody. Tiryakian (1988) also stated that the outbreak of revolution does not always make sense. This implies that one has to look at deep-rooted processes in a community, such as different levels of development, to understand why conflict occurs. According to relative deprivation theory (Appelgryn, 1991), the less developed often feel that those who are more developed hinder their progress. It seems that when expectations rise then the less developed become more aware of their relative deprivation. In both the established of the Bakwena Lutheran Church and the resistance to Lerothodi II, the revolutionary actions were started by the less developed sector – which means that in development, one must address their needs.

To resolve the conflict, the chief called the police and they put an end to the fighting. After the conflict subsided, the chief had three schools and a tribal hall and offices built. He also encouraged people to plough and get more involved in cattle farming. He also implemented the custom of *letsweta* – originally *letsweta* was land under the control of the chief, but which belonged to the whole community and the land was ploughed by the community; if people were in need, the chief would share the produce with them. What the chief did, was that he ploughed his own field with a tractor bought through donations by the community. Symbolically, since the land was the community's property and the chief did not own it as an individual, this implied that what he did must also be done by the community – i.e., he encouraged them by setting an example to plough. He also tried to promote the development of modernised agriculture by supporting the Agrico project. The latter was a project by the former Bophuthatswana government to stimulate sunflower and cattle farming. He further enforced education up to Form III and encouraged tertiary education. He forced people to build toilets. Pigs were no longer allowed to wander in the streets and had to be put in pens. He involved people in his rule by calling *kgote-kgote* (i.e. a meeting of all adults) when major decisions were to be made. He also reconciled the two churches. Symbolically he combined traditional custom and Western custom, symbolised for example in wearing his traditional leopard skin and his English attire at his inauguration and at other occasions.

Of central significance in the resistance to Lerothodi II and the aftermath of the conflict, is that it led to renewal and efforts at reconciliation. The renewal focused on education and economic development (especially farming and agricultural development), and this involved the integration of traditional African customs and Western methods and approaches. At a political level, the *kgote-kgote* implied a broader involvement of the community in decision-making, and thus less power distance between the community and those in power which, according to Hofstede (1980), promotes development. The development of the village required stability, and to promote this African and Western influences needed to be reconciled. The latter included reconciliation between the Lutheran Church and the Bakwena Lutheran Church.

The directive manner in which Chief Lerothodi II enforced the changes he introduced links with a masculine value system as described by Hofstede (1980). However, underlying this were feminine principles, focused on caring for and nurturing the community.

The events described in the preceding paragraphs show that the changes that occurred were multifaceted, and involved the church, economic activities, education, and political decision-making. Systems do not exist in solipsism, but are linked to each other through feedback loops. Events in one system affect other systems - for example, the educational system could influence the economic system in so far as school education could enable people to implement modern agricultural methods.

7.3.4 THE YOUTH: ARSON AND THE TRIAL OF THE CHIEF

Early in 1994, when there was general uncertainty and unrest in South Africa in the face of the forthcoming general elections, the Women's League of the ANC arranged a series of meetings in Bethanie. During these meetings, dissatisfaction with the chief was instigated. This created a conducive environment for an uprising led by the youths. They burnt down and looted two houses and the administrative buildings of the Bakwena Ba Mogopa Co-operative; attempts were also made to burn the tractors of the Co-operative.

One of the burned houses belonged to the chief and the other house belonged to the middle-school principal, who was also the chief's friend. The chief's residence consisted of two houses - one for the first wife (whom he had divorced) and one for the second wife. The house that was burned belonged to the second wife. The youths also threatened to burn other people's houses. One of the chief's close friends and advisor, as well as villagers who were threatened during the

riots, emigrated from Bethanie, similar to the chief who had left Bethanie for Hebron after his divorce.

Subsequent to the burning of the chief's house, a trial was held at the *lekgotla* during which allegations were made against the chief. The main allegations were that he did not ensure that they got electricity and water supply, that he did not stay with his people, and that he mismanaged money. He was then called from Hebron to answer these allegations. The community did not accept his answers and violence erupted. He then left the area under escort of the police and army. After the trial the cars belonging to the chief, members of the government and the police were stoned.

During his trial no one left Bethanie to go to work or for any other reason. The prohibition to leave Bethanie was enforced by the youths. According to Durkheim (in Hunt, 1988) for the 'sons' (i.e., the whole community) not to be held individually responsible, they have to share the guilt, i.e., everybody has to be involved.

Immediately after the riots, the youth claimed land near to the Lutheran Church and a tower next to the church. The tower was built in the 19th century by a Scotsman who married a black woman in Bethanie, and was used as a school bell. The youth named the land 'freedom square', and held political meetings on it. This was symbolically undermining authority in the sense that the church has the highest tower in Bethanie, which symbolises power and hierarchy (Hunt, 1988).

The events in Bethanie can be interpreted in terms of Durkheim's (in Hunt, 1988) theory. The first point to note is that in Bethanie, the uprising was led by the youth. In the French Revolution, the younger generation also played an important role and the revolutionaries emphasised that families should be run by 'brothers', and not by their parents. This was symbolised in the Greek mythological figure of Hercules who looked young, and muscular (Hunt, 1988).

Another similarity between the events in Bethanie and the French Revolution relates to an assault on patriarchal society. The aggression directed at the chief in Bethanie could be likened to the French Revolution where the revolutionaries declared the father (i.e., the king) guilty, killed him and announced political liberation to the world. The traditional framework of authority was destroyed. With the king's death, it was hoped, went the legitimacy of the old regime, social, political and cultural authority. The new world was to be sacred without a king who was a figure of patriarchal authority (Hunt, 1988). According to the cyclical revolutionary theory, the destruction of patriarchal authority is a way to renew society and societies should have periodic revolutions to rejuvenate

themselves (Tiryakian, 1988). In terms of Durkheim's theory (Hunt, 1988), the burning of the chief's house and his trial could be seen as a symbolic attempt to sacrifice the king.

According to the cyclical revolutionary theory (Richardson, 1997), people group together during revolutionary actions to obtain more power, to enable them to change things such as the authority structure of society. After this, they cease to act as an organised group. During the riots in Bethanie, the villagers also grouped together, which gave them a power base from which they tried to change the traditional political system. Subsequent, they were not so successful in organising themselves, for example in 1997 the people of Bethanie tried to organise political meetings without great success. People were no longer gathering in large numbers. The youths also did not organise meetings anymore and the educated 'professionals' did not want to be involved in any political actions in the tribe.

The direct effect of the events of 1994 was that the vanadium mine, which is situated about 8km from Bethanie, built a community hall that had an authoritative stance over the flat houses in the village. There were also other developments such as the electrification of the village, tarring of roads (which had already commenced before 1994) and a project to introduce a water system in the village.

During the 1994 uprising, there was a leadership vacuum in the sense that the chief had become sickly and had also lost support from his followers. However, different to the preceding incidents of social upheaval (see paragraphs 7.3.2 and 7.3.3) the religious dimension was absent. Although the church was not involved in the uprising itself, efforts were subsequently made by the Bakwena Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church to unify the churches, thus bringing an end to the longstanding differences that arose with the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church.

The course of events in Bethanie bears some similarity to cyclical revolutionary theory (Richardson, 1997) according to which societies change in a cyclical manner. Neo-Marxism (Jaffee, 1986), for example, postulates that societies develop through the phases of progress, stagnation, crisis and again progress. In Bethanie, the phase of crisis was followed by a phase of calm with a relative lack of tension amongst people, and the initiation of developmental projects. This occurred against the backdrop of broader developments in South Africa, when the first democratically elected Black government came to power in 1994. This was followed by efforts to reconcile the diverse sections of the South African population and through the Reconstruction and Development Programme that was introduced, efforts were made to bring about greater equality in access to services, facilities and development opportunities. This links with the concept of dedifferentiation (Hunt, 1988) which

is regarded as one of the outcomes of a revolution. It is also important to note how the events in a semi-rural village resonated with national events in the country, which could imply that any initiatives to promote social and economic development in Bethanie should take cognisance of the broader context in the country.

Although, at the time, there were efforts to reconcile the two churches, subsequently conflict again developed between the churches. One of the reasons could be that the integration of the two churches would have meant the creation of a new religious identity. This would have implied that the smaller church (i.e. the Bakwena Lutheran Church) would lose its identity if it were to be absorbed in the bigger church. Devine (1995) points out that it is difficult to bring about co-operative interdependence amongst groups which have a long history of conflict. Mynhardt and Du Toit (1991, p. 299) say that "Although the creation of a broad, encompassing social identity for all in the community would be important, sub-identities relevant to the people concerned would not have to be destroyed in the process. What one must guard against is the elevation of a sub-identity ... to a level above the more important, encompassing identity..."

The problems which developed in Bethanie between the two churches, also highlights the bigger problems in South African society. After the initial euphoria which accompanied the transition to democracy in 1994, the problem of inequality became salient again. This emphasises the great difficulty to unify people with a long history of conflict.

7.4 THE DEATH OF CHIEF LEROTHODI II

In September 1997 Chief Lerothodi II died of sugar diabetes at Hebron, where he was staying with his second wife. He was buried in Bethanie. There was controversy about the place where he was to be buried. His second wife, whom he married after divorcing his first wife, wanted him to be buried in Hebron, but his first wife and the *lekgotla* wanted him to be buried in Bethanie where there is a royal area where members of the royal family are buried. When the family of the first wife went to Hebron to arrange for his funeral, the second wife initially refused to let her husband be buried in Bethanie. This was resolved by the *lekgotla*, who convinced the second wife that he must be buried in Bethanie. Underlying this was thus the role of the *lekgotla* to continue the traditions of the community and to resolve problems in the community. On a broader basis, the *lekgotla* tends to be conservative and to protect the traditional way of life.

Unlike ordinary funerals, where the *malome* fulfils certain roles, the *malome* did not play a part in the chief's funeral. The reason for this was related to the role of the chief's *rangwane* (the father's

younger brother). The *rangwane* or a male representative of his family, is a member of the *lekgotla* and also a traditional advisor of the *kgosi*. Accordingly, the necessary arrangements were made by the *rangwane* who negotiated between the two families, and between both families and the *lekgotla*.

At the funeral, the cooking was done by all the *dikgoro* (i.e., clans) in the community, which symbolises integration and equality. The serving of dignitaries was done by the teachers (professionals) and the Segale committee (the latter was formed to assist the Segale family after eight of its members were killed in a motor car accident, and it included some teachers). The meaning of the involvement of the professionals will be discussed below

Three years prior to his death, there was turmoil in the community during which the chief was stoned. The people who had stoned the chief, were the same people who were now bereaved and participated in activities such as cooking and serving during his funeral. As is the case generally in Bethanie, the death and funeral of a chief brought people together. Death, in this instance, is of similar importance as effervescence during revolutions, i.e., to bring people together. Jung (1964), after his tour through East Africa where he came across the influence of music and dancing on behaviour, relates this to people becoming a unity when they are emotionally involved. The Setswana expression which is used to describe this is *go baa selo sele sengwe*, literally translated this means to become one thing. This reflects a general theme during this historical event, namely reconciliation and bringing opposing forces together: the combining of the two families; the combining of two cultures; and the combining of evil and good (initially the chief's divorce was regarded as evil, but the *lekgotla* treated it as normal; the first family regarded the second family as evil, but this was resolved).

The teachers of Lerothodi High School did not attend the funeral as formal representatives of the school, which could mean that they did not identify with the village since most of them did not come from Bethanie. The children from the school also came as individuals, and not as a group lead by their teachers as was the case with the other schools. During the funeral all the school children wore school uniforms, but none of the other groups that attended the funeral (see below) came in their uniforms. The children were distinct, reflecting the age hierarchy of society. But wearing the uniforms of the schools in the village, also signified that they belonged to the community, not on the same level as the older people, but still members of society. Normally, school children wear uniforms to funerals only when someone with whom they have a special bond has died, such as one of their schoolmates or the *moruti*, thus showing their union with the deceased.

In contrast to the children, the adult groups did not wear their uniforms. If uniforms distinguish between people, in this case there was no distinction between people and they were one. There were thus no distinct groups, they were equal in mourning the death of their 'father'.

The prayer women did not wear their church uniforms. Church uniforms are often regarded as sacred - for example, in the Zionist church, the men's church uniforms may not be handled by women. The women handle their church clothes differently from other clothes. It is not washed with the other washing, and it is kept separate from other clothes. The church uniform thus implies a certain power, and that the women did not wear their uniform to the funeral, could have been a sign of lack of power, or helplessness. The foregoing reflects the gender differentiation in Bethanie, and the position of women in the community.

The members of the burial societies² in Bethanie also did not come in their uniforms. There was only one burial society that was formally represented; it came from outside Bethanie, i.e., from the chief's first wife's place. This signifies a structure of 'inside' and 'outside', i.e., an in-group and an out-group. Throughout the years, the family of the chief's first wife was not really accepted in Bethanie and it is interesting to note how, in a big event, existing social relationships become more salient.

The chief's residence was in Moseja. As indicated elsewhere, there had been some problems between the *diphiri* (gravediggers) from the Moseja and the Bethanie sections of the village, but the *diphiri* set aside their differences at the time of the chief's funeral, and decided to work together to dig the grave in the customary manner. This shows that when things are tough, people go back to traditional ways of solving problems.

After the burial the community went to the main hall in Bethanie to eat. At this time, they divided according to *dikgoro*, thus expressing the structure of society. Durkheim (in Hunt, 1988) said that rituals strengthen a group or society and also reflect the structure of society.

There was a conspicuous absence of representatives from the central government, which could mean a lack of co-operation between the traditional government of Bethanie and the central government based on Western principles. This highlights the problems in the interrelationship between the two settings.

² The burial societies are described in paragraph 8.5

There was also an absence of officials from the Northwest Provincial Government, except for one female MP who was sent to attend the funeral as representative of the provincial government. Sending a women representative implies some insensitivity to the Bakwena, because they still believe in the different roles played by men and women. In this instance, it would have been customary to send a male representative, and especially the premier should have come to show respect for the late chief.

The *lekgotla* asked the provincial government to send a police band. Instead it sent police to protect the dignitaries. This again illustrates the lack of understanding from the government's side regarding local conditions. It is believed that the chief is protected by the *badimo* (ancestors), thus placing him in a sacred position. Sending the police was an indication of a lack of understanding of the power of the *badimo* on the side of the government. At the time of the riots in 1994, the chief had to be protected by soldiers and the police when he came to Bethanie. Perhaps to test his sacredness after the riots, he decided in 1997 to come to Bethanie without protection and there were no incidents directed at him and he was able to visit his village freely without police protection. Thus the chief passed the test of sacredness and he died sacred.

The Bafokeng tribe sent their tribal band, and this illustrates that the Tswana people understand each other. All the Batswana traditional leaders in the North West Province were also represented at the funeral whilst other tribes such as the amaZulu, Bapedi, etc. were not represented.

In conclusion, the death of the chief can be regarded as a significant, historic event. Such events act as a combining force, bringing people together. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), historic events can have an immediate or long-term effect on the behaviour of people. As yet there are no clear indications what this effect could be, and this may only become evident in the future. As was seen in the discussion above, when the community came together during the funeral of the chief, the *lekgotla*, *dikgoro* and the teachers played important roles in the ritual. This probably signifies that in matters affecting the whole community, the influence of the traditional structure of authority, the role of the family, as well as the influence of Western culture, must be taken into consideration.

The gender differentiation in the community and the role of women were also indicated, and this could point to a facet of life in the community that need to be taken into consideration in social and economic development aimed at alleviating unemployment.

The funeral of the chief also gives an indication of the nature of the links between Bethanie on the one hand, and the central government and the government of the North West Province on the

other hand. This reflects poor co-operation between the traditional government of Bethanie and the central government which is based on Western principles, and the link is also characterised by a lack of sensitivity for local customs. This could have important implications for developmental projects in the village that are initiated by either the central government or the North West provincial government (see Chapter 9).

7.5 THE LEKGOTLA

Currently, the chief together with the *dikgosana* (headmen) constitutes the members of the *lekgotla*, which is similar to a court, but which also has political and social authority. Traditionally the *dikgosana* became members of the *lekgotla* by birth; under Lerothodi II, some of the *dikgosana* were elected by the *kgosi* together with other *dikgosana* who were members of the *lekgotla*. In addition, the chief together with the *dikgosana* also elects members of the community to the *lekgotla*. The chief is also *kgosana* for the biggest *kgoro*, which is Ba Mogopa. The chairman of the *lekgotla* is an assistant to the chief. The local people respect this structure, but they do not respect the democratically elected leaders. This leads to confusion and conflict in the community.

The *khuduthamaga* is an "upper *lekgotla*", which has more power than the *lekgotla*. Traditionally, this consisted only of members of the royal family. Currently there is some controversy if it should consist of only royal members, or people in general. There is also a problem as to who exactly are the royal members. This problem came about as a result of how marriages occur in Bethanie, namely that because of intermarriage, many people have become members of the royal family.

The *khuduthamaga* now consists of members chosen from the *lekgotla* who together with the chief discuss and decide on issues on which the *lekgotla* cannot make decisions. They have the power to make bylaws, and to change the constitution of the tribe. They can, in case of conflict, overrule the chief. However, the decisions taken by them are always referred back to the *lekgotla* for endorsement or to discuss it, to add to it, to change it or to refuse it. The ultimate decision is always made by the *lekgotla*.

Other functions of the *lekgotla* include giving stands to people, allocation of ploughing land, e.g. whether the land be used as large scale farming, or as individual subsistence farming, or both. The *lekgotla* is also responsible for allocation of business sites through tribal resolutions. They are also responsible for solving conflicts in the community, such as marital conflicts, problems between neighbours, teacher-parent conflicts, or even conflicts in the churches and the burial societies.

It is expected that the *lekgotla* should be consulted first and be involved if there are developmental programmes in the community. The *lekgotla* also gets involved if problems arise in the course of the implementation of the programme. In cases where programmes were introduced without the involvement of the *lekgotla*, problems occurred. An example is the RDP projects on water supply and electrification (see paragraph 9.5). Events such as this create the impression that it is the government's policy to limit the extent to which the chief and the *lekgotla* are involved. However, in terms of the principles of community psychology, it is essential to consult with and to involve local leaders and authority structures to ensure that a project will be sustainable. Bronfenbrenner (1979) also said that in development, there should be consultation between those who have the resources (e.g. the government), and the local people who make the decisions.

In many cases, there are also problems in the relationship between the government, the *lekgotla* and the professionals, because of the manner in which the government deals with the *lekgotla* and the professionals. Under the previous government, the professionals felt the government undermined them. Under the present government, this is being corrected, but the feeling has arisen that the *lekgotla* is now being undermined. The *lekgotla* and the professionals could be regarded as mediators between the community and the government. It seems that due to the development that has taken place, other structures of leadership, in addition to the *lekgotla*, have developed in the community. However, whereas the *lekgotla* is more communally oriented, the professionals are individually oriented and in view of the latter, the professionals are not suitable to serve all sectors of the community.

In some instances initiatives for development, which do not involve the whole community, could be implemented through the professionals. However, in matters affecting the whole community, the *lekgotla* should be involved. Since the professionals can become members of the *lekgotla*, there are ways for them to be taken up in communal structures. An example of how communal functions can be fulfilled by the professionals occurred during the funeral of the chief, when the professionals were used by the *lekgotla* to serve food, and to provide accommodation and hospitality to representatives of the government and other tribes. It seems that the professionals at the time played the role of closing the gap between the community and people from outside.

Other efforts to integrate the professionals and the *lekgotla* were however unsuccessful. For example, at one stage professionals were chosen as MPs to represent Bethanie in the then Bophuthatswana government; however, they failed to obtain sufficient resources for development for the village, and instead concentrated on their own personal upliftment.

Overall, it thus seems different leadership structures have developed that can address the needs of different sectors of the community. The traditional *lekgotla* should play a role in efforts to address the developmental needs of the community as a whole, whilst the professionals could play a role in addressing the needs of sectors of the community. However, at the time of this study, the integration of the two sectors has not been altogether successful. It should also be noted, as stated elsewhere in the discussion of the role of the *diphiri* (see paragraph 8.4) involvement by the professionals tends to evoke resistance from more conservative forces in the community. However, if one takes the death of the chief as an event that indicates the direction in which future development could go, then the picture is that of a better and more effective relationship between the *lekgotla* and the professionals. This could be linked to Luria's (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) view that an historical event could initiate the development of a new blueprint for a community.

7.6 COMMUNAL, SECTIONAL, SITUATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL POWER

A distinction must be made between sectional and situational power in Bethanie. Sectional power means that the power is based on a section of the village. Situational power means the power is based on any particular situation that may arise.

A funeral, like other rituals such as weddings, is an example of situational power. The family can be regarded as the host where power is invested, and which is expressed in the number of people who attend a funeral. The power lies in the ability of the family to bring people together, as well as in the family's ability to re-enact social dimensions and to maintain the pattern of life or the blueprint of society. One can regard the power as dormant power, which becomes active when there is a funeral or other rituals in the family. This power of the family is situational, and is not permanent, i.e., it remains related to the period of the funeral. The situational power is communal, as it moves from house to house every weekend when people are buried from different families. In this movement of power, the whole community becomes invested with power, and the community becomes the holder of the power. The burial societies span over families and help to bind them together, thus integrating the power in the community. At the same time, the rituals are sectional in that they are arranged according to the sections in a village - i.e., they reflect both situational and sectional power (see below).

Situational power is also seen in when people want to have work done (e.g. harvesting, brick-making, slaughtering of cattle, etc.), and ask for help from the villagers. This is called *letsema* and reflects that power resides with the particular individual in the community who calls for people to assist him, but at the same time that his power lies in the collective of people who help him. This

is based on the blueprint that makes the establishment of this power possible. In *letsema*, the helpers are also rewarded, for example by getting part of the harvest, or *magopela* (sharing of meat from the slaughtered animal). There is thus sharing, which reflects communalism, and through this the person's power lies in maintaining the pattern of life or the blueprint.

Situational power can be both open and closed. For example, in funerals it is open for anybody to attend whereas in weddings it is closed in that invitations are sent only to particular people.

The situational power symbolised in *letsema* is different from the sectional power of the burial societies³. In the burial societies, sectional power is closed, i.e., at a certain time, when the society has grown large enough, new members are no longer accepted into the system. Furthermore, although the burial societies exist as groups of people, their ultimate aim is to help the individual, and not the group as a whole.

Another form of sectional power is when women group together and collect money, groceries, kitchen utensils, etc., for the members of the specific group. The custom is that people take turns to receive what was collected, until all have had a chance and the circle is closed. An example of this is *stokfel*, which is currently called *mogodisano* (*go godisa* means to pay, thus to pay each other). It means, a group helping one person, until they have helped each other, i.e. all the members have been assisted. The same occurs in *letsema*. It means that the same principle is found in both situational and sectional power. A difference between the sectional power of *mogodisano*, and the sectional power of the burial societies, is that in the former the power circulates amongst members, whilst in the burial societies there is not this rotation of power, and the power always resides in the total group.

The basic principle here is that the individual must be helped by the group. In *letsema*, the aim is to help the individual. Similarly, the ultimate aim in the burial societies is to help the individual members and in *mogodisano* it is also the individual that benefits through the actions of the group. Government programmes, such as supplying electricity to all individuals, also appear to be based on this principle. In contrast to this, instances where government support is given to a group to develop something for the group, it does not work. One example of this is giving a group of people land and resources to develop the land. Another example is first providing water for the community as a whole, followed by sectional access, such as taps in the street for a section of the village, and then individual access to water, by putting taps in each yard in the section. It will be shown in

³ Refer to the discussion of the burial societies in paragraph 8.5

Chapter 9 that an RDP project based on this approach was not successful.

Apart from individual and sectional power, there is also communal power. The expression *go nna selo sele sengwe* (to become one) means that the community is aware that people can become one thing, and behave not as an individual, but as a community. For example, if one says something at a meeting of the *lekgotla*, people will not later say that a particular person said something, but that it was said by *lekgotla*. This does mean the negation of the individual, but that in the final instance communal principles prevail. This is reminiscent of Durkheim's concept of effervescence (Hunt, 1988), which is related to the collective power of a group, because people are aware that they must come together to be able to solve problems.

The nature of power in the community can also be seen from the role of the *baruti* (ministers of religion) and the *diphiri*⁴ during funerals. The *moruti* is a powerful person in the community, and this is made concrete, for example when during funerals he is given a special place to sit in the graveyard and at the deceased's home, and eats at a special place. During a burial, the *diphiri* remain close to the grave and their role is to monitor the funeral to see that everything is in order. When people leave the graveyard, the *moruti* leaves first, and the last to leave are the *diphiri*. This symbolises that there are people in power, who are in the forefront, but there are also people at the back, who also have power and who should be acknowledged.

In conclusion, the discussion on the nature of power signifies that communal societies are not only communal, but that they function on either a communal, sectional, situational or individual level, depending on the particular context. These different levels interact with each other. It is as if people reason, "If we have a problem, you must help us to solve it; and if you have a problem, we are going to help you. If you can solve it on your own, you can solve it; but if you cannot solve it on your own, it becomes our problem. If you are successful, your success must be supported, so that in turn you can help the community." This involves more than only a social obligation. It becomes associated with religious meanings, as reflected in the biblical parable where the rich man was obliged to help the poor, symbolised in Lazarus who was poor and sick. The aim is to establish the ultimate power, which resides in the individual and once the ultimate power has gone to the individual, it must be respected; but this power must be for the community. The individual is for the community, and the community is for the individual.

⁴ The *diphiri* are discussed in Chapter 8

7.7 LEADERSHIP

There are various people in leadership positions in the Bethanie, such as the chief, the members of the *lekgotla*, leaders of political parties, and people in charge of local projects. The leadership, however, does not seem to be consistently effective. There are various possible reasons for this.

One likely reason is that in certain instances the leadership is sectional, i.e., it represents a subgroup of the community. This applies, for example, to the leaders of political parties and people who fill leadership roles in local RDP projects. Although these people might all be Batswana, and know the culture and norms of the community, they are placed in a difficult position because they do not represent Bethanie as a whole, but a particular subgroup of people. However, in a governmental setting, they are regarded as representing the community. Even if these people are elected democratically, they are not regarded as representatives of the community, because the true representatives are the members of the *lekgotla*.

This is related to differences between cultures. Democracy in the Western sense is different from democracy in the African context. For example, it is foreign to the Batswana that 'the winner (e.g. , getting the most votes) takes all' because what should occur, is that power is shared. From a local point of view, people or institutions such as the burial societies, can function independently from each other, without interfering with each other. In contrast, the efforts of democratically elected structures (such as the people in charge of local RDP projects) to involve the whole community is regarded as interfering with others and as a result, nonparticipation by sections of the community may occur. In addition, democratically elected structures (such as executives of a political party), do not have permanency, and thus do not provide security to the community, thus leaving them vulnerable. In contrast, the royal family and the *lekgotla* are regarded as having permanency. These democratically elected structures also are not based on a deeper religious foundation; in contrast institutions such as the chief and the *lekgotla* are seen as anchored in religious principles – the chief and the *kgosana* are seen as being 'given by the *badimo*' (*ba re filwe ke badimo*); it is thus situated in a cosmological context.

The foregoing discussion of democracy shows that when two cultures meet, people may attach different meanings to the same concept. To accommodate this, people can live both cultures, and act in terms of both Western and African ways. In the present context, democracy in a Western sense is lived, but not effectively so.

Another possible reason for the problems in leadership in Bethanie, is that there is inadequate linkage between the leaders and the community. This can be explained with reference to RDP projects in Bethanie (these projects are described in greater detail in Chapter 9). In accordance to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, people in Bethanie should be able to influence the allocation of resources and the decisions made by the government. Although the people involved in RDP projects are from Bethanie and could influence the decisions made by the government, they are not effective. They are not held in high esteem by the community and are not taken seriously, especially if they come from a low status position such as having been unemployed. It also seems that the project leaders and the community do not have the same goals. The community has the goal of having their basic needs fulfilled, whereas the project leaders' appear to further their own personal interests.

As was indicated in previous paragraphs (see the discussions on the burial of the chief, and the *lekgotla*), there is also not an effective linkage between Bethanie and the government of the North West Province. The reasons for this include insensitivity with regard to local customs, different viewpoints, and that the linkage is sectional and not communal (e.g. between the local ANC branch and the premier).

The leadership aspects discussed above have implications for economic development. There seems to be two levels of development. The first is at a communal level, the second at a sectional level. The first would involve the whole community, the second subgroups in the community. In terms of this, there seems to be two levels of leaders, one for the community and others for different sections and that they function relatively independently from each other.

Development can be initiated on either one of the two levels and this raises the question, what would be the appropriate level to intervene, communal or sectional? According to Hofstede (1980) an individualistic society has a better chance to develop. In Bethanie communal projects seem to have come to an end and projects at an individual or sectional level appear to have the best chances of succeeding. (See the discussions on the RDP water project and electrification in Chapter 9). In terms of Hofstede's theory, this movement from a communal to a sectional and individual level could augur well for future development. However, as indicated elsewhere, individual development often results in people migrating from the village, and socially mobile people also tend to become individualistic, which is not accepted by the whole community. It might thus appear that the best level to concentrate on, would be on a sectional level, together with sectional leadership. However, sectional leaders who are democratically elected to take charge of projects may not be accepted as representatives of the community, because the true

representatives are the members of the *lekgotla*. This leads to the conclusion that in some instances sectional development might be indicated, whereas in other instances developments should be directed at the whole community. The people who form the linkages with the outside to obtain resources, should be respected and accepted by the community, and be geared towards meeting the needs of the local community. The people in the linkage should also have the same goals as the community.

7.8 TIME

Time is experienced differently in different cultures. In the African context, time is periodic, it is purposeful and different values are associated with time. In the traditional Tswana context, instead of time being regarded as continuous, it is seen as periodic in the sense that it is a period in which something is done; one has time to do something and one gives oneself time to do something. However, there is no urgency in time and something need not be done in the time period that was set aside for it. For example, if one does not attend a funeral, there is always a time later to *go tshidisa* - i.e., one can at any time later go to the bereaved family, even after one year and say to them "I came to give respect to the dead one." Whereas in a western context things are to happen at a set time, in African temporality it is not so important when something happens, as long as it happens. For example, if one goes to work, the important matter is that one goes to work, and not whether one arrives early or late. If one has to work for eight hours, that is important, and not whether it is from 08:00 to 16:00. And if one does not do it today, one can always do it tomorrow. A person arranges his life or time to satisfy his needs and these needs must be satisfied during his lifetime.

Time is purposeful in the sense that time is used to do something; one has no time to waste on useless things or on useless information. The view that time must be used purposefully, has the potential to promote productivity. However, this is also related to whose time is involved. For example, if farm labourers are told to dig out 20 bags of onions after which they may go home, this may be completed in a short period of time; whereas, if they have to work an eight-hour day, they may not be so productive. Furthermore, the purpose for which time is used, reflects different values, and whether time is used for economic productivity to accumulate riches, will accordingly depend on the value placed on such activity and the value attached to the accumulation of wealth. In Bethanie it seems that the continuation of the family is more important than to accumulate riches. This can be illustrated as follows:

When a husband dies his wealth is divided among his children. The house and the land are given to the last born, and the responsibility of looking after the family is given to the first-born. It is also customary to name a grandchild after the father. The continuity that is reflected in passing on a person's wealth and name to his descendants is not on a material level, but the continuity of the family. His wealth, and expanding on it, is not of as much importance as the family. The community is thus more concerned about the continuation of the family than to accumulate riches.

In the African view, there is a predetermined time in life when one dies. How one dies, is not predetermined, but the time of death is predetermined. This reflects a fatalistic outlook on life and an attitude of accepting things as they are: no matter what one does, the time when one has to die will come. Related to this is a commonly-held view that if one has tried to do something, and failed, a time will come when one can be successful again. However, people do not accept poverty, because to be poor is to be like someone who is dead. Unemployment is also not accepted, and the unemployed are regarded as lazy people.

There is also a difference between the West and Africa with regard to permanence over time. For example, in the Western world, buildings are built which could last for centuries, but in Africa a house is built to last for a generation. This reflects a non-linear temporality, as against the linear time concept of the West that is based on the Christian view of a fixed beginning and a fixed end of human existence, and where the present unfolds into the future.

In conclusion, when cultures meet, one concept can have different meanings. Employers who have a Western outlook and workers who have a traditional African outlook, do not have the same concept of time and this could create misunderstanding. People from a Western background might direct activities towards long-term future goals, and to reach these goals the activities need to be scheduled and completed within a specified time frame. In economic development projects, such activities would also be directed at creating wealth. In contrast to this, the traditional African concept of time may not accommodate such long-term goals and time frames, and the value attached to the utilisation of time might focus more on maintaining the family continuation than on creating prosperity. Acceptance of matters as they are, instead of focussing on changing conditions, might also work against development.

7.9 WORK ETHIC AND VALUES

In the Tswana context, the meaning of the work ethic is that a man must be mature enough to be employed and earn enough money, so that he can marry and look after his family. Initially men

went to look for a job after confirmation in church. It is similar in connotation that boys were regarded as mature after having been to *koma*, i.e. after having been initiated. Currently, it is not clearly defined when a person reaches maturity, but it is generally believed that a person should go and look for a job after he has obtained appropriate qualifications.

The Setswana way of enquiring into a person's career choice is to say *O batla go nna eng?* (what do you want to become?). A career denotes something more than only having a job and earning money. It becomes part of a person's identity and people are often valued in terms of their career, e.g. being a lawyer or teacher. It provides status to a person, which has wide-reaching effects in other spheres of his life. For example, *bogadi* (bridewealth) is associated with the bride's academic qualifications, or her profession. Normally, if the *bogadi* is high, people ask if the prospective bride has a profession or no profession. The higher her qualifications, the higher the *bogadi*. Women value a high *bogadi* since it reflects positively on them as individuals.

Through historical developments, people in Bethanie developed the custom that one should go outside the village to look for work. Up to about the 1960's, the practise was for young men and women to go and work on white farms. This was referred to as *jara* (which is derived from the Afrikaans "jaar", i.e., a year) which means that they were working for a year. The farmers used to pay them with a cow for a year's work. This is somewhat similar to *go tshwaela*, a practice where herd boys are given a cow for looking after one's cattle. The practise of working on white farms later changed. The young people no longer wanted to work on the farms for a year, and went to work in the cities such as Johannesburg, mostly as unskilled labourers. Compulsory education up to Form III was introduced in the 1960's and this also contributed to the *jara* falling away, since the norm was that one should either go to school, or go to work to earn money. One was not allowed to be idle in the village. In the larger South Africa people were also compelled to work and in the cities, blacks who were idle and loitering around were arrested by the police. This was generally referred to as "Section 10" arrests, or arrest for *loaferskap*.

Going outside Bethanie brought the people in contact with luxuries that were not available in the village itself. The values relevant to this include independence and luxury. It was also adventure, since it required being able to survive in a tough environment such as Johannesburg. Since these luxuries are now more readily available in Bethanie, and there is a decrease in employment opportunities outside Bethanie, fewer people leave the village to find work, and there is thus an increase in unemployed people in the village.

When Rosslyn was developed as a border industry to the northwest of Pretoria, people from Bethanie went to work there. The job opportunities did not require high qualifications. There was, at the time, a world-wide trend to decentralise economies and bring more prosperity to other areas (Jaffee, 1986), and the establishment of border industries had the effect of creating job opportunities outside the larger cities, thus preventing the inflow of blacks to the cities.

Finding work outside Bethanie relates to migrant labour, which is one of the foundations of the black economic system. African rural residential areas have been regarded as a pool of cheap labour for industrial urban areas (Magane, 2000). This has resulted in a migration labour mentality, where villagers do not generate any viable economic activity. This mentality developed over many decades and will take a long time to be reversed. At the same time, there has been a decline in the need for unskilled migrant labourers, thus creating an unemployment problem in the villages.

Currently, as a result of economic decline, many people in Bethanie after having completed matric cannot find employment. They often also cannot improve their qualifications, because they do not have money for it. Together with this, at home people are also no longer compelled to go and look for work.

From the above, it is evident that the work ethic was that people should go out to work so that they can look after their families. There were also various work opportunities, including work on the farms, in the cities and industrial areas. According to Theron (1992) the work ethic revolves around four value dimensions, namely to be a good provider for one's family, to work hard to achieve success, that hard work provides self-respect and dignity, and a sense of independence. The first three values seem to prevail in Bethanie. People work hard and try to be successful, to become differentiated from the community and to provide for their families. However, independence does not seem to be inherent in Tswana culture, since it is based on individualistic values and the community tends to reject people who endorse individualistic values.

The African way of employing people differs in some respects from the Western system. If one employs someone, his parents tell you he is now your responsibility. The employer is expected to take care of his employees' total well-being - their health, clothes, etc. If an employee dies whilst working for you, one is obliged to give cattle for his funeral. In other words, one is obliged to ensure that he is buried properly, even if he did not die whilst on duty. The employer thus carries a social responsibility towards his employees, who are regarded as one's helpers (*mothusi*) and not as mere workers. The values implicit in this are feminine, and relates more to social responsibility, than to economic principles.

7.10 THE INFLUENCE OF EXPOSURE TO MIDDLE-CLASS SOCIAL VALUES

Exposure to a middle social class brings about changes from lower class values to middle-class values and this promotes economic welfare (Mussen *et al.*, 1990). Development and exposure to higher classes can, however, sometimes have a negative effect in countries like South Africa where there is a distinct social stratification based on socio-economic standing and race. It could lead to relative deprivation and, depending on how this exposure takes place, it could lead to value clashes and divisions in a society. For example, if black people identify with the white community and adopt the latter's behaviour patterns and individualistic values, they could lose the value of social responsibility inherent in communalism. Socio-economic development promotes individualism, which is not appreciated in a communal society and which cannot address the needs of all members of society. This evokes rejection by other members of their in-group and the middle-class is often targeted in riots and is also often regarded as *baloi* (witches). A typical reaction to such rejection, together with an inability to attain the status associated with the (white) out-group, is for people to develop a renewed identification with their own group. This identification is facilitated if they provide themselves with a positive social identity by positively [re]defining their group along positively valued dimensions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This could take the form of a re-emphasis on social responsibility, and thus on the collectivistic values that traditionally characterised African societies (Manganyi, 1973).

The development of middle-class values can be stimulated by improving the education of the youth. Such improvement can be done either on an individual basis, or by involving the community as a whole. Two examples will be given to illustrate this, namely events in Bethanie and in Geluk:

Residents of Bethanie who can afford it, send one or more of their children to middle-class schools in adjacent areas such as Brits. This encourages the development of differentiated social classes, in that the higher class obtains better education and the lower class has to make use of farm or village schools with poorer facilities. This further stimulates the differential development of lower and middle-class job-related values and aspirations. The middle-class implicitly becomes part of the out-group and at the same time they become less integrated in the community. This individualistic strategy thus has the effect of dividing the community. In Geluk, on the other hand, people do not live in a village but on separate small farms, and the whole community sends their children to a middle-class school in Brits. This counters the development of different social classes and promotes the unity of the community, since the changes take place at the level of the group and not the individual.

Although exposure to middle-class values is important in stimulating economic development, other factors, such as capital investment and the available infrastructure, also play a role in development. It must also be borne in mind that the class structures of societies are not static. There are indications that in the industrialised countries the rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer. This results in a polarisation between an upper and lower class (Jaffee, 1986).

In conclusion, unemployment can be addressed through economic development. Various factors play a role in stimulating economic development, including exposure to middle-class values, and education is an important vehicle to foster such values. However, if such exposure does not occur at a collective level, it may have a divisive effect on the community in that it would further encourage the differential development of lower and middle-class job-related values and aspirations in the different social strata. Middle-class values are also typically individualistic and in communalistic societies people who have accepted individualistic values may be rejected. One possible reaction against this is social creativity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), through which the values of the in-group, such as social responsibility, are positively redefined and identified with.

7.11 EDUCATION

Demographic factors such as gender, church membership, ethnicity, residence and social status play a role in a person's attainment of education or employability. In the ensuing discussion, the focus is placed on education in Bethanie and its role in preparing learners for employment.

7.11.1 LEROTHODI I HIGH SCHOOL

In the following paragraphs, Lerothodi I High School will be discussed. It will be shown that the school is in a sense a micro-cosmos that reflects broader trends and problems in the local community. According to Barker (in Orford, 1992), the social, cultural and physical aspects of a setting determine how people behave. In a related context, Bronfenbrenner (1979) talks about a blueprint that represents the essential characteristics of the local community, and this blueprint pervades various settings in a community. From studying the school, one can thus gain understanding of broader processes in Bethanie.

The school is situated on a hill about two kilometres from the centre of the village, next to uninhabited grazing veld, which is infested with snakes such as pythons. The school is situated on the highest koppie in the village, and to get there, one has to walk a steep uphill along a stony path,

the red sand giving off dust. The surface structure makes it difficult to walk on. The red sand makes it impossible to sweep the schoolyard without creating a lot of dust. Its eerie environment makes it difficult for the students to study at the school in the late afternoon or during the evenings. It is as if the physical environment of the school symbolises how difficult it is to reach the top. It also creates a harsh, rugged and unfriendly atmosphere. This links with Barker's (in Orford, 1992) theory, namely that the physical environment influences people's behaviour.

Assembly at school is also known as Morning Prayer. During one visit to assembly by the researcher, there were two teachers on the platform, whereas the other teachers were mixed with the students and others were standing in a circle around the students. Students also went onto the stage to make announcements, whereas in previous years students were not allowed to share the platform with the teachers. There was no hierarchy during the assembly, i.e. the teachers mixed with the students. Teachers as well as students came late for assembly. This is indicative of a change from the previously strong authoritarian structure at the schools, to one where there is less authority and students have more say in matters. The same trends can be observed in the structural changes in other parts of the country that have led to dedifferentiation (Hunt, 1988) – namely that the boundaries between those in authority and those under them, have become weaker.

Symbolic of the changes in authority structure is also that the teachers now wear casual clothes, whereas during the time when Bophuthatswana was still an independent homeland, the teachers had to wear formal clothes, such as a suit and tie.

The students' attitude towards authority is also reflected in their general behaviour in the village. They normally walk along two main roads through the village, and they tend not to walk on the pavement, but they give themselves the right of way. Cars have to manoeuvre through them on the road. In general the students seem to despise authority and status.

The attitude of the students could be related to feelings of uncertainty amongst them, and disillusionment with authority. They seem to get double messages from society. On the one hand, they are encouraged to study; but at the same time, most of them realise that due to lack of funds, they will not be able to further their education at tertiary level, and thus do not stand a good chance to find a good job. They react to this by being disobedient to the rules, and by challenging people with status and authority. Bronfenbrenner (1979) refers to a similar process of double messages given to students, which according to him leads to lowered performance. This seems to be a vicious circle. On the one hand, the situation is a reaction to poor employment opportunities and

economic depression; and the lowered performance of the students means that a potential resource for further development is not fully optimised. It also creates a climate for potential social and political instability in which governmental authority could be undermined and which could result in a state of mind that is susceptible for revolutionary ideas.

The attitude of the students could also be related to the exercise of discipline on the youth at the school and in the community in general. The parents expect the teachers to be responsible for the discipline of the children. Parents and the *lekgotla* regard 'sjambokking' (corporal punishment) as an appropriate way of punishment. However, the teachers are forbidden to do this. In addition, since many parents work away from home, students are often left without parental supervision. This contributes to lawlessness in the village, problems in maintaining cultural morals in society and inadequate preparation of the youth to adopt adult roles. This is also a counterforce working against social and economic development.

English and Setswana were interchangeably used in the assembly attended by the researcher. This reflects a multicultural setting, but one in which the different cultures remain next to each other without integration in a new encompassing culture. This is also related to the broader South African context, where recategorisation in a higher order group identity (Devine, 1995) has not fully materialised. In this regard, there is not really a clash of cultures, but rather parallelism. When two cultures are present simultaneously, people can interchangeably behave according to the blueprint of either of them.

In contrast to the primary schools in Bethanie, where the predominant values are communalistic and feminine, and the teachers are mostly female and from the local area, most of the high school teachers come from areas other than Bethanie. There are 27 teachers, 20 are from outside Bethanie, and seven are local teachers. However, there are enough teachers in Bethanie itself to fill all the posts. It is not clear why these teachers do not teach in Bethanie. Apart from the school, the teachers from outside Bethanie do not involve themselves in the village activities. Their lack of involvement was for example evident in their nonparticipation in the chief's funeral. A likely reason for this is that they do not strongly identify with Bethanie, but remain 'outsiders'. Thus, even if expertise is brought in from the outside, this expertise does not necessarily become incorporated in community activities. Thus, a resource that could contribute to the development of the village is not optimised.

The schoolyard is not kept clean and there is no garden. The school fence is not well kept although the government spent about R1.2 million in 1994/5 for the renovation of the school. Although some

gates were provided for the students, the students did not use the gates but cut the fence to enter the schoolyard. This implies that the students, similar to the teachers, do not identify with the school. The recreation at the school reflects a similar trend. There is no school recreational hall. The soccer and netball grounds are not well kept. The school's soccer outfits were stolen (apparently by some students) and when the school launched a fund raising campaign to replace the stolen outfits, their efforts were riddled by problems, for example a beauty contest held to raise funds was disrupted by students.

The local residents have never perceived Lerothodi I High School as a good school and the school is also looked down upon by the students. This has partly been borne out by the poor matric results at the school over many years. There are no expert teachers recruited to the school. Previously, parents who could afford it used to send their children to better black schools such as Bethel and Hebron to further their studies. It was assumed that such students had a better chance to later obtain higher qualifications, such as becoming teachers. The perception was that those who were not able to attend a better school did not have a chance to succeed later in life.

Instead of looking for better schools far away from Bethanie, the trend has now changed. Children are now sent to multiracial schools around the area, for example in Brits and Rustenburg, or other schools where there are hostels that can accommodate them. Sending the children to better schools, however, also has disadvantages. Being away for a long time may loosen the ties people have with the local community. Children who leave the village at an early age, later, when they have achieved a higher level of education, have difficulty in being accepted back in society. This relates to the discussion elsewhere, where it was indicated that the local community does not accept the 'professionals'. They are regarded as *iketisa makgowa* (to imitate whites). When one is very good, people say *ke lekgowa tota* - he is a real white man. A likely reason for this is that people who have adopted Western ways, also change their values – such as becoming more individualistic, whereas the indigenous culture is intrinsically communalistic.

The poor level of education at Lerothodi I High School inhibits many of the children who complete Grade 12 at this school, from continuing with their studies. Many students also perform poorly, or are unable to continue with tertiary education, because of the poverty and factors associated with it, such as lack of concentration, poor peer adjustment, and physical deprivation. This shows that the problems experienced are not purely educational, but also developmental by nature.

Although some students go to universities or other higher education institutions, not all of them find employment. This form of unemployment is called incomplete transitional unemployment

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979), i.e., incomplete transition from the school setting to the employment setting. Currently, there are no efforts to address this in Bethanie and the Departments of Education and Labour have taken no initiatives to alleviate this problem in Bethanie.

An additional problem at the school relates to the involvement of the parents. Parents do not show strong involvement with the well-being of their children in school. For example, they seldom attend meetings, and do not encourage their children to do homework. This could be related to cultural views. When a parent sends a child to school, it is seen as that the teachers then become responsible for the well-being of the children, whereas the teachers hold an opposite view. Related to this, Hofstede (1980) also states that in communal societies, companies are expected to look after the well-being of their employees. This reflects that the parental generation do not take the responsibility to lay a necessary foundation, for the development of the community but instead relegate it to teachers who are predominantly from outside the community.

In summary, Lerothodi I High School renders poor quality of education and those members of the community that can afford it, try to solve this problem by letting their children attend schools outside Bethanie. The poor quality of teaching, the poor discipline and lack of clear authority, leave the impression that the youths are not adequately prepared to be employable, and thus contributes to transitional unemployment.

Working and going to school is part of the new culture which came with westernisation, and was not part of the traditional Tswana culture. The problems at the school could reflect that these two cultures have not come to a successful integration. If something is foreign to one, the chances are decreased that one would identify with it, and this could lie behind the lack of identification of the youths and the other residents with the school.

There are, however, also other factors that also contribute to the lack of identification with the school. Parents want their children to attend school and become educated, but they often do not have sufficient financial resources to enable their children to get good education outside Bethanie, or to finance further education. It is possible that the youth realise that the poor education they receive, and the lack of resources of their parents to ensure that they get relevant and adequate education, will prevent them from obtaining good jobs. As a result they have become to regard school education as futile, and their lack of commitment to study could thus be based on feelings of insecurity.

Value polymorphism and value conflict could also contribute to the educational problems in the community. People who have gone through a Western-based education and who have adopted Western ways, also change their values – such as becoming more individualistic, whereas the indigenous culture is intrinsically communalistic. This may cause ambivalence and insecurity amongst the youth.

The discussion of Lerothodi I High School also reflects a reliance on resources that come from outside the community, and that when these resources do not become fully integrated in the community, its utilisation as a basis for further development is not optimised.

7.11.2 EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

One of the main resources in a community is the educational status of its members. It plays a role in attracting investment, and it also influences other processes relevant to development (Jaffee, 1986). Educational status also plays a role in obtaining employment, and thus in social mobility. In view of this, the status regarding university training in Bethanie was examined and the results are reported in the following paragraphs.

By asking knowledgeable individuals, the village was surveyed to determine the number of graduates in Bethanie at the time of study. It was found that there were 64 graduates of whom 37 were males and 27 were females. There was one person who had a doctorate in Education. Fifty-eight were the first graduates in their families. Six of them were from a second generation of graduates in the family. It was interesting to note that 31 of the graduates were from four families, i.e. 10, 8, 7, 6 persons from the respective families.

Some of the graduates have moved to town, without building a house at home. There were also some graduates who moved to town while having a house at home. This symbolises that when people enter another cultural context, they may either endeavour to move completely into the new culture, or they may choose to continue to live in both cultures.

Nineteen households that had university students who were studying, were surveyed to determine their characteristics. The following characteristics were found:

- Most of the women who were studying for a degree, were married and were teachers. This implies that teaching is a stepping stone towards social mobility. They depended on their



husbands for financial and other forms of support. For example, they wanted their husbands to cook for them, and they wanted to be transported by their husbands to various studying venues. This implies that obtaining an academic qualification to enhance employability depends on social factors such as a happy marriage and a supportive husband.

There were only two female students who were not married, and they did not appear to be very ambitious to continue with further studies, nor did they own a car or build a house. This could have been for practical reasons, since married women have a source of support (i.e., their husbands) that enables them to study whereas unmarried women have to work to provide for themselves.

- From these 19 households, only one had a servant. Generally it is expected that graduates should have servants. By not having a servant, they did not contribute by employing people.
- Out of these 19 households, only four students were engaged in community projects. This shows a lack of involvement in communal interests. Adler (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) also found that people who are socially mobile, focus more on their personal and family matters, and not so much on the community. This seems to imply that education and social mobility are related to adopting individualistic needs.
- Out of the 19 household referred to above, six families were targeted during the political upheaval in 1994. Having been targeted during the riots, shows that the graduates were associated with power and authority (against which the uprising was directed).

It was implied above that the graduates appeared to be less communalistic. However, tertiary education can also have a communal connotation. A clan in a village becomes known as a learned clan. Similarly, there are also families who are known for their expertise in particular fields, such as traditional healing or brick making. There is thus a trend for families to become 'special' in something or another, and although it is the individual that is the expert, the recognition is not located in the individual, but in the group (family). Of theoretical interest here, is that one thing can have two meanings, in that education can have both an individualistic and communalistic meaning. To understand this, analogues could be considered, as follows:

In grain farming, the land is communal, but individual families have their own plots of land in the communal setting. In cattle farming, the land is for the whole community, but the cattle belong to individual families. In *letsema* (see paragraph 7.6) the family is strengthened by the community.

In *mogadisano* (see paragraph 7.6) the individual benefits from the actions of the group, and the individual contributes to the group. It thus seems that individualism in a communal society means that although the individual may have access to resources, everybody has access to these resources: if you give to one, you give to all. If this is the case, the question arises, why the graduates referred to above did not become involved in promoting the communal good? We do not see the equal access to resources in tertiary education – only the select few can afford to continue with such education.

7.12 INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION

7.12.1 ACCULTURATION

The tendency in Bethanie has been for the local people to adopt Western culture. In this regard, education and the Christian religion played important roles in changing African society. The first contact of the residents of Bethanie with Western culture was mainly through the missionaries, and thus occurred within a religious context. This context brought about changes in various dimensions, such as health, education, economic activity and authority. The changes introduced by contact with Western culture were thus multi-dimensional and involved various systems that are linked to each other. Through these changes the blueprint of the community was changed.

When two cultures meet, value polymorphism, value conflict and differences in belief systems may occur that could fragment society. Of central importance here is the role that education plays. People who have gone through a Western-based education and who have adopted Western ways, also change their values – such as becoming more individualistic, without situating this in communalism. This may cause ambivalence and insecurity. Exposure to Western society may also lead to a rise in expectations, and greater awareness of what one's community lacks.

Some people in Bethanie readily embraced Western influence, whilst others resisted it. If something is foreign to one, the chances are decreased that one would identify with it. This could evoke resistance and a counter-reaction of renewed pride in the own cultural heritage and efforts to have control over one's own affairs.

Bringing something new into a cultural context, does not automatically mean that it will be integrated. It might remain as a relatively separate domain, or it might be assimilated. Integration thus does not always occur and at times people can live in two worlds without the two becoming

integrated to form a new unit. Moving from one's indigenous (rural) area to an urban area (e.g. to work) illustrates this, in that the same person can live in both areas, being equally comfortable to live as a rural person in one context, and an urban person in another context.

7.12.2 STAGNATION

In Bethanie there is a decline in the quality of life in various domains, including health, education, recreation, the transport infrastructure (roads), agricultural development, and economic activities. Coupled to this, is the tendency not to develop the resources that are available in Bethanie, but to purchase consumer goods outside the village, and better educated (and also more affluent) people leaving the area. Over many decades migrant labour has created a mentality where villagers do not generate any viable economic activity in the village, but instead seek employment elsewhere. However, as a result of general economic decline, many people in Bethanie nowadays cannot find employment. They often also cannot improve their qualifications, because they do not have money for it. This leaves one with the impression that instead of development, there is decline and decay, and that developmental initiatives which could provide employment, would face many barriers.

One of the main resources in a community is the educational status of its members. It plays a role in attracting investment, and it also influences other processes relevant to development. Education also plays a role in obtaining employment, and thus in social mobility. The high school in Bethanie renders poor quality of education and those members of the community that can afford it, try to solve this problem by letting their children attend schools outside Bethanie. The poor quality of teaching, and the poor discipline and lack of authority in the school, inadequately prepare the youth to be employable, and thus contributes to transitional unemployment. In addition, parents often do not have sufficient financial resources to enable their children to get good education outside Bethanie, or to finance further education. It appears that the youth realise that the poor education they receive, and the lack of resources of their parents, prevent them from becoming employable. As a result many have come to regard school education as futile, and their lack of commitment to study could thus be based on feelings of insecurity.

This does not apply to the two primary schools and one middle school in Bethanie, where the teachers are socially responsible, and hold feminine (i.e., caring) and communal values, partly because they come from Bethanie, most are females and they often have their own children in the schools. At Lerothodi I High School, the teachers are predominantly from outside Bethanie.

Apart from problems regarding education, the indigenous non-linear experience of time might also inhibit social and economic development and thus contribute to stagnation. Development requires a vision of change from the present to reach future goals, growth, and exploration of new methods or movement into other domains. Underlying this is a linear temporality. People from a Western background might direct activities towards long-term future goals, and to reach these goals the activities need to be scheduled and completed within a specified time frame. In economic development projects, such activities would also be directed at creating wealth. In contrast to this, the traditional African concept of time may not accommodate such long-term goals and time frames, and the value attached to the utilisation of time might focus more on maintaining the continuation of the family than on creating prosperity. Acceptance of matters as they are, instead of focussing on changing conditions, might also work against development.

7.12.3 RENEWAL

Various factors could play a role in ending the stagnation in Bethanie. One such factor is revolutionary conflict. The history of Bethanie shows that revolutionary conflict has led to renewal that focused on education and economic development (especially farming and agricultural development), and this involved the integration of traditional African customs and Western methods and approaches. The conflicts also lead to dedifferentiation and greater involvement of the community in decision-making, and thus less power distance between the community and those in power, which promotes development.

Stability is required for development, and in Bethanie this was promoted through the reconciliation of African and Western influences. It is difficult to bring about co-operative interdependence amongst groups which have a long history of conflict. Such integration could be based on a broad, encompassing superordinate social identity with which all in the community could identify. However, this does not imply that sub-identities relevant to the people concerned should be destroyed in the process. What needs to be guarded against is the elevation of a sub-identity to a level above the more important superordinate identity.

The work ethic can also promote development. In Bethanie the work ethic involves that people should go out to work so that they can look after their families. People work hard to be good providers for their families, to achieve success, and to attain self-respect and dignity. However, obtaining a sense of independence, which is part of the work ethic, does not seem to be inherent in Tswana culture, since it is based on individualistic values and the community tends to reject

people who endorse individualistic values without giving recognition to the latter's relationship with collectivistic values. Currently there is also a weakening of the pressure that is put on people to go and look for work.

Exposure to middle-class values stimulates economic development. However, if such exposure does not occur at a collective level, it may have a divisive effect on the community in that it would encourage the differential development of lower and middle-class job-related values and aspirations in the different social strata. Middle-class values are also typically individualistic and in communalistic societies people who have accepted individualistic values may be rejected. One possible reaction against this is a positive redefinition of and identification with the values of the in-group, such as social responsibility.

The presence of the following conditions facilitate change:

- The context must be supportive of the change. This includes that people must experience sufficient security during the transition from one condition to another. If this is not the case, people may leave the setting, instead of becoming integrated with the community. A process of change also appears to be more effective if it is initiated and supported from within the setting.
- For change to occur, the focus must not only be on one system, but on multiple systems within the community. At the same time, the relationship between the local context and broader developments in South Africa must be considered. Events in the village are linked to national events in the country, which implies that any initiatives to promote social and economic development in Bethanie should take cognisance of the broader context in the country.
- The implementation of change requires a masculine value system and the changing agent must be powerful enough to bring about changes. However, underlying this should be feminine principles, focused on caring for and nurturing the community.

Successful development requires adequate links between a setting and the power base that is responsible for decision-making and the allocation of resources. The links between Bethanie on the one hand, and the central government and the government of the North West Province on the other hand, appear to be inadequate and to be characterised by a lack of sensitivity for local customs. Having a central or provincial government is a new concept and the changes which occur in the government periodically, brings inconsistency and problems in the linkage

between itself and the community.

The inadequate links between the government and the local community could have important implications for developmental projects in the village that are initiated by either the central government or the North West provincial government.

People who form the linkages with the outside and who are responsible for obtaining resources should be respected and accepted by the community, and be geared towards meeting the needs of the local community. The people in the linkage should also have the same goals as the community.

- Development requires co-operation with the local leadership. In Bethanie, different leadership structures have developed that can address the needs of different sectors of the community. The traditional *lekgotla* should play a role in efforts to address the developmental needs of the community as a whole, whilst the 'professionals' could play a role in addressing the needs of sectors of the community. However, at the time of this study, the integration of the two sectors has not been altogether successful. It should also be noted that the progressive views of the 'professionals' tend to evoke resistance from more conservative forces in the community. However, there are indications of a potential better and more effective relationship between the *lekgotla* and the 'professionals'.

The original power that the *lekgotla* had in the community has been taken over by the government and the *lekgotla* remains with a role that is not clearly defined.

- The changing agent must have accurate information about the system that need to be changed.
- The physical environment influences social structures and economic activity, and thus need to be considered in developmental initiatives.
- When resources come from outside into a community, it should become fully integrated in the community, less its utilisation for further development is not optimised.
- In matters affecting the whole community, the influence of the traditional structure of authority, the role of the family, as well as the influence of Western culture, must be taken into consideration.

- The gender differentiation and the role of women in the community need to be taken into consideration in social and economic development aimed at alleviating unemployment.

7.12.4 SECTIONAL AND COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT

Communal societies are not only communal, but that they function on either a communal, sectional, situational or individual level, depending on the particular context. These different levels interact with each other. There seems to be two levels of development. The first is at a communal level, the second at a sectional level. The first would involve the whole community, the second subgroups in the community. In Bethanie communal projects seem to have come to an end and projects at the individual or sectional levels appear to have the best chances of succeeding. This movement from a communal to a sectional and individual level could augur well for future development. However, sectional leaders who are democratically elected to take charge of projects may not be accepted as representatives of the community, because the true representatives are the members of the *lekgotla*. Sectional development alone appears not to address all issues in the community and in some instances development should be directed at the whole community.

A central theme in the indigenous culture in Bethanie is that the individual must be helped by the group. In *letsema*, the aim is to help the individual. Similarly, the ultimate aim in the burial societies is to help the individual members and in *mogodisano* it is also the individual that benefits through the actions of the group. The aim is to establish the ultimate power, which resides in the individual and once the ultimate power has gone to the individual, it must be respected; but this power must be for the community. The individual is for the community, and the community is for the individual. Individualism is thus embedded in communalism. Similarly, during initiation rites, when the child is taken away from its mother, to become an individual, he finds his individuality in the age group into which he is initiated. Developmental programmes should accordingly also be based on this principle.

In Tswana culture, an employer carries a social responsibility towards his employees, who are regarded as one's helpers (*mothusi*) and not as mere workers. The value implicit in this is more that of social responsibility, than of an economic nature, and this should be taken into consideration when addressing unemployment.

CHAPTER 8

RESULTS: WITCHCRAFT AND RITUALS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a description is given of *boloi* (witchcraft) and three important rituals that are performed in Bethanie, namely sacrifices to the ancestors, weddings and funerals. *Boloi* (witchcraft) is discussed for two reasons. First, the belief in *boloi* has withstood Western influences, such as the missionaries' efforts to eradicate this belief. Second, it is an important and central African belief, and people often attribute certain kinds of experiences to *boloi*. Since this belief is so persistent and pervasive, it could be expected that it would also play a role in matters related to socio-economic development.

Rituals play an important role in the functioning of society. They invigorate and strengthen a group or society. Rituals bring people together, remind them of their roles and responsibilities, and also reflect the structure of society, the power and the kind of power people might have (Hunt, 1988; Lévi-Strauss, 1958; Tiryakian, 1988). Through an investigation of rituals, the values, meanings and belief systems that are of significance in socio-economic development, can be identified.

Ritual sacrifices to the ancestors relate to the religious belief system in Bethanie. Due to acculturation and the influence of Christianity, this belief system has changed. This necessitates a description of contemporary religious practices in the village. Burial rituals involve the important roles that the *diphiri* (gravediggers) and the burial societies play in the community. These two social structures will accordingly also be discussed.

8.2 *BOLOI* (WITCHCRAFT)

8.2.1 DESCRIPTION OF *BOLOI*

People who commit witchcraft, are referred to as *baloi* (singular: *moloi*). The noun *boloi* relates to mysterious acts of people that cause mishap to other people. The word is derived from *go loba*,

i.e., to hide. *Go go lobela dintsi* means 'you will be killed, and be hidden where the flies won't even be able to find you' - it carries the connotation of something which cannot be fully grasped and dealt with. The *baloi* (witches) who commit *boloi*, are not easily identified, the concept is elusive, and *boloi* is said to be 'something which is not known'. Problems which are difficult to explain and to solve, or where the origin of an event is mysterious, are usually ascribed to witchcraft. *Boloi* is mysterious, and the power the *baloi* have over their victims is supernatural. The power of *boloi* is similar to the power of the chief or the ancestors, who are sacred. However, *boloi* has a negative, destructive connotation and can thus be described as negative sacredness.

The witches are often said to be old, ugly and very black women, but anybody can be a suspected of being a witch, depending on the ailment that is ascribed to witchcraft, and the relationship between the *moloi* and the victim. Male witches are often described as *thokoloshe*, a figure with a long beard and large penis, and he sexually abuses women. When property mysteriously disappears, it is often blamed on the *thokoloshe*. Whereas female *baloi* are often people known in the village, the *thokoloshe* is not identified as a particular person. In one sense, the *thokoloshe* symbolises the role of men: In previous times, men occupied a powerful position in society and had the role of providing for and protecting the women and children. This has changed to some extent, in that men nowadays are held in lower esteem. This loss of power is also symbolised in the *thokoloshe*, who has stopped growing, and all that grows is his penis and his beard.

The concept *boloi* implies an uncontrolled negative environment, where the witches have power over the environment, i.e., the victim is not in command of the environment and is delivered to the witches. The *badimo* (ancestors) also have control over the environment, and if they are displeased with their descendants, they can also be negative and punish one by bringing bad luck onto one. Thus both the *baloi* and the *badimo* can bring about negative effects. However, the *baloi* do this out of bad intentions whereas the *badimo* do it to correct one.

Boloi often occurs within relationships with significant others and those who are close to the bewitched are usually implicated in instances of *boloi*. This includes the relationship between close relatives, for example the relationship between the developing child and *mmane* (mother's younger sister), *rakgadi* (father's sister), and the *mmamogolo* (mother's older sister). Another significant relationship is between co-workers. *Boloi* can be caused by friction between members of a community, or *boloi* can cause friction between members of community. When there is harmony, people tend not to bewitch each other and when there is friction and conflict, people tend to bewitch each other. *Boloi* can thus be an expression of disharmony among people close to each other.

It is believed that daughters in the family inherit *boloi* and that *dingwetsi* (daughters-in-law) are taught *boloi* by their *mmatswale* (mothers-in-law). Thus *boloi* can continue over generations and since it is learned at an early age it is difficult to change.

The youth often say that it is older people who bewitch young people, or elderly people who send young people to bewitch others (e.g., an older person can use a younger person to commit witchcraft at high school). Although the problem seems to be with the witches, the question arises why young people would have this perception. A possible answer is that the young people may have particular problems, which give rise to suspicions that the older generation is responsible for these problems. For example, to the extent that the youth have developed a negative racial identity (see, for example, Manganyi, 1973), and they don't accept themselves and try to identify with the dominant (white) out-group which is held in high esteem, they may blame the older generation for their position.

Baloi use various methods to harm their victims. One common form is *sejeso* (poisoning). *Sejeso* normally happens at large gatherings: when somebody is given a special plate of food to eat, the suspicion may arise that poison has been put in the food. At times, one finds that people do not want to be given food specifically, but eat from a communal container from which other people also eat. There is also the habit that if somebody hands out beer, he must drink some of it first 'to take out the poison'. The effect of *sejeso* is usually a stomach ailment. The treatment is through *go phalatsa* (to make the person vomit). During the treatment, one might find raw meat, hair or pieces of fat in the vomit.

Another common method of practising witchcraft is *go gatisa*, i.e., to put *muthi* (medicines) on the road where the victim will pass, in many cases where roads cross each other. It is believed that the witches mix urine from the *thokoloshe* with other substances to put on the road. The symptoms include swelling of the feet, or of the legs. *Surunya* also results from *go gatisa*. *Surunya* is a mole, which moves underground leaving small piles of sand wherever it goes and it thus relates to boils that can move from one part of the body to the other, and which often affect the armpits.

Lightning (*legadima*) is also used by the *baloi*, but this is more common amongst other tribes such as the Bapedi, than the Batswana. The lightning is sent to bring mishap to others. Motor car accidents are also regarded as 'part of lightning', possibly because they may occur as fast as lightning occurs. If such incidents happen, a traditional healer must be brought in to *gontsha* (to take out) the lightning from the victim, as well as the family, because if there was lightning once,

this will remain in the family until it has been removed.

The effects of *boloi* are manifold. It could include, for example, death, illness or bad luck. People may also believe that their state of unemployment is due to *boloi*.

Children become acquainted with *boloi* from an early age, and it is reinforced during informal school time such as the discussions that take place when walking to school or during lunch breaks. At primary school children tend not to claim back their lost items such as jerseys and shoes for fear of it being used to bewitch them. At high school, items which are associated with school performance, such as books and pens, are also regarded as likely to be used for bewitchment. Experiences of witchcraft especially occur during exam times, for example, bright students may suddenly lose their vision or become mentally confused. The general trend is that achievers fall victim to bewitchment, although non-achievers can also be bewitched, but in the latter case comments such as the following are often made: *e le gore o loelwa eng a sena sepe?* - "why is he bewitched while he does not possess anything?"

It could be considered that this is related to achievement motivation. Great importance is attached to achievement and academic performance in masculine societies, and in extreme cases this can lead to suicide attempts among students who fail (Hofstede, 1980). However, in Bethanie the dynamics rather seem to involve a fear to achieve and a fear to fail. The effects of witchcraft serve the function of preventing students from writing exams, thus avoiding both success and failure. The basis for the fear of achievement is that a successful student often becomes targeted and is likely to be rejected by society. The successful are generally different from the rest of society, in the sense that their manners change and they develop values such as individualism. There thus seems to be a double standard, in that there is pressure to achieve, but at the same time if one achieves, there might also be negative outcomes.

The complexity of modern development and the stresses associated with it create uncertainty. Attributing this kind of uncertainty to *boloi* brings about understanding of what is happening, and this restores a sense of certainty. Thereby the belief in the power of *boloi* is perpetuated.

The concept *boloi* and ways of dealing with it, link with Hofstede's (1980) views on uncertainty avoidance. According to Hofstede (1980), uncertainty avoidance refers to the level of anxiety about the future in a country and the consequent need to protect society through *technology, rules and religion*. *Technology* includes all human artefacts that help people to defend themselves against uncertainty. In the context of the belief in witchcraft, it would include the methods that the traditional

healers use to identify and treat *boloi*.

Laws include all formal and informal *rules* that guide social behaviour; they help people to defend themselves against uncertainties in the behaviour of others. Thus, for example, sanctions against witchcraft may limit the fear related to witchcraft. However, laws which suppress witchcraft may also create uncertainty, because people may no longer know where to go when they are bewitched; as a result they may take the law into their own hands by taking revenge on the suspected witch.

Religion includes all revealed knowledge of the unknown; it helps people to accept the uncertainties they cannot defend themselves against. *Boloi* brings insecurity in the bewitched, and if *boloi* cannot be cured it aggravates the insecurity. The longer the acts of *boloi* keep on, the longer and deeper the insecurity becomes. However, the traditional healers and spiritual healers can bring certainty through their technology, in that people know that what is happening to them can be attributed to somebody else. Belief in witchcraft can thus alleviate insecurity in that it leads to an acceptance of the situation, or to taking steps to deal with it. It is thus a belief system that brings security.

8.2.2 AN EXAMPLE OF AN INCIDENT OF BOLOI

In the following paragraphs, an incident of *boloi* will be described and interpreted, to illustrate the nature of *boloi*.

In 1997 an event occurred in Bethanie during which the house in which a woman, called Lillian, lived with her widowed grandmother and four children, spontaneously caught fire. Lillian said that stones were initially thrown on the roof. The inhabitants thought that naughty neighbourhood boys threw the stones, but the latter denied it. This caused some misunderstanding between Lillian and her neighbours. Afterwards, stones were also thrown at the windows and a glass door inside the house. This was reported to the police, who came to look at the house, but there was nothing they could do. It was later reported to the *lekgotla*, also with no effect. The help of various traditional healers was also sought, but the *boloi* was too powerful for them. All possible help was thus sought with no effect.

This was followed by small fires which spontaneously and sporadically broke out in the house over a period of almost a month. These fires initially burned linen in the house and later sofas were also

burned. The roof was the last to burn, and at that time the inhabitants decided to leave the house. After they left the house, the stone throwing and fires ceased.

Lillian and her family left Bethanie for Jericho for refuge. They then had a quarrel with the person they stayed with, and came back to Bethanie. On their arrival, there were again incidents of stone throwing. They then went back to Jericho to live with other relatives, after which the stone throwing and fires stopped completely.

One interpretation of the fire in Lillian's house that was given by the community was that Lillian's granny bought some linen from Zimbabwean women who came to Bethanie to sell their products, but she never fully paid for it. The meaning expressed here, is that witchcraft can be justified as revenge, which has the implication that it can help to protect the norms, values and prescribed behaviour in a society.

At the height of *boloi* people went to the bewitched house and made some negative remarks about Lillian, such as "The granny knew what she did; why doesn't she tell the people, then she will be healed?" The bewitched did not like these remarks, which brought some tension between them and the community.

Lillian's granny was the second wife to her husband. Her husband had built a house only for her, and not for the first wife. The community thought the event resulted from not building a house for the family of the first wife. It could have been *boloi* by the living children, or it could be that the *badimo* were punishing Lillian's grandmother because a house was not built for the first wife's family. Thus the burning of her house could be seen as justified 'revenge' by the family of the first wife (she was already deceased), or it could be a reprimand by the ancestors. It was said in the community that her late husband, before his death, gave an instruction that something had to be done to Lillian and this instruction still had influence after his death.

Another interpretation was that a certain instruction was given to Lillian's grandmother and she did not carry this out, and the fire was a punishment by her late husband. There was thus some uncertainty whether the incident with Lillian had its origin in *boloi*, or with the *badimo*. This implies that there is not always a clear distinction between *boloi* and the acts of the *badimo*.

Boloi committed out of revenge is justified in that it punishes wrongs done to someone. The *badimo* can also cause a mishap, which can take the same form as *boloi*, but the intent is different. The *boloi* commit their destructive acts out of bad intentions whereas the *badimo* do it to correct people.

The *badimo* thus could, through sanctioning *boloi*, help to ensure adherence to behavioural norms.

Initially, 'natural occurrences' were used as an explanation, i.e., the neighbourhood children. When this explanation did not resolve the issue, the belief in *boloi* was invoked. No rational explanation could be found for the fires that broke out. Attributing this to *boloi*, most likely had the meaning of finding an explanation for the unexplainable. If people know what is happening, it brings security. However, the explanation of *boloi* still did not resolve the issue because the various healers consulted could not allay the witchcraft. As an alternative, an explanation was sought in the *badimo*. When the matter could still not be resolved, people started avoiding and rejecting the family. The community put all the blame on the family and avoided visiting them. They said it was their problem, and they had to solve it themselves. They also avoided the family out of fear that the *boloi* might also affect them. Putting the blame back on the bewitched means that whereas other people were initially blamed for *boloi*, the victims were later held responsible for having done something that deserved this kind of treatment. Witchcraft is thus not only an external attribution, but also an internal attribution.

It seems that the community has a complex general belief system, consisting of various components, and that people can draw from these components, looking for explanations for events. If one aspect does not provide an adequate explanation, people can move to another aspect. The interpretation of events in terms of *boloi* is thus dynamic – the interpretation attached to an event can change, depending on the complexity of the situation. If one interpretation does not fit, an alternative interpretation is sought. Vilakazi (1998) described a related structure with regard to health seeking behaviour. In the process of seeking a cure, various healers and different doctors or hospitals could be consulted concurrently or consecutively. There is a lack of fixed interpretations and an illness can be redefined if one interpretation does not give an explanation.

The above case study also illustrates that if the strength of *boloi* intensifies, and it persists without being solved, people may become so insecure that they leave the setting. Lillian and her family leaving Bethanie for Jericho illustrate this. This relates to an orientation that if a problem cannot be solved it simply has to be accepted. Instead of trying to solve a problem in a new way, a causal attribution is made and the matter is left at that.

What is also important, is that Lillian's mishap occurred during the transition of the chieftainship which resulted from the death of Chief Lerothodi II. Preceding the chief's death, an owl staying at the police station kept on hooting for a period of two months. This was interpreted as *go tlhola*, to predict a mishap. On the same day that the chief died, Lillian had *digegi*, i.e., she predicted that

something bad would happen to somebody. The stone throwing started on the afternoon of the chief's burial. It stopped when the new chief was inaugurated. This reflects how *boloi* can come to the front in times of problems in society, specifically during instability during a transitional period in the society. This relates to liminality (Tiryakian, 1988) in that when something changes, people try to identify it. This process of searching for a meaning must come to a conclusion, i.e., an answer must be found, or the event must dissolve on its own. *Boloi* thus appears to deal with finding meaning for problems in society. It can arise in conditions of uncertainty, such as the death of a chief, and similarly it can be associated with the uncertainty associated with other transitions, such as development.

The above discussion illustrates that *boloi* is related to friction between people. It can result from friction, or it can initiate friction. It can also reflect the existence of problems between people or in society when the origin of the problem cannot be identified, or if the problem cannot be solved. People may have problems, and when it is attributed to *boloi*, it eases the uncertainty; however, it may not automatically result in a solution of the problem, as was the case with Lillian. This shows that the belief in *boloi* and efforts to find a solution for it is not always creative and effective. However, it can also provide an opportunity to get assistance from traditional healers to allay the witchcraft, which would reflect an effective solution.

The case study described above, reflects the persistence of the belief in *boloi*. This is related to the negative powers of *boloi*, which is feared and respected with the same deference with which people respect the dead. It is difficult to put into words how deep this fearful respect is - although it is concrete, it is not merely a passing thought, but a deep and powerful belief system. The power can not be seen, but one feels its presence.

8.2.3 CONCLUSION

The following seem to be cardinal points of *boloi*:

- *Boloi* relates to problems in interpersonal relationships, such as the relationships between close family members or co-workers. It is also related to transitional periods in a society that are characterised by uncertainty. The latter include times of political and socio-economic change.
- *Boloi* is learned at an early age and the belief system is carried over from one generation to the other.
- *Boloi* is mysterious, and very real, very persistent and very pervasive.

- *Boloi* permeates all facets of life: family relationships, the neighbourhood, schools, roads, social gatherings and employment settings. It can thus be expected that it will play a role in development, especially in so far as progress makes one vulnerable to witchcraft, and it may thus inhibit efforts to achieve. This can contribute to stagnation and acceptance of the status quo.
- When there are acts of *boloi* one tends to look at one's enemies, wondering why they are doing it to oneself. But one can also look at oneself introspectively, wondering "What have I done to deserve this kind of treatment?" It is thus not only an external attribution, but also an internal attribution. The latter implies taking responsibility and this could lead to change. The belief in *boloi* thus not only leads to stagnation but can also initiate change.

8.3 RITUALS

8.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The most important rituals in Bethanie relate to births, baptism and confirmation, graduation, sacrificial slaughtering for the ancestors, weddings, funerals, and the unveiling of a tombstone. Birth rituals are aimed at providing a person with an identity, and to promote the baby's health. Baptism and confirmation are religious rituals. Confirmation gives recognition to the independence of a person who is regarded as responsible for his own deeds, and the feasts that are held reflect the social status of the family. Graduation rituals involve the educational sphere and play an important role in defining a person's status.

Three central rituals are discussed in detail in this study, namely the *phasa badimo* ritual (a ritual sacrifice to the ancestors), marriage and funerals. The *phasa badimo* ritual is the central religious ritual in the indigenous religion. In *weddings*, society is enhanced in that it ensures that the community is maintained by creating a unit of the community, namely the family. During *funerals* various sectors of the community are activated (burial societies, *diphiri*, i.e., the gravediggers, etc.) and they enact their social roles as well as their culture, thus reinvigorating society.

8.3.2 THE PHASA BADIMO RITUAL

8.3.2.1 Description of the *phasa badimo* ritual

Go phasa badimo is a traditional ritual involving communication with the *badimo* (ancestors). In addition to prayer, various substances such as snuff, beer and blood are used to communicate with the *badimo*. A sacrificial slaughtering for the ancestors entails slaughtering of an animal, such as a cow, a goat, a sheep, or a chicken, and beer drinking, which is regarded as pleasing the ancestors. Especially the blood of the slaughtered animal is regarded as pleasing the ancestors and when the sacrificial animal's neck is cut, the first blood must flow onto the ground as it is thought that this is food for the ancestors. People later also cook and eat the blood. What people eat, must also be shared with the ancestors, by throwing some of it onto the ground. It is then believed that the people eat together with the ancestors. Traditional beer is brewed and the first beer is spat on the ground by a *malome* (mother's brother) and by the elderly women who brewed the beer. This is also done to appease the gods. It reflects the close integration between those who have passed away and the living, and that the former remain integrated in the society of the living.

Snuff is especially used by elderly women, who sprinkle some snuff on the ground for the female ancestors. Female ancestors are thus appeased by snuff, male ancestors by beer, and blood is used to appease everybody. This reflects the distinction between males and females in the blueprint of the society. This distinction is, however, not divisive for society and the eventual integration of society is symbolised in the blood that appeases everybody.

This gender differentiation in the blueprint is also symbolised in that the liver is divided between men and women. Part of the intestines is also divided between men and women. If the slaughtered animal was a female, the womb is reserved for elderly women. If the slaughtered animal was a male, its sexual organs are eaten by elderly men. The heart of the slaughtered animal is cooked on a lid of a pot, and is set aside for men. Any adult man from the community can come and have a piece, thus symbolising a communal spirit through sharing what one has with other people.

A significant symbol relates to the head of the slaughtered cow. The head of the family is the father, who makes final decisions. However, the head of the slaughtered animal is given to the *malome* (mother's brother), which means that the mother is active through her brother. This means that decision-making is masculine but when it comes to practical action to nurture society and

maintain social structures feminine values prevail.

The *phasa badimo* ritual is performed at important times and events, such as at a wedding, when completing an undertaking such as building a house, graduation of a family member, and other projects. At the end of the mourning period (*go apola* - "to take off the black clothes"), slaughtering is also done, and this often takes the form of slaughtering a sheep, a chicken or a goat. Slaughtering is also done at events such as baptism, and confirmation. It is not usual that cattle are slaughtered at these events. Also during slaughtering to ensure the well-being or to restore the health of a person, smaller animals are used, such as a chicken. The variety of situations when the ritual is performed, illustrates how religion permeates various aspects of daily life. Mbiti (1969, p. 263), in his comments on African cosmology, says that for the African, "to be, is to be religious in a religious universe", which implies that religion pervades all aspects of life.

Sharing with the ancestors means that there is no clear distinction between the living and the dead - part of what one has, is for those who are still alive, and part is for those who have passed away. It is based on collectivistic values (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990). The ritual is also related to uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980), in that it brings certainty about life after death; there is a link between earthly life and life after death, and one does not die in a final sense, but keep on living through the memories and rituals of one's descendants. It reflects continuity where the past remains in the present, and the present is directed to the past. The traditional religion is thus not focused on the future or the end of human existence as is the case with Christianity, but on the integration of the past with the present.

The format of the ritual also reflects the role of acculturation/ cultural change, in that snuff was introduced from Western culture. Culture could be regarded as a macro-systemic dimension which forms part of the blueprint of a society, and the latter is not static but changes (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Acculturation occurs at the level of the macro-system but because the different systems are in interaction with each other, it influences other systems, such as the behaviour of the individual.

In conclusion, the symbolism, thought patterns and belief system expressed in the *phasa badimo* ritual have implications for socio-economic development, and thus also for addressing unemployment. First, an experience of time in which the present is directed at maintaining the bonds with the past may work against the implementation of projects with a long-term future-orientation. Secondly, this may imply that developmental projects should give recognition to cultural elements that have existed over past generations, and should fit in with the local culture. However, an established blueprint of a society is not absolutely fixed, but has the potential for change and

renewal. Third, decisions to implement projects could be based on feminine values aimed at ensuring that society is maintained and nurtured, but the actual implementation thereof must be based on masculine values.

8.3.2.2 Christianity

The traditional religion, as described above, has changed due to the influence of Christianity. To maintain perspective and to show how the traditional culture can become integrated in Christianity, the following discussion is presented:

The Setswana word *tumelo* is used to translate religion, but in a more accurate sense it refers to faith, and does not refer to a specific institution such as a particular church.

The Tswana culture, including its religion, has been under constant pressure from sources from outside. These included the Zulu wars, slavery and Christianity. There have been attempts by various cultures over more than two hundred years to destroy the culture and religion of the Batswana. There are nevertheless certain aspects of the traditional culture that have survived these onslaughts, including the belief in the ancestors. This is expressed, for example, in the Independent Churches that make provision for the accommodation of both Christianity and the traditional religion, especially the belief in the *badimo*, and in this sense one could say that members of these churches have not fully relinquished their culture.

In the traditional worldview, a distinction is drawn between *dimo majabatho* (i.e., a giant) and the *badimo* (ancestors). Under Western influence, the concept of *Modimo* was introduced, which is used to refer to the Christian God. But there is not always a full integration of the African and Western belief systems. For example, in a sacred place such as the graveyard, people may be unsure during a funeral whether to pray to *Modimo* or to the *badimo*.

With the exception of the Apostolic churches where there are mainly women, Independent Churches such as the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) tend to draw a clear distinction between gender roles by allocating specific roles for men and specific roles for women. In Bethanie, more women than men leave the Lutheran Church to join one of the Independent Churches. This appears to be related to socio-economic factors. A comparison between the residents of Bethanie who belong to the Independent Churches and members of the historic Lutheran Church shows that the latter are generally economically more developed than those of the Independent Churches. It is often

said in Bethanie that the Lutheran Church (not the Bakwena Lutheran Church) is for the rich and the proud, and thus it does not have place for the poor people. This can also be illustrated with reference to donations to the church. The Lutheran Church allows for a person to donate any amount of money, according to his means, which apparently shows that people are all the same, and that the value of the money is with the giver, in that the person gives what he is able to give. However, what happens in practical life is the opposite - people are judged according to their wealth, and poor people are looked down upon. This could lead women from lower income groups to feel that they are not accepted in the church, and thus that their needs are not satisfied. They accordingly move to another church - often the Apostolic churches, where they seek emotional satisfaction. However, one often finds that they move from one church to the other, which indicates that their needs are not really satisfied. This could indicate that there is a specific need in Bethanie to address the problems that women experience. (Here a similar pattern arises as was described with regard to *boloi*, namely that problems are dealt with by moving away from them, without really resolving them).

Church uniforms are commonly worn during days of religious activities, such as church services, prayer meetings and funerals. The religious dress of women includes *diduku* (from the Afrikaans "doek") which is a piece of material wrapped around the head and *diphekgga*, which is a piece of cloth wrapped around the shoulders. These cloths are of different colours, signifying different churches. The Apostolic churches use the colour blue, but there is no word in Setswana for blue - blue is translated as *botala ya legodimo*, the green of the heaven. The Zionists use yellow and green, and the men wear khaki uniforms and shoes which have been made specially for stamping of feet (the shoes have normal leather on top, and motor car tyre as soles - they are called *manyanyatha* or *voetsek*). The spiritual healers and their trainees always wear the *diduku* and *diphekgga*, and the material is of a specific colour (yellow, red, white and green), which indicates the person's seniority in the church. The members of the Apostolic churches and the ZCC also wear badges, thus clearly identifying themselves with their church.

The emphasis on clearly visible symbols of identity raises the question, why it is so important for members of these churches to define themselves as a particular group. It could indicate an effort to find identity in a transitional spiritual space where the religions from the West and Africa meet. This could be related to a broader search for identity in the contact between Africa and the West.

The religious domain could be described as being fragmented and as containing dormant aspects. Not everything in Christian religion has been integrated with the indigenous belief system, and not all aspects of Christianity are practised. Neither have all aspects of the indigenous religion been

discarded, and some aspects of it are practised, but others are not practised. Those aspects that are not regularly practised appear to be dormant but they can be brought out to be practised in either an African way, or in a Western way.

The church provides a reference point for people, but at the same time it can also be divisive. The split between the Lutheran Church and the Bakwena Lutheran Church (see paragraph 7.3.2), together with the existence of various Independent Churches, create the opportunity for people to fit where they feel they belong. However, it also creates prejudice in the members of a particular church against members of other churches. This may undermine a strong sense of community, which may negatively impact on initiatives that require collaboration.

In summary, the foregoing discussion indicates that when a community is exposed to a foreign culture, aspects of the latter could become assimilated with existing belief systems, as happened in the Independent Churches. On the level of socio-economic development, this could imply that for such development to be effective, allowance must be made for the continued role of elements of the indigenous culture. Intercultural contact may require directed efforts to establish a new identity, as is symbolised by the clearly visible church uniforms of the Independent Churches. A foreign culture may also have a divisive influence on a community, which could hinder collaborate efforts. With reference to socio-economic development, this could imply that sections of a community may embrace certain aspects of projects that are introduced from outside, whilst other sectors might be resistant or show preference for different aspects of such projects.

8.3.3 MARRIAGE

8.3.3.1 Introduction

Marriage customs and rituals form part of the macro-system and shed light on the blueprint with regard to behavioural norms. In the context of the present study, it specifically sheds light on communalism, which is expressed in the activities that are performed during a wedding. It also sheds light on how rituals, which are repeatedly performed, enhance society. For example, during weddings people come together and see the importance of the event. It emphasises things that are important in society, and ensures the continuity of these cardinal aspects. It also ensures that values, norms and behaviour patterns are carried over to the younger generation, who observes the rituals. The wedding ritual also establishes the sacredness of the union of two people.

8.3.3.2 *Magadi, go tshwaragana and lenyalo*

Marriage can be divided into three major components namely *magadi (lobola)*, *go tshwaragana* (to obtain a union or marriage certificate from a priest or commissioner) and *lenyalo* (marriage). *Magadi* is more commonly known as *lobola*. It refers to the bride-wealth that is transferred from the groom's family to the bride's family. A typical pattern of how this unfolds, is as follows:

When a boy falls in love with a girl and comes to think he is ready to marry, he tells a close family member who then informs the rest of the family. The family must then confirm that the boy is matured enough to have his own family. The boy should have enough money for *magadi*, he should be able to carry the costs of the wedding, and to buy himself and his wife-to-be wedding clothes. This implies that he should be employed.

The boy's mother then starts to get to know the girl and makes an appointment to see the girl's family to start initial negotiations on *lobola*. The two mothers then agree on an approximate amount of *lobola*. When both mothers are ready they tell their respective families that 'there is going to be *magadi*.' The *rakgadi*, *malome* and *rangwane* (father's younger brother) are then told, and a date is set for *magadi*.

Mmamalome (*malome's* wife) or *mmame* (mother's sister) on the boy's side are sent to negotiate the *magadi*. At the first meeting the *bakgonyane* (in-laws) are usually not treated well, for example they can be left unattended for hours. After being allowed to enter the yard, they are given one room. The two families then each choose a mediator (*maditsela*) who will communicate between the two parties. The negotiation for *magadi* can be a lengthy debate that can last for the whole day.

After agreeing on the amount of *magadi*, a traditional praise is said, traditional music is sung and drums are beaten. Women often then mask themselves by wearing men's clothes and painting themselves, and they start *didietsa* - making a high-pitched repetitive sound. *Lobola* or part of it is paid and a feast is made. This is often associated with a circular dance during which the ground is hit with traditional brooms. (Later, when the *rakgadi* and *malome* bring their donations for the wedding, a similar dance occurs). Those who paid *lobola* are given part of the slaughtered goat or sheep to take home. They then go home and another feast is made at the boy's home.

The boy and girl then go to the commissioner to sign for their marriage. They are accompanied by

two or more members from both parties. A "tea party" (which refers to a small party, e.g. slaughtering a chicken) is made. After the marriage certificate has been received, they go to the church for blessing of the marriage. Another "tea party" is made. This occurs over a number of days.

Both families then start preparing for the main *lenyalo* (marriage). The preparations include the collection of groceries, buying a beast for slaughter, and buying clothes. Time must also be allowed for the *ditlhasi* (witnesses) to buy their wedding clothes. The *ditlhasi* are the bride and bridegroom's friends. A date is set for the wedding which starts at the girl's family and then moves on to the boy's family. The preparation can last up to six months, but sometimes it can take some years. At times, not the groom, but the parents of both families will look for the beast to be slaughtered.

Different aspects of a wedding portray a mixture from African and Western culture. The music played at weddings is predominantly of a modern, Western form, consisting of bands, choruses and CD's. In the course of the wedding festivities, the people in the procession (bride, bridegroom and witnesses) change their clothes, interchangeably wearing Western and traditional clothes. Similar to a funeral (see below), there are particular customs that are followed in the preparation and distribution of food. This entails a mixture of traditional customs and new practises, for example sitting in circles while eating and drinking beer, as against standing in queues or being served by waitresses.

Weddings portray a spirit of unity and communalism. The people attending the wedding are expected to donate money, signifying how members of a community help each other. During the invitation to a wedding, a piece of cloth is sent to the women who are invited, to inform them of the colour of the uniform (i.e., the apron used during the wedding) to be worn by the women. Underlying this is the meaning that there should not be obvious differences between people.

Significant in the above is that both traditional and Western customs are followed, but this is done consecutively without becoming fully integrated. It reflects how a specific ritual is a mixture of two cultures, and how complex it is to integrate it to a single culture.

8.3.3.3 Marriage and women's identity

It is said, a woman does not have a surname until she is married. It is also said, *lebilla la mosadi ke bogadi*, the grave of a woman is where she is married. This implies that she attains her identity

through her marriage. Similarly, after marriage, the woman is called by the surname of her husband's family. This reflects acceptance of her new identity. Her personal name can also be used, or when she has children, she can be referred to as the mother of so-and-so. This signifies the importance of giving birth in ensuring the continuity from death to birth so that those who are dead can still be remembered (see the discussion on naming in paragraph 7.2). It also implies that her identity is located not in herself as an individual, but in her relationship with others (her husband, her children and the ancestors).

8.3.3.4 Interpretation

Marriage contains various cultural themes, which can also occur and could be important in other contexts. Through marriage, the woman comes from outside into her husband's family. Marriage can thus be regarded as introducing something new into the family. Whilst the woman retains some of the values and way of life of her own culture, she also changes to accommodate some of the characteristics of the setting into which she has moved.

A woman is allowed to move to and from her own and her husband's families throughout her life. The bride is allowed to go home immediately after her marriage. The birth and rituals of the first born are done at her home. She *unroule* (end of a mourning period) at her family if her husband were to die, and her husband also *unroule* at her family if she were to die.

A similar process is expressed in the way in which people sit at a wedding and the way in which food is served. The ways in which people sit either in groups or at tables, and the manner in which food is distributed, either in a traditional or modern manner, reflect the co-existence of traditional and modern values and behaviour patterns. This forms part of a pattern in which things come into the native culture and changes the local context, but at the same time still remaining part of the outside.

This relates to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) concept of multi-setting participation, which occurs when the same person engages in activities in more than one setting. A meso-system is established at the point when the person enters a new setting. Introducing something new into a native setting, such as introducing an economic developmental project, would in terms of this principle of multi-setting participation imply transition from one setting to another, but with concurrent participation in different settings. Development does not imply breaking completely with one facet and adhering only to another. It in fact requires that both must be involved if development were to occur.

Something irreversible occurs when two cultures meet, which resonates with the irreversibility of marriage, in that divorce is seen as a taboo in Tswana culture.

There are various phases in concluding a marriage, from the transfer of *magadi*, through the rituals at the commissioner and church, and culminating in the *lenyalo*. The wedding procession also goes through different phases when they change clothes. It implies that the same objective, i.e. to complete a marriage, can be done through different ways, but a complete process requires the integration of various dimensions, including traditional African customs (*magadi*), aspects borrowed from Western culture (e.g., the commissioner), a religious dimension (the church) and the involvement of the community (the celebrations at *lenyalo*). It also shows how it is ensured that marriage is valid in different environments. The changing of clothes also involve traditional African and Western themes, and two different kinds of Western attire are used. This again shows that marriage involves and is validated in different environments. It also shows that something new has developed, that there has been change. It could have the implication that developmental projects must also be valid in both the African and Western contexts. It also emphasises that religion plays a central role in society, and that development should have a religious base. In addition, marriage requires endorsement by the community. It is interesting to note how a particular aspect of life, such as marriage, contains principles which are common to a broader context.

A marriage is centred on the family, and this shows the importance of family life in society. Traditional African society was greatly structured around family clans (*dikgoro*), which through their interaction constituted society. An example of how this is expressed, is when people ask one who you are, in other words, who is your father, or whose father are you, or whose wife are you. Identity thus refers to one's position in the family. This family bond is also expressed in that one normally does not have your own cattle kraal, but share a kraal with one's family, or you erect your kraal near the family's kraal. Small-scale economic activity is also centred on the family.

Although the boy initiates the marriage, he has to seek permission to get married. His choice of a bride has to be supported by his family, and they have to feel that he is ready to marry. The negotiations for *magadi* also occur between two families. It means that marriage is not an affair between two individuals, but involves the family. It is as if the individuals exist through their families, which links with communalism. In addition, it reflects the situational nature of power in a communal society. In marriage, the boy has power, but since the families of the bride and groom have to give their approval, he does not have the ultimate power. This means that the power of the individual is located in communal power, and the latter depends on the former.

According to Barker (in Orford, 1992), in each setting there are performers, i.e., people with clearly defined responsibilities or tasks to carry out in a setting, such as the role of the *maditsela*, people preparing food, etc. There are also non-performers, who do not have specific duties, but still play a role in maintaining the programme of the behaviour setting; this would involve the guests at a wedding.

Although a marriage is initiated by a boy, it is run by women (see the role of *malome* and *mmamalome*) and it is nurturing in the sense that people are fed and experience joy and happiness. In a broader context, in Bethanie, women run families, although men run the *lekgotla* and the administration. It implies that binding of families, thus nurturing the continuation of society, has a feminine meaning. As was indicated in Chapter 4, *botho*, which is a very central value in Tswana culture, is a feminine concept.

At weddings men drink their beer in a traditional manner. This is related to another custom which symbolises men nurturing their culture: The lastborn son is referred to as *mfejane*, which is derived from *ngwana wa bofelo*, the child who is the last one, and from *-nyana* which means small. It thus means "the small last one", which is a "*tthaletsa*"-name", i.e., a "pet name" that is used by the mother. His parents give him the house and the yard, so that he should not start life empty handed, and he is also well-looked after, for example by giving him the opportunity to go to school. He is expected to remain at home, and to look after his parents and his heritage. In a sense, thus, he is a protector of culture. He is also expected to look after family members who do not cope in urban areas and one may find that in the same yard as the house of the parents, there is also a house for the relatives so that when they come home, they still find a home.

The descriptions in the preceding two paragraphs reflect nurturing, caring roles, which are related to the feminine values described by Hofstede's (1980). It thus appears that Tswana culture is to a great extent feminine. This, however, does not mean that the culture is completely feminine, but that there is a strong tendency in this direction. According to Hofstede's theory, feminine cultures are less inclined towards economic development.

8.3.4 FUNERALS

8.3.4.1 General description

The traditional custom in Bethanie was to bury the deceased in cattle kraals. As a result of the influence of the German missionaries that came to Bethanie, graveyards were introduced and this custom brought about rituals that are very strong in practise and in consistency.

The death of a member of the community activates various groups in the community, such as the burial societies, the *diphiri* (gravediggers) and the churches. During burials central aspects of culture, such as roles, values, and symbols are enacted. A central theme is that funerals show how east and west are associated with life and death, and how south and north are associated with left and right.

Funerals have the meaning of burying the dead as well as taking the deceased to heaven. There is transformation of life to death that involves concrete, practical action that takes the form of rituals. This concretisation in religion does not only relate to funerals; heaven is also not seen as something ethereal, but as a place where the *badimo* reside and from where they continue to help their descendants, similar to how they helped them on earth when they were still alive.

The Batswana distinguish between five forms of afterlife:

- The *badimo* are the immediate deceased relatives who can help the living to deal with various problems in life. After a certain number of generations (usually two generations) have passed, they cease to play a role in the lives of their descendants. It is not that there is a fixed end to their functioning, they merely disappear or fade away. This implies that there is no final conclusion to their existence. This reflects a limited time perspective in that the *badimo* are only remembered for two generations, and then they disappear into eternity.
- Not all people go to *badimong* ("the place of the ancestors") immediately after death. Some remain on earth for a while, because of matters that have been left unfinished, such as distribution of their property. Such deceased people make their wishes known through dreams. After the wishes have been fulfilled the person passes on to *badimong*.

- Another group of people in the afterlife, are the *badimo* who had special skills when they were still alive, such as traditional healing or brick-making, and who want their expertise to be carried on by the younger generation. These people go to a special heaven where they make it a point that one of the grandchildren must know this practice. They also, after a lapse of time, fade away into eternity.
- Ghosts, who are stuck on earth, constitute a fourth category of afterlife. Traditionally, ghosts were not known amongst the Batswana. A ghost (*sepoko*) is someone from another culture, such as a white person, who is stuck on earth and who leads people astray during nights. There are also ghosts who operate during the daytime and *sepoko sa bobi* (ghost of a spider's web) disorientates people during day-time so that they loose their way; to regain their direction, these people must go back on their steps till they can see where they should go to. On a symbolic level, this means that contact with another culture can cause people to *go timetsa*, i.e., to go off track, and one must then go back to where you started, i.e., to one's own culture.

This must be distinguished from the belief that certain conditions which make life easy, such as when the weather is cool, or when someone is rich, could lead people to *go itebetse*, i.e., to forget oneself, in other word to become less vigilant. Such people also loose their direction and go in circles unless they trace their steps back to where they started loosing direction. This has both a concrete and an abstract meaning, in terms of physically loosing one's way, or in the sense of loosing one's mind, one's well-being.

- Another form of afterlife relates to deceased persons, such as children and childless adults, who do not perform any functions in the lives of the living, and truly die. Dead children and childless people who die do not go to *badimong*, but just disappear into eternity.
- It seems that evil people such as the *baloi* also die and go to eternity. It is generally believed that they do not carry on helping their living relatives in the same positive sense that the *badimo* help their descendants. In contrast to the *badimo*, the *baloi* who die are believed to keep on helping living persons with carrying on with evil deeds. Those who die as a result of being killed by the community because of being witches, are believed not to exist after death.

When someone has died, neighbours and close relatives are informed, either verbally, or by radio, newspapers, telegrams or through the grapevine. It shows that although the family is important, other people are also important in people's lives. This relates to a communalistic society.

After a person's death, the deceased is laid out and dressed properly before being taken to a mortuary by a hearse. Afterwards, the household is rearranged. The furniture in the main bedroom is taken out and mattresses are used to sleep on. This is done to make space for other people who come every day to pay condolences to the family, to sit with the main mourner (e.g. the surviving spouse, or a last born child). On the Friday night before the funeral, the coffin is laid next to the mattress where the main mourner sleeps.

The main mourner and the last born (whether a boy or girl) is given *muthi* (to treat "drowsiness", i.e., the depression associated with the loss, and to forget the incident), and the last born is given red and white beads to wear.

In the meantime a cow is sought to be slaughtered on the Friday before the funeral. The slaughtering is referred to as *go tsholla madi*, to spill blood, which is done to appease the ancestors. Firewood is collected for the occasion, and brewing of beer usually starts on the Wednesday or Thursday, depending on the weather. The beer is referred to as *bojalwa ba Setswana*, i.e., a Tswana beer that has the meaning of appeasing the ancestors. On the Wednesday, the women bake cakes for the funeral. Prayer women with their various church uniforms come on the Thursday - which is a day of prayer in the village. Friday is used for the final preparations for the funeral. The deceased comes home on the Friday evening. A preacher and the villagers with lighted candles welcome the deceased. A vigil is held the whole night on Friday. There can be a night church service, depending on the church (the Lutheran Church does not hold a night church service).

There are two services on Saturday. The first service is held at the church or at home depending on the church to which the deceased belonged. Here various people who knew him/her praise the good side of the deceased. The second service is held at the graveyard and this can be regarded as burial rituals. The speeches are intervened by various choirs and a band, both at the church/home and at the graveyard. The climax is reached when the coffin is lowered, when people cry; after that, there is no more crying.

There is no Tswana word to refer to a deceased's body when it is taken to a mortuary, because it is not part of the culture to take a person from the home to the mortuary. However, after it

brought back and during the burial it is referred to as the “deceased” (*moswi*). The corpse is personalised, in that the prefix *mo-* refers to somebody, as in *motho* (a person). It is as if the person becomes part of the family and the burial rites have the meaning of making the deceased part of the *badimo*, who are also in communication with the living. This reflects a process of change, and this change can also be seen in other symbolic expressions of change, such as in the direction in which the *moruti* looks at different stages of the funeral, and the attire of the women (when they go to the deceased's house, they put their '*diduku*' around their waists, and when they go to the graveyard they put it on the shoulder. A burial thus gets the meaning of a process of change, rather than reaching an end state.

The deceased's head, in the grave, faces west, in the direction of the setting sun (see below) and the living people standing around the grave face east in the direction of the rising sun. The *moruti* (priest) also faces west and after giving some services, the priest changes position and faces the same direction as the congregation, talking to the deceased, e.g. saying he must rest in peace, and reciting the biblical verse "soil to soil, dust to dust." This means that the *moruti* is a mediator between the living and the dead. Another meaning is that whereas he first was different from the living, he now becomes part of the congregation, i.e. he is part of the living. This tendency of using the cardinal points is also found in sleeping arrangements, where one should not face the west, but face either the east, south or north.

From the foregoing it is concluded that east relates to the present, and west relates to the future, where the dead is going to. In this ritual, the living people do not face the future. It reflects the future as unknown and something that is feared. It also indicates a way of thinking in a concrete manner. What is done, is practical, even if someone dies everyone must see practically that the person is transformed in this manner.

The congregation is grouped according to the family, *moruti* and the church elders, burial societies, various choirs, the band and according to gender. The *diphiri* are near the grave in pairs of four or five. By looking at the people, one can then distinguish the main divisions of the village. One can see various systems represented, which illustrates how rituals maintain the structure of society.

The burial service is done in silence except for those who are asked to speak. The silence indicates that the graveyard is regarded as a sacred place. After the burial the *moruti*, church elders and family are the first to leave the graveyard. Before re-entering the bereaved house, the mourners wash their hands one by one in a bath placed at the gate. The meaning of the washing of the hands is to cleanse oneself, after contamination with death, and also to indicate that one was

not involved in the person's death. Death is also associated with disease, and by washing one's hands, one cleanses oneself of a possible disease that could have caused the death.

After the burial, there are further “*loso*” rituals (death rituals), which are described as follows in terms of roles performed by various members of the community:

8.3.4.2 ‘*Rou*’ (mourning)

A day after the burial the hair of the bereaved is shaved by *mmamalome* (*malome*'s wife) and they ‘put on a *rou*’ (i.e., dress in mourning clothes): a wife wears black clothes, children attach a piece of black cloth on their clothes, and a husband wears a black ribbon on his arm. The black dress and all these pieces of cloth come from the same cloth, reflecting a communal spirit and sharing of sorrow, which has a supportive, therapeutic effect. The house is *roued* by a black ribbon (not from the cloth referred to above) on the front door, or branches are placed around the front door.

After the burial, the deceased's clothes, the house and the yard are also cleaned. The deceased's clothes are distributed among relatives by *mmamalome*. The house is lighted the whole night for about one month.

Typically, the *rou* lasts three months for children, and one year for a husband/wife. Both husband and wife end the mourning period at the wife's place by ‘undressing the *rou*’ - *go apola rou*, whereas the children ‘undress the *rou*’ at home. The wife's sister does the ‘undressing of the *rou*’. The view is that although a woman is married, she remains part of her family and that her family retains certain responsibilities towards her, including looking after her sister's children. The same incompleteness in her integration with her husband's family is also symbolised in the relationship between a new bride and her in-laws. Although the new bride is mostly welcomed in her husband's family, her presence is also often a source of conflict between her and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law. This conflict is often associated with the new wife's access to the money that her husband earns, which his mother feels should come to her. Mutual accusations of *boloi* are not uncommon in this context.

8.3.4.3 The sun

The sun has symbolic meaning. It is associated with the living. In the grave, the deceased faces the setting sun, those who come to bury him/her face the rising sun. The living, when they sleep do not face the setting sun.

During funerals people are not buried after 12:00, thus showing the importance of midday. Midday is regarded as the time of emptiness, the time for the *badimo*, the time to rest and the time of no shadows. The shadow of a person is called *seriti* and if one says a person does not have *seriti*, it means that he does not have strength; the later does not only refer to physical strength, but also to the person's strength of character and status. A time of no shadows can thus mean a time when people do not have strength.

People should also not enter a graveyard at noon since noon is regarded as the time for *badimo*, i.e., the *badimo* will come and visit the village during that time. It is also said that big snakes (*mamogaswa*) which are found in big pools in rivers, move around at noon. *Mamogaswa* is the term that is used to refer to a tornado, and the belief is that it is a snake which lives in a pool which, if it is disturbed, turns into a tornado.

Although the night is regarded as bad for people, dreams at about three in the morning are regarded as being communication with *badimo*.

8.3.4.4 Funerals as a symbol system

Funerals can be regarded as a larger symbol system as it contains various subsystems, such as burial societies, different churches, *diphiri*, choirs, and the *badimo*. Social and political changes that take place in the village are also reflected in matters surrounding a funeral. For example, during the early 90's, a division developed between the *diphiri*. The conflict was between those that wanted to change (i.e., the *Moseja diphiri*, who were lead by a group of teachers) and those who were conservative. The group of *diphiri* lead by the teachers wanted to institute new ways of gravedigging, but were opposed by the conservative section in the *diphiri* (i.e., those who came from the Bethanie section). The tension seen here, reflected a broader tension in the village, as was manifested in the teachers (professionals) who at one stage tried to advise the chief, through an Advisory Council they formed, and which caused friction between them and the *lekgotla*. One

sees here a tension between progressive and conservative forces, which could also occur in the context of social and economic development.

With regard to gravedigging, there is not a sanctioned way of changing cultural activities, and thus the culture cannot absorb changes. In urban townships, where gravedigging does not involve the whole community, it is easier to bring about changes. But in a village such as Bethanie, where resistance to alternative forms of gravedigging does not only occur in the *lekgotla*, but also among other members of the community, there is a risk of splitting the village unless the whole community accepts a change. It shows that potential changes in gravedigging signify more than merely using alternative ways of digging a hole in the ground. Those who wanted to introduce changes, were the professionals who had changed from communal values to individualistic values. Graves, on the other hand, have a communal meaning. They are communal in the sense that they are not one entity next to the other, but they lose their individuality in a collective. There are also no restrictions on who can attend a funeral - in fact, everybody is expected to attend (in contrast to weddings, which are sectionally based). The collective meaning of burials (as opposed to individualising it), is also evident from community activities to collect money to cover the expenses of a family where a member has passed away. (Also see the description in paragraph 8.7). Resistance to change thus seems to arise when communalism is affected.

The discussion on funerals shows that what happens in the broader society, is repeated in a smaller system. This can be explained in terms of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) views on the blueprint that exists in societies, which relates to the principles that guide people's behaviour. Blueprints apply in bigger systems and manifest in subsystems. Similarly, there are parallels between aspects of a burial and other patterns of behaviour in the village, such as the similarity between the sleeping pattern of the villagers, and the positioning of the corpse in terms of cardinal points.

It is evident from the elaborate system of symbolism related to death and funerals, that these rituals play an important role in people's lives. The underlying meanings should accordingly also be taken into consideration in the context of socio-economic development.

8.3.5 CONCLUSION

The repeated performance of rituals embeds their meanings in people's minds, thus creating a sense of permanence and entrenching the structure of society. As the context changes, for example due to acculturation, rituals also change. All the rituals are, however, not equally

adaptable; some change more easily than others. For example, the rituals related to weddings have changed more than has been the case with the *phasa badimo* ritual. It seems as if cardinal issues which lie at the core of cosmology, are slower to change.

Some rituals are indigenous to Africa, such as the *phasa badimo* ritual, whilst other rituals such as contemporary funerals have developed as a result of Western influences. The important role that funerals play in society, indicates that new developments can become very powerful. This creates a sense of optimism, in that what does not yet exist, may become real. Thus, it could also be surmised that although a culture of active engagement in Western oriented economic activities may not yet exist in Bethanie, it may be a dormant potential that could be brought to fruition in the future. These currently dormant economic activities could, in terms of Neo-Marxist (Jaffee, 1986) theory, be linked to a phase of stagnation that could be followed by renewal and economic growth.

There are similarities between the marriage and funeral rituals. In funerals, the blueprint of society is played out and the community becomes re-invigorated. Through marriage families are established which also energise the community. In so far as the former is a traditional ritual, and the latter takes on a more contemporary form, it shows that the persistence of traditional ways does not exclude new developments. Furthermore, in so far as the traditional wedding rituals have incorporated Western influences, it shows that the new can be built on old structures and processes. This has important implications for bringing about changes in the community. It could imply the principle that the old should form the basis for the new. In other words, new economic principles must be built upon existing economic principles. This point is further examined in the following discussion:

The *ngwetsi* (bride) initiates changes in her husband's family, which are often resisted by the *mmatswale* (mother-in-law) and the *mogadibo* (sisters-in-law). In general, it can be observed in Bethanie that young, educated women often try to instigate changes in the village, but these initiatives are also often opposed. With regard to the *diphiri*, it was shown that the educated (teachers) also tried to initiate change, but this was defied by the community. This means that internal changes that are based on something that is brought in from outside the indigenous system, are not readily accepted and it is accordingly difficult to change the community. It seems that resistance is especially evoked when the new is based on individualistic values and if it does not make provision for collectivistic values. On a more general level, since communalism is central to African cosmology, it is also slower to change. One reason for resistance to change is that alternatives may evoke insecurity, to which people react by returning to their old ways.

However, there are also instances where aspects of Western culture were introduced without building it on what existed at the time. A previous chief in Bethanie, Lerothodi I (see paragraph 7.3.2), underwent his academic and religious schooling outside Bethanie, and then returned to Bethanie, where he had a major influence on educational and religious developments. The success in bringing about change might have been based on the fact that he was the chief, with power, and that masculine values thus also played a role. However, as was indicated in Chapter 7, the changes in belief system that he introduced, evoked considerable opposition and later led to the establishment of the Bakwena Lutheran Church and efforts to maintain the traditional culture. Luria (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) said that one should first change people's activities, which will then lead to a change in their thought patterns. In Russia, where Luria worked, this initially did not have a positive effect, and it only had a positive effect when the government enforced new activities - an action that was based on masculine values.

If one compares marriage and funeral rituals on the one hand, and the cultural change initiated by Lerothodi I on the other hand, it could mean that certain changes can be brought about by building the new on the old, but that other changes might require a more powerful intervention by an authority. Thus, not all changes can be brought about in the same way. Changes in belief systems appear to require that the new evolve from the old, whilst activation of dormant economic activities might require interventions based on masculine values. This is related to the view expressed elsewhere (see Chapter 9), that policies should be based on feminine values, but implementation should be based on masculine values.

The rituals also reflect how values and beliefs are made concrete. This, together with a temporality in which living is for the here and now, may imply that to be successful, developmental projects should render short-term practical outcomes, something that can be seen.

8.4 DIPHIRI

Diphiri literally means 'wolves'. The *diphiri* are gravediggers, who consist of both employed as well as unemployed men, but the majority is young men who are unemployed. The latter usually dig the graves on Friday mornings before the funerals that take place on Saturdays, while their employed peers are at work. There are also female *diphiri*, but they cook for the male gravediggers and are also responsible for weaving wreaths which are put on the grave and on the door frame of the bereaved house.

In Bethanie there are two groups of *diphiri*, which are divided by the river that separates Bethanie between the eastern side (generally referred to as Bethanie) and the western side of Bethanie (referred to as Moseja) (see the description in paragraph 7.1). The division between the *diphiri* occurred during the time of the uprising amongst the youths in the village in the early 1990's. The *diphiri* went to the *kgosi* and told him that they were no longer prepared to dig graves by hand, since the tribe had a tractor that could be used, and that they wanted to use more modern ways of digging the graves. Under severe pressure the chief gave them the tractor, although the *lekgotla* did not fully support this. The *diphiri* dug one grave with one of them driving the tractor. The driver then said he wanted some payment for his services, but the *diphiri* were unable to pay him and he thereafter refused to drive the tractor. After this, on subsequent occasions, the bereaved had to hire a tractor from a private company that was busy building a tarred road between Bethanie and Modikwe. When the contractors left, and they could no longer get hold of a tractor, pensioners came to the rescue by digging the graves. The *diphiri* felt ashamed and returned to digging the graves, but under the strict, aggressive supervision of a pensioner. In the course of these events, the *diphiri* from the two sections split, and those from the Moseja section formed a group under the leadership of a teacher; they collected money every month to hire a person to dig the graves, thus giving the activity a monetary connotation.

The events surrounding the *diphiri* described above, reflect some of the tension that can occur during development. It also reveals that development is sectional, and what occurs depends on the prevailing level of development of the setting. The people from the Moseja section are more progressive than the conservative Bethanie section, and they wanted to make use of modern ways of gravedigging. The *diphiri* thus reflect the level of social development in the two sections. The developments described above also reflect a movement from gravedigging as a communal activity, to an action where an individual is employed. This is related to changes in the value system as a result of Western influence. This incident also reflects how an historical event can leave a legacy for many years to come: the "split" between Moseja and Bethanie started in 1939/1940, at the time when the Bakwena Lutheran Church was established (see paragraph 7.3.2), and since then has influenced various aspects of life in Bethanie.

There are two fireplaces for cooking food for the people who attend a funeral - one fireplace for men and one for women. The men cook the meat and the women prepare the rest of the food. The *diphiri* have a special pot with special meat, i.e. the hindquarter of the slaughtered beast. Traditionally, people were allocated to serve as waiters, distributing food that had already been dished-up to the people who attended the funeral. Nowadays, people come to a table to have their food dished up. However, this does not apply to the *diphiri* and they retain the traditional way of

being served. They choose their own *skinker* (waiter), who distributes food to them; later a *skinker* also serves beer to the *diphiri*. Their meal consists of traditional porridge and meat.

The customs regarding the *diphiri* are resistant to change, and they exert pressure on members to retain the customs. Why do these conservative forces come to the fore in the context of life and death, as exemplified in funeral rites? It is possibly due to the intense emotions involved, as well as that it involves one of the essences of man's existence, namely that life is an existence towards death. Heidegger (1927/1962) refers to existence as a 'Zein zum Tode'. It seems that essential aspects of existence are more resistant to change.

At the same time, the above reflects a polarity between progressiveness and conservatism. The *diphiri* tried to initiate change in the method of digging a grave. This coincided with the 1994 uprising amongst the youth, which formed part of a broader wave of unrest in South Africa just prior to the country's transition to a democratically elected black government. The Moseja *diphiri*, led by teachers, opted for change whilst the Bethanie *diphiri*, who are lead by a pensioner, are conservative. This reflects an important aspect of development, namely that during development not all sections of a community, nor all aspects of an activity, change at the same time and at the same rate. Residues of the old co-exist with the new.

The above process can be described in terms of a dialectical progression, as described by Hegel (Sternberg, 1999). According to this view, a *thesis* leads to an *antithesis*, and the resolution between these two give rise to a *synthesis*. The latter then becomes a *thesis*, which again can be confronted with an antithesis, and so the process continues. In the context of the present study, this could be translated that a situation that has existed over time, becomes confronted with an alternative when the old situation is no longer able to address all relevant issues. From this conflict a new situation can develop. It appears that in the example of the *diphiri* a new *synthesis* has not developed yet, and this has resulted in tension. The resolution of the tension can occur either through returning to the old ways, or by further development.

For the latter to occur, the source of power must support the changes and make resources available. For example, if the *lekgotla* supports development, it will encourage further development. In terms of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, the *diphiri* could be regarded as a setting. According to Bronfenbrenner, development within a setting requires a relationship between that setting and the setting where power is located. In the present context, the link consisted of the *kgosana* (headman) of the *diphiri*, and the power setting consisted of the *lekgotla*. If this link is effective, the power setting can be persuaded to provide the required resources, and thus the setting can

change. In the present example, the *lekgotla* was hesitant to let go of traditional customs and the power setting thus did not give its full support to the changes. The important point here is that for development to occur, the power setting must endorse the changes.

8.5 BURIAL SOCIETIES

An examination of the burial societies in Bethanie reveals aspects of the social structure of the village. Members of ten burial societies in Bethanie were interviewed. It was found that these societies were mainly for women. All ten included women and six consisted only of young women. Most of the members of the societies were married women from outside Bokwena who married into families in Bethanie. The burial societies thus seem to serve the function of integrating the women into the community and to become accepted.

In Bethanie as a whole there are three societies that consist only of men. There is one society that is mainly for the grandchildren of the people who initially formed the society. Societies usually consist of 20 to 56 members, their membership is closed, and they are sectional - meaning that they are distributed spatially in different sections of the village.

The societies' main objective is to help with finances during a member's funeral. Most societies finance up to R1 500 of the costs of a funeral, but some societies contribute groceries, cattle, a coffin and transport. There is a joining fee and monthly instalments. Instalments range from R10 to R50 per month. Each member may register his family and about four relatives. People who are not relatives, such as boyfriends, are not recognised as members of a society. Almost all villagers belong to a society.

When a member causes problems within a society, the other members generally are tolerant of the person and try to correct his or her behaviour. This means that it provides caring and a sense of belongingness and security to people. The societies are also registered by the *lekgotla*, and if they cannot resolve internal conflicts, the latter are referred to the *lekgotla*.

Each burial society has its own hierarchy, consisting of a chairperson, treasurer and secretary. The societies hold meetings once a month, mostly on a Sunday. The venue of the meeting place rotates among members. At the meetings, aspects of the running of the society are attended to (e.g. financial reports) and it also serves as an opportunity for socialising.

All burial societies have their own uniform and during funerals, members can be clearly

distinguished by their attire. This structures the community into distinct groups with their own identities. Social categorisation serves to reduce the amount of information which people must deal with, and thereby reduces the complexity of the social world (Devine, 1995). The burial societies have taken over some of the roles that were previously performed by the *dikgoro* (clans or groups of families of common ancestry and common surnames) during funerals, and they thus seem to play a role in maintaining social structures and interactions between people. Generally, the norms of the larger society are incorporated in the societies, for example the recognition and respect given to married women in the same manner as the community recognises a married woman.

The burial societies have developed out of contact with Western culture, but have become part of Bakwena culture. This shows that through the interaction of two cultures, something that is new can be produced. To the extent that women play an important role in the burial societies and in the running of funerals, they can be regarded as agents of change, rejuvenating society. This resonates with their role of childbearing, which also rejuvenates society. This is a nurturing role and reflects feminine values which, according to Hofstede (1980), do not promote economic development. One also sees that in Bethanie women do not play a central role in progressive economic activities.

8.6 INTEGRATION AND CONCLUSION

8.6.1 COMMUNALISM AND FEMININE VALUES

There are various indications that collectivistic values play an important role in Bethanie. Of specific importance is the central role of the family in communal society, which is greatly structured around family clans (*dikgoro*) which, through their interaction, constitute society. In such a context, the identity of a person relates to one's position in the family. It is as if an individual exists through his or her family, and that the power of the individual is located in communal power, whilst the latter in turn depends on the former.

The rituals and other cultural aspects described in this chapter show the importance attached to feminine values that are aimed at the binding of families, protecting and looking after family members, and nurturing and maintaining society. This includes protecting the indigenous culture. *Botho*, which is a central value in Tswana culture, is also a feminine concept. It thus appears that Tswana culture is to a great extent feminine. This, however, does not mean that the culture is completely feminine, but that there is a strong tendency in this direction.

The prevalence of communalistic and feminine values have implications for economic development in the village. According to Hofstede's (1980) theory, communalistic and feminine cultures are less likely to show economic development.

8.6.2 THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Women play an important role as agents of change, thus rejuvenating society. This is a nurturing role and reflects feminine values which, according to Hofstede (1980), do not promote economic development. One also sees that in Bethanie women do not play a central role in progressive economic activities.

8.6.3 TIME

The indigenous experience of time entails a limited future perspective, and a present that is directed at maintaining the bonds with the past, rather than moving toward a future end state. This experience of time may work against the implementation of projects with a long-term future-orientation. Coupled to this, the rituals examined in this chapter show how values and beliefs are made concrete and this may imply that to be successful, developmental projects should render visible short-term practical outcomes.

The incorporation of the past in the present may also suggest that developmental projects should give recognition to cultural elements that have existed over past generations, and should thus fit in with the local culture. In a more general sense, to the extent that the blueprint of a society manifests in subsystems of the society, its characteristics must be considered in the planning and implementation of developmental projects. However, an established blueprint of a society is not absolutely fixed, but has the potential for change and renewal.

8.6.4 ACCULTURATION AND CHANGE

In Bethanie, diverse outcomes resulted from contact with Western culture. One outcome has been that some aspects of the existing culture were retained, but at the same time changes occurred to accommodate some of the characteristics of the new setting. This occurred through a process

of assimilating the new with the old, thereby creating new forms of cultural expression and this may be associated with directed efforts to establish a new identity. This incorporation of foreign influences shows that change can occur by building on old structures and processes. This is especially likely to occur when the relevant aspects of the two cultures are of a complementary nature. Such new developments can become very powerful can be conserved by the community.

The occurrence of such deep-rooted changes creates a sense of optimism, in that it indicates that what does not yet exist, may become real. Thus, it could also be surmised that although a culture of active engagement in Western oriented economic activities may not yet exist in Bethanie, it may be a dormant potential that could be brought to fruition in the future to bring about renewal and economic growth in the village.

The assimilation of the indigenous culture with Western culture has important implications for bringing about changes in the community. On the level of socio-economic development, this could imply that for such development to be effective, allowance must be made for prevailing thought patterns, belief systems and values, and that these cultural elements should form the basis for new developments. In other words, new economic principles must be built upon existing economic principles.

Although certain changes can be brought about by building the new on the old, there are also instances where aspects of Western culture were introduced in Bethanie without building it on what existed at the time. The success in bringing about such change appears to require that the decisions to bring about change should be based on feminine values, aimed at ensuring that society is maintained and nurtured, but that the practical implementation thereof must be based on masculine values. Thus, not all changes can be brought about in the same way. Since cardinal issues which lie at the core of cosmology are slower to transform, changes in belief systems appear to require that the new evolve from the old, whilst activation of dormant economic activities in material culture might require interventions based on masculine values.

In some instances an integration of the indigenous and Western cultures may not occur and various aspects of life in Bethanie portray a mixture of elements from African and Western culture. In these instances, there is a co-existence of traditional and modern values and behaviour patterns, and both traditional and Western customs are followed. This is done consecutively and interchangeably without becoming fully integrated. This forms part of a pattern in which things come into the native culture and change the local context, but at the same time still remaining part of the outside.

The persistence of traditional ways need not preclude new developments. What needs to be ensured, is that a project is valid in both the African and Western contexts. This relates to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) concept of multi-setting participation, which occurs when the same person engages in activities in more than one setting. Introducing something new into a native setting, such as introducing an economic developmental project, would in terms of this principle of multi-setting participation imply transition from one setting to another, but with concurrent participation in both settings. Thus, development need not imply breaking completely with one facet and adhering only to another. It in fact requires that both must be involved if development were to occur.

The influence of Western culture on the residents of Bethanie has not been uniform for all people. During development not all sections of a community change at the same time and at the same rate. As a result, sectors of the community are on different levels of development and on different levels of acculturation. The successful introduction of new developmental initiatives would require that the prevailing level of development of the setting must be taken into consideration.

In addition, some aspects of a culture are more susceptible to change than others. Since developmental projects involve multiple dimensions of the cultural, social, political and economic environment, it may occur that some facets of a developmental project require greater sensitivity for the traditional culture, whilst other facets could be more easily based on new principles.

If development leads to different sectors of a community being on different levels of development, it may cause tension. Furthermore, development may evoke opposition from the conservative forces in a community. Thus, sectors of a community may embrace projects that are introduced from outside, whilst other sectors might be resistant. It could also be that certain sectors accept particular aspects of what is being introduced, whilst other sectors show preference for different aspects of such projects. Divisions and conflict may result, which could hinder collaborative efforts. The risk for such divisions increase if all the people involved do not accept the change at communal level.

As was indicated above, some aspects of a culture are more persistent than others. In Bethanie, resistance is especially evoked if the change evokes insecurity, and if the new is based on individualistic values and does not make provision for collectivistic values. This can be illustrated with reference to the meaning of witchcraft:

Up until now, efforts to eradicate the belief in witchcraft in Bethanie have failed. The tenacity of this belief is similar to people retaining their language. There is a saying *Go o ete ka leleme*, which literally means that one does not visit directly with your language, i.e., one does not change your language when you go to another area. This relates to persistence of the indigenous culture, irrespective of acculturative influences.

This persistence of traditional beliefs, and thus resistance to change, becomes specifically clear during times of uncertainty. This uncertainty may stem from transitional periods in a person's own life circumstances, or from political and socio-economic changes. Contact with another culture can cause uncertainty and one solution to this is for people go back to where they started from, i.e., to their own culture.

Witchcraft often occurs during instances of interpersonal conflict and misunderstanding, such as conflict in the relationships between close family members or co-workers. Such disturbance of harmonious relationships pose a threat to communalistic co-existence and this leads to the conclusion that a threat to collectivistic values is associated with the evil of witchcraft. On a more general level, since communalism is central to African cosmology, it is also slower to change.

Communalism can also be disturbed through progress, which is often associated with individualistic values, and which makes one vulnerable to witchcraft. This may inhibit efforts to achieve and can contribute to stagnation and acceptance of the status quo. However, witchcraft is not only an external attribution, but can also lead to introspection and an internal attribution of the causes of one's misfortune. This implies taking personal responsibility and this could lead to change. The belief in *boloi* thus not only leads to stagnation but can also initiate change.

The information presented in the present chapter, further shows that changes that only affect sectors of the community are easier to implement, whereas changes that affect the whole community require endorsement by the community and thus become more difficult to implement.

Successful development also requires that the link between the community and the power setting must be effective, so that the latter can be persuaded to provide the required resources for the setting to change. The power setting must also endorse the changes that are envisioned.

CHAPTER 9

RESULTS: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter different aspects of the economic and social development in Bethanie will be described. The first topic that will be addressed is that of the permeability of a setting. This is important in development, since impermeable settings are less likely to show development. This will be followed by a discussion of the characteristics and actions of the unemployed in Bethanie. Discussing the latter is relevant in this chapter, since one way to address unemployment is through social and economic development. Following this, an overview is given of existing economic activities in Bethanie, which could provide insight into the values underlying these activities; it is also necessary to determine whether these activities could form a basis for further development. Thereafter, the chapter deals with the RDP projects in Bethanie, which were major recent developmental inputs in the village. Since Bethanie is linked to other systems, a discussion of economic activities in the areas surrounding Bethanie is also presented.

9.2 PERMEABILITY OF THE SETTING

Settings, which have impermeable boundaries, stagnate and ultimately cease to exist (Richardson, 1997). Permeability of a setting is thus important for socio-economic development. The permeability of Bethanie can be conceptualised in terms of social and geographic mobility, influences from outside on the village, and the impact of globalisation on the village. Social mobility has already been discussed in paragraph 7.11.2, and geographic mobility will be described in the following paragraph

9.2.1 GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

To determine to what extent the setting in Bethanie is closed or open, the Mogopa residential section that falls within the Moseja section in the village of Bethanie, was surveyed to examine migration from the village. The name Mogopa is derived from the name of the *kgoro*, and this

section is typical of other sections of the village. The kind of migration that was examined, was that of permanently leaving the area. Only the migration of males was investigated, because of the Tswana cultural views on the position of men and women in society. It is said that a woman's home is where she is married, whilst men are encouraged to go out of Bethanie to look for work. However, it is also expected that men must ultimately come home when they are old, or when they experience problems outside.

The Mogopa section consists of 41 houses. From these 41 families, 64 children (males) from their respective homes had remained in Bethanie, and 58 had migrated. Seven of these houses did not have any migration whereas in four families, all the members had left the area. It thus appears that there is a large-scale exodus of people from the section. To the extent that this section is representative of Bethanie, it implies that large numbers of males migrate from the village.

9.2.2 OUTSIDE INFLUENCES

The relationship between permeability and development was also discussed in paragraph 7.3.2 where it was indicated that the coming of the German missionaries to Bethanie initiated many developments in the village. Another important input into the community in its early history, occurred towards the end of the 19th Century when people from outside Bethanie were encouraged to settle in the village to help increase its population, especially the number of men in the village.

In contemporary times, important inputs into Bethanie included the development of the infrastructure in the village (e.g. roads and telecommunication), farming projects, the RDP projects in the village, the establishment of the vanadium mine, provision of health services, the education system, policing, and consumer products that are bought outside Bethanie and brought into the village. In spite of these developments, the village remained underdeveloped. The contact with the outside did not entail an influx of large numbers of people, especially skilled people who could contribute to local development, into the village. The links between the village and the broader environment also did not stimulate economic growth. This leads to the conclusion that although permeability is required for development, this is not the only requirement. Change cannot only come from the outside, and conditions in the setting itself should also be conducive to change. Furthermore, as was indicated in the preceding section, many people (who could potentially contribute to the village's development) leave Bethanie.

9.2.3 GLOBALISATION

Although Bethanie is a relatively small semi-rural area, it has not escaped the influence of global economic trends. This exposure occurs indirectly, mainly through the impact that global events have on the local mine that exports vanadium, and on the employment opportunities that exist for residents of Bethanie in surrounding towns and cities. The latter can be illustrated with reference to information that was obtained from residents of Bethanie who work in the Rosslyn industrial area to the northwest of Pretoria. Those companies in Rosslyn that export its products to the international markets have continued to provide employment opportunities and prosperity for their employees. The same does not happen to employees of other companies that have not followed the same route of exporting to the global market, and which have had to retrench some of its staff. Globalisation thus brought insecurity and unemployment on the one hand, but at the same time it also brought employment and individual social mobility to some people.

As would be expected, there is no immediate and direct link between Bethanie and the global economy. Participation in the global economy requires a capitalist economy, and some of the prerequisites for such an economy (McGeary & Michaels, 1998) are not met in Bethanie, thus reducing the chances that a viable economy could develop. This includes that privatisation in the full sense of the concept is not possible, since land is communal property and cannot be privatised. Decentralisation, which means that rural areas must be developed to the same level as the urban areas, also does not materialise in practice. In addition, the agricultural economy mainly consists of subsistence farming, and the area is not agriculturally self-sufficient. Previous agricultural projects such as sunflower farming have failed, and Bethanie has few products to export to participate in the larger market. Although there is ample land available that could be developed to produce export products, the development of a viable exporting agricultural economy would require large-scale “superfarming”, supported by high subsidies from the government. Another precondition for economic development is empowerment of women (McGeary & Michaels, 1998). Although women in the village are given the same opportunities as men to develop, e.g. attending school and studying after school, they still hold a subordinate position in the patriarchal society that prevails in Bethanie.

9.2.4 CONCLUSION

Bethanie does not appear to have impermeable boundaries. Residents have regular contact with the outside, especially through employment in surrounding towns and cities, and through

participation in the markets outside Bethanie. As was indicated in Chapter 7, some of the children also attend schools outside Bethanie. There have also been various initiatives, through which inputs were made into the village to stimulate social and economic development. In spite of this, the village has not experienced substantial development. Some of the reasons for this have already been indicated in Chapters 7 and 8, and additional reasons will become evident in the rest of the present chapter.

9.3 THE UNEMPLOYED

9.3.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

Seven unemployed people, who were not actively seeking employment, were interviewed. The following results were found:

- (a) Excluding one, all were from unstable families. By unstable families is meant things such as a woman not being married and already having children, one of the parents had passed away, the parents were separated, or the person was not living with his family but with a relative.
- (b) The persons interviewed already had problems before becoming unemployed. They were problematic at school or in their families where they had disciplinary problems, and there were conflicts and disagreement between the person and his family.
- (c) At the time of the interview, all the people had personal problems. This included moving all over the area, not being able to form and maintain close friendships, being aggressive, threatening family members with violence, or indulging in substance abuse (dagga, i.e., marijuana). Excluding one, all did not fit in with their families and they were the black sheep of their families.
- (d) Excluding one, their families disapproved of the fact that they were unemployed. They were regarded as *matlhalela*, i.e., those who do not want to look for a job.
- (e) Excluding one, all were from achieving families, i.e., families where the members either had some profession, or completed their matric, or were still busy studying.

- (f) Two of the unemployed who did not have matric, were prepared to work at the RDP projects which involved manual labour, but those with matric did not want to work on the RDP projects.
- (g) Two were not prepared to work anymore.
- (h) None of them had any particular skill such as carpentry, bricklaying, etc.
- (i) All felt that there were no job opportunities and that the community unfairly regarded them as lazy.
- (j) Two could work at their family businesses but their families did not want them to work there because of their unreliability.

The first conclusion from the above is that the unemployed had a history from school-going age of having problems in adjusting to society and to their families, and this was associated with a lack of a stable family. Their poor adjustment continued after they became unemployed, and was associated with rejection by their families and the community. Thus unemployment could be the result of a broader maladjustment of the particular person, and not necessarily the consequence of economic factors. In these instances, the unemployment appeared to be an individual problem, and not a community problem. However, the families and the community also carry some responsibility because although they do not accept the unemployed, their friends and family continued to give them support for food, liquor, cigarettes and other commodities and allowed them to participate in rituals such as marriages, funerals, etc.

A second significant aspect is that some of the unemployed either did not want to seek work, or were not prepared to do work that was available. They also seemed not to take responsibility for their unemployment, and attributed their situation to lack of external opportunities.

The absence of marketable skills amongst the unemployed who were interviewed, has also been observed in other contexts. In one study, it was found that 87% of the unemployed were unskilled (RDP Monitor, 1995b).

9.3.2 EMPLOYMENT ON THE VANADIUM MINE

One of the opportunities for the residents of Bethanie to get employment, is at the vanadium mine which is situated 8km. outside the village. In the following paragraphs, job seekers at the mine will be discussed. These people should be contrasted with the seven people referred to above, who did not try to get a job. Job seekers often walk the 16 kilometres per day to and from the mine and often wait at the mine the whole day without food, sitting in the sun, thus showing their motivation to find a job.

In January 1998 about 500 job seekers gathered at the *lekgotla* to submit their grievances about the local mine's way of hiring people. The mine gave preference to hiring people from Bethanie, but if there were no suitable people, they hired people from outside the Bakwena area, which included neighbouring countries. The job seekers wanted all the employed immigrants to be dismissed, and local people to fill the vacancies thus created. The job seekers established a committee, which put pressure on the *lekgotla* to ensure that the contract the mine had with the chief was adhered to, especially with regard to the percentage of local people which should be hired by the mine.

A meeting was arranged, which was attended by mine officials, the committee representing the job seekers and the chief. During this meeting it was agreed that about 30 people would be considered for employment, but the following day the agreement was not honoured by the mine. The committee then made a list of their demands, which they wanted to be met by the following Monday.

On that Monday the job seekers went to the mine. The mine called in police assistance, and the police loaded these job seekers in their vans and took them to the *lekgotla*. Here they met the chief, and an arrangement was made for the chief and the committee to see the mine officials. At the subsequent meeting, the representatives of the mine said it was not their responsibility to look after the unemployed, and that they should ask the *lekgotla* to help them. The *lekgotla*, however, also were of the opinion that getting employment for the people was not their responsibility.

Afterwards, the hiring system on the mine was changed. The responsibility to hire people was left to the committee that was established by the job seekers. They hired people on a 'first come, first served' basis, both for permanent and temporary jobs. This arrangement came to an end when, during the absence of the leader of the committee, another person took over the leadership and

he instigated the unemployed to conduct a demonstration at the mine against the personnel officer who did not want to hire temporary people. The hiring of people was then transferred back to the mine management again, and the committee did not take any further steps to become involved in hiring people.

9.3.3 CONCLUSION

The actions of the job seekers show that members of a community can take action to alleviate unemployment, and that they can go to great lengths to try and improve their situation. The community expects large companies, such as the mine, to look after their interests, and they also feel that local structures (such as the *lekgotla*) should assist them. Hofstede (1980) made a similar observation, namely that in communal societies people expect big companies to look after their interests. A similar trend was discussed above (see paragraph 7.11.1), with reference to parents' expectations that the school should take responsibility for their children's well-being. However, the mine and the *lekgotla* did not regard this as their responsibility. Thus, those who had power and those who did not have power differed in their views, and there was thus an inadequate linkage between the community and the power base. This is similar to the finding (see paragraphs 7.4 and 7.7) that the linkage between Bethanie and the government is unsatisfactory. One of the main reasons for the poor link between the villagers and both the mine and the government relates to differences in expectations (which are based on values). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), an adequate linkage between those in power and the community is required to encourage development.

The unemployed failed to get the *lekgotla* and the mine to help them. They tried to organise the hiring themselves, but this also failed. After this, there were no structures left for the people themselves, through which they could address their problem, and they did not seem to know how to solve the problem. A kind of collective helplessness seemed to have developed from this. On an individual level, learned helplessness refers to a passive condition in which people fail to take action which would improve their situation, even when such actions are easily identifiable (Sheridan & Radmacher, 1992). This occurs when people's previous experiences had taught them that any action that they take would be futile. This means that they believe that nothing they do would be of any use, even if circumstances change and their actions could be effective. This is associated with a sense of lack of control, and people tend to become passive and apathetic when they experience such a lack of control.

On a collective level one can see a similar process amongst the youth, who have given up looking for jobs because they have come to believe that it will be of no avail. However, there is some cyclical pattern in Bethanie in this regard. Since June 1999 people have again grouped themselves to act as a collective to get work on the mine. Acting as a group, the dynamics change in that the individual does not feel personally responsible for finding a job, but in a group context the pressure is on the group to resolve the problem.

9.4 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN BETHANIE

In the following paragraphs, an overview is given of economic activities in Bethanie, with the view to investigate to what extent these activities could provide employment, and form a basis for further development.

9.4.1 OVERVIEW OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The following economic activities occur in Bethanie:

9.4.1.1 Manufacturing of domestic products

In previous times, people made soap from the fat of pigs. Polish was made from *mokhura*, a plant that has thorns on it and that clings to people or animals passing it. Iron used to be melted in Barolong for use as assegais (spears), ploughs, axes, etc. Candle wax was mixed with paraffin, boiled and used as floor polish and also as an ointment. These activities have now all come to an end, except for preparing candle wax as polish. The products that were previously made locally are now bought elsewhere. The easy availability and better quality of the Western products contributed to this change. The implication is that westernisation and modernisation lead to a decline in the local manufacturing of products. It is associated with a lack of a sense of allegiance (loyalty, pride, respect) to one's cultural heritage.

9.4.1.2 Transport industry

This includes the following:

- Transporting building sand, using lorries or tractors with trailers.
- Donkeys are bred for transport purposes, for example to transport water and firewood, or to collect commodities such as cement from shops. This is still commonly practised and it generates an income for the owners of the donkeys. The introduction of a water system and electricity in the village (see paragraph 9.5) is likely to bring about a decline in breeding donkeys, since it will no longer be necessary to transport water and firewood.
- There are three thriving taxi associations in Bethanie. One association, owned by local people, operates between Bethanie and Brits and locally in Bethanie itself. There is also a taxi association operating between Brits and Johannesburg (some of the owners are from Bethanie, but there are also owners from other areas such as Brits and Jericho). There is a third group that operates from Modikwe and Barseba to Brits, but this is run by people from Modikwe and Barseba, as well as people from Lethlabile (a village about 20km northwest of Brits). The taxis have their own set of rules that determines the fare, the business hours and the behaviour of the taxi drivers, as well as how the owners should treat the passengers and their drivers.

There is conflict between the first and third groups referred to above about routes and this has led to violent incidents. This conflict involves the value of competition, i.e., the competition between the groups for control over the functional area and a readiness to protect one's physical area. This is contradictory to a communal system, where competition is unlikely to occur – for example in crop farming there is no direct competition between farmers; instead, people would rather encourage more people to farm, so that they can co-operate and solve problems together. Hofstede (1980) says that in communal value systems, people do not accept competition.

Competition is prone to give rise to negative attitudes towards competitors, especially if these competitors belong to an out-group. The taxi violence that occurred was mostly between the group that consisted of local people, and the group that included owners from outside. In addition, one of the taxi owners was accused of not treating his passengers well, and that he once took the passengers from another group. Another owner who was killed, was said to be aggressive towards his fellow members in the taxi association. A common theme in the violence directed at the taxi owners, was that they maintained poor relationships with others, and transgressed the norm of respect for other people, which was also evident in their family lives where they all had marital problems, being separated from

their families.

In summary, the taxi conflict seemed to have involved three dimensions, namely competition for scarce resources, preference for members of the in-group, and maintaining harmonious relationships. According to Realistic Conflict Theory (Duckitt, 1992) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), competition for scarce resources often forms the basis for conflict and negative attitudes towards an outgroup. It can also give rise to social categorisation and the latter in turn leads to giving preference to in-group members in the allocation of resources. Maintaining harmonious relationships forms part of a collectivistic value system, which is a cornerstone of the values in Bethanie.

9.4.1.3 Businesses recognised by the *lekgotla*

In return for paying a fee to the *lekgotla*, the latter recognises four privately run crèches and brick-making small industries in the village. The latter is labour-intensive, thus providing employment for local residents.

9.4.1.4 Small industries

There are a number of small industries that are run from people's private homes, including:

- **Backyard motor mechanics:** There are four motor mechanics in Bethanie. It is interesting to note that none of these people want to do more business than the others. They often discuss amongst themselves how to repair cars, asking each other for advice.
- **Builders:** The builders mainly build houses and outside toilets (long drops). The government encourages the development of the building industry, as part of black empowerment. One way to achieve this, is through forming closed corporations, but efforts in this regard have not been successful in Bethanie. The reason for this failure is that the individuals who started the businesses were not interested to form a corporation, since they did not have confidence in the concept.
- **Welding:** there are five welders in the village.
- **Electricity repairs:** three people do electrical repairs from home; one of them is a trained electrician and the other two hold no formal qualifications.
- **Shoemakers,** who are mostly involved in repairing shoes.

- Tailoring: these businesses are run from people's houses, e.g. to repair worn-out trousers, making overalls, making dresses for ceremonies such as weddings, etc.

Overall it appears that these small industries currently provide limited employment opportunities for the villagers. They nevertheless provide work and an income to their owners, and in so far as they provide in local needs, they are a resource in the community.

9.4.1.5 Trading

This includes:

- Selling vegetables that are bought from white farmers and sold in the village. The vendors agree amongst themselves about how much to charge for the vegetables. The residents tend not to change from one vendor to another, since one is expected to always buy from the same person - thus there is some responsibility on the side of the customer to remain loyal.

The government encourages the development of small plots, where people can grow vegetables that they can then sell, and allocates money for such developments. This has, however, not materialised in Bethanie. A likely reason for this is that it is more cost-effective to buy products from large-scale farmers and then sell it, than to grow the vegetables oneself.

In previous years, the villagers grew drought resistant crops such as mealies and *dinawa* (a particular type of bean). Traditionally people also used *morogo*, a kind of vegetable that can be dried and stored. The reason why drought resistant crops were planted, is that the people do not have the knowledge or resources to develop irrigated lands. In addition, they also show resistance to efforts by the government to stimulate irrigated farming. This resistance forms part of a general trend in Bethanie, namely that people do not want to do anything new that is initiated from outside the village because they are suspicious about possible ulterior motives and because they do not want to take the risk. (It is possible that if more people complete education such as at agricultural colleges, their way of thinking might change and they might then become involved in this kind of farming).

- Spaza shops: these are small retailing businesses run by a family, where commodities such as vegetables, bread, cold-drinks, liquor and groceries are sold from the people's homes. It seems that the owners of these shops do not want to expand. Different owners discuss amongst themselves what the prices of commodities are so that they do not come into competition with each other.
- Shebeens and taverns: shebeens are entertainment centres where liquor is sold. Running a shebeen clashes with moral principles, and it is not generally accepted by the community. The difference between a shebeen and a tavern appears to be related to whom the person is that owns it, and the age group that goes to these places. Shebeens are run by women, and elderly people go to the shebeens. Taverns are run by men and are mostly frequented by younger people. There are two registered taverns and two unregistered taverns in Bethanie. They do not compete with each other - liquor is sold at the same price in all of them.
- Shop ownership: there are twelve shops of various sizes in Bethanie, and the products they sell range from groceries to building materials. These shops include supermarkets, butcheries and bottle stores. People from the village are employed as cashiers, or doing ordinary labour duties such as cleaning, packing, etc. These are micro-economic activities. They do not appear to be very sustainable, because when the owner dies the shop usually also closes down. There is some competition between the shops, in that shop owners try to attract customers by selling at lower prices than their competitors. Even if the shop owners are faced with a common problem, such as armed robberies or burglaries, there is no communal effort to solve it.

The government tries to encourage these types of businesses, by giving loans, advice and protection (the latter involves that licences are only given to those whom the government believes would be able to run the business successfully).

- There is one resident of the village that sells electric units. These are prepaid electric unit cards that are used for domestic electric consumption.
- There is one filling station in Bethanie, only selling petrol and not repairing cars.

Overall, it appears that in some instances traders avoid competition with fellow businessmen, but amongst the shop owners who have licensed businesses, there is competition. There is also

resistance against government initiatives to stimulate agricultural development.

9.4.1.6 Farming

Farming divides into subsistence farming and large-scale farming:

- Subsistence farming involves small-scale farming to provide for the needs of a family, and in Bethanie this is done mostly by elderly people. It does not seem as if this kind of farming can be developed into large-scale farming. The people involved in it do not want to expand on it, most probably because the income that could potentially be generated from it would not be sufficient to sustain a family. The value implicit in this is uncertainty avoidance, in that people feel safer to continue with their existing way of earning a livelihood (such as working in the cities), instead of taking the risk of engaging in a new kind of economic activity.

One important aspect of subsistence farming, involves cattle farming – this is discussed extensively elsewhere (see paragraph 9.4.3.1). In addition to cattle farming, goat farming is also common in Bethanie, but there are specific problems associated with it. If the goats are kept in the veld, away from the village, they are likely to become prey to jackals and baboons that kill the goats. At the present time, goat farming is not a viable economic activity, in the sense that it is kept for village consumption only and not for commercial purposes. Goats' meat is not favoured. The government provides subsidies for improvement of stock, but this is not utilised by the community. There is, however, scope to develop it into a commercial activity, since the meat is in demand from the Indian community. Goat's milk can also be used for babies and in primary health care the use of goat's milk is encouraged.

Goats have social value. Amongst the Batswana goats may be slaughtered for the *badimo* in sacrificial rituals (sheep are mostly slaughtered in the church as religious sacrifices). Furthermore, the meaning attached to goats is expressed in the saying *o tlhoka pudi ya leleme le le tala* (don't have a blue tongued goat, meaning that one is so poor, that one does not even have a goat). This saying is also used to refer to a person who does not have responsibilities: a goat is easy to raise, and if one does not even have that, you are not capable of carrying responsibilities.

Some years ago, pig farming was encouraged by the Lutheran Church in the Bakwena area. It was used during rituals of confirmation in the Lutheran Church. Pork was also generally eaten, and the fat was used to make soap. However, due to the influence of the Apostolic churches, which do not allow people to eat pork, the use of pigs during confirmation has disappeared. This church also influenced non-members not to eat pork. (The Apostolic churches do not have confirmation rituals, and their members often join the Bakwena Lutheran church to get confirmed, and subsequently return to the Apostolic church). As a result of the disappearance of the use of pigs in church ceremonies and the spread of the custom not to eat pork, subsistence pig farming has declined and there are only isolated instances where people keep pigs for consumption.

Chicken farming is also done on a subsistence basis. This, however, has also declined and there is a tendency for people to rather buy eggs and chicken meat. Similar to pig farming, there is thus also a decline in economic activities in this field. One reason is that when chickens jump the fence into a neighbour's yard, it causes problems between families. There is a similar problem with goat farming. If they jump fences and damage gardens and the malt that is used for sour porridge (which is left outside the house), it causes conflict between families, and this has contributed to the decline in goat farming. In prior times, chickens and goats also walked into other people's yard, but the yards were not so individualised as they are today. Initially, when families started having their own smaller private yards, the onus was on both parties to solve the problem, and the person whose property was damaged was also held responsible for making his yard more secure. In other words, both parties were responsible to deal with the matter. Nowadays, the *lekgotla* no longer emphasises mutual responsibility, and is more inclined to be on the side of the party that is wronged. It thus entails a move away from communal or mutual responsibility, towards individual responsibility. It thus seems that the change from a communal to an individual value system has played a role in the decline in economic activity. In Chapter 4 it was indicated that individualism does not necessarily guarantee continued economic growth and that it could be possible that economic growth after stagnation could be dependent on collectivism instead of individualism. However, it must be borne in mind that economic growth does not only depend on one value, such as individualism and collectivism. Other aspects also play a role, such as available resources, the linkages between settings, religious beliefs, the work ethic and other factors.

The overall picture is that apart from cattle farming, other small-scale livestock farming in Bethanie is on the decline, and people tend to move towards buying products from

elsewhere. This places a strain on their income, and it increases their dependence on the providers of products. It also reflects a lack of initiative to cater for their basic needs through their own efforts. It thus appears that instead of Bethanie being economically effective, it is declining, which in turn will affect the state of unemployment.

- Large-scale, commercial agricultural farming relates to farmers who have large areas to cultivate and who have access to the necessary resources such as farming implements. Such commercial farming has not been successful in Bethanie. Likely reasons for this are the absence of adequate human and material resources, and that people might feel insecure about their success if they were to get involved in such projects. Another contributing factor to its failure could be that commercial farming is not part of the indigenous culture, but is derived from Western culture. This can be explained as follows:

The Bakwena Ba Mogopa Co-operative was a governmental agricultural project that was part of the developmental initiatives of the former Bophuthatswana government. Through this project local people were provided with land, equipment, fuel and seed. The Co-operative's members were villagers from Bethanie and the surrounding villages, but only 38 farmers were chosen by the *lekgotla* through tribal resolutions to participate in the project. It thus did not make provision for all the farmers from the village. People were reluctant to join the project because they were not sure whether they would succeed or not, and because it took land from the villagers and as a result the community as a whole did not have sufficient land to plough. Not having land to plough, involves more than only one's economic activity. It also affects one's standing in the community: when one gets married, you get a piece of land to build your own house, and a piece of land to plough. The project took away the possibility to obtain land to plough and the people continued to regard the land used in the project as their land. The villagers thus did not identify with the project, and they perceived the Co-operative as belonging to the government, and not to them.

9.4.1.7 Short-term and formal employment

This includes the following:

- At times there are short-term projects in the village that provide employment opportunities, such as projects for road building, water supply, and electricity supply. These projects are called *lelamola leuba*, which means 'to get rid of poverty.'

- Some of the villagers find employment on white-owned farms in the area.
- A number of people are employed by the government, such as teachers, nurses, policemen and postal workers.
- The biggest employer in Bethanie is a vanadium mine situated about 8km from the village. Approximately 500 people work on the mine and about 80% of them are from Bethanie, Modikwe, Barseba and Selotsha.
- Many people work outside Bethanie, for example in the nearby towns or the bigger cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria. Some travel on daily basis to their place of employment, whereas others have accommodation in the cities. In the latter instance, the person might either have his own house, or he could be living with friends or relatives.
- Some people work as household helpers, such as cleaning yards (which is mainly done by immigrants from Mozambique), washing clothes and cleaning houses.

9.4.2 INTERPRETATION

Taking the above into account, the following categories of economic activities can be distinguished:

- Subsistence economic activities.
- Micro-economic activities.
- Being employed, either in a position requiring special training or education (such as nursing, teaching or being in the police), performing unskilled labour, or being self-employed.

The subsistence activities are based on the society's blueprint, with which the community is familiar. Subsistence farming persists as an economic activity, since it satisfies the basic needs of the people. However, factors outside the setting such as easy access to products from neighbouring white farms, appear to lead to a decline in subsistence farming. A decline in subsistence farming could create an opportunity for an evolutionary development in which commercial farming could evolve from subsistence farming. Such a development would, however, require that the economic settings outside Bethanie take some responsibility to promote development in the village. An analogy to this is *go tshwaelo*, where a person who looks after one's

cattle is given a calf as reward, and as his herd increases, he is later expected to look after a poor person again (see below). In terms of the present discussion, the thought pattern underlying *go tshwaelo* means that the outside setting should assist the people in the village, for example by becoming involved in its economic development. An example of this occurred when white farmers ploughed the lands for the people in Bethanie at a reduced price. Another example would be if markets could be developed for products (such as sunflowers) that are grown in Bethanie. Such an approach would require that development be regarded as a matter that should be dealt with at a regional level, and that those in power should take responsibility to help those without power. Underlying this are feminine values. (The extent to which subsistence agricultural farming could be developed into successful commercial agricultural farming, is further discussed in paragraph 9.4.4 below)

Running a business is not part of the society's blueprint, and yet some of the businesses, especially small-scale businesses, have proved to be successful. This means that correspondence of new economic activities with the existing blueprint is not a precondition for success. However, some of the projects (especially large-scale commercial farming) have failed. One of the reasons for this could be a lack of knowledge and skills to manage a larger-scale business. Another reason could involve a value dimension. According to Hofstede (1980), masculine and individualistic values bring about economic growth, whereas feminine and collectivistic values do not stimulate growth. It is possible that the value system in Bethanie could contribute to economic stagnation, and this needs to be discussed in greater detail:

A theme in many of the economic activities described above, is that of a rejection of competition and individualism, and endorsement of feminine and collectivistic values. An analogy that can be used to understand the lack of competition, is the custom of *letsema* (see paragraph 7.6) which involves that people should not compete with each other, but assist each other. The individual benefits from the communal involvement, and he is, in turn, expected to contribute to the group.

The profit driven enterprises (commercial farming, shop ownership, the taxi industry, etc.) require individualism, competitiveness and aggression to be successful. Many of the economic activities in Bethanie appear to be based on individualistic values, but they occur in a communal society. The nature of individualism in a communal system thus needs to be clarified. It seems as if the concepts of individual competition and aggression, as used by Hofstede (1980) are foreign to the people of Bethanie. The Batswana have a proverb, *o se bone nong go rakalala godimo, go ya tlase ke ga yone* (you don't see a bird floating up there, it must come down); another proverb is *nonyane e theiwa fa gatshe* (a bird is trapped on the ground). This means that if people are above other

people, they will always fall down, especially if one is richer than others are. People don't like it if someone is more progressive than they are. If one is successful, you are expected to assist other people to reach success, so that if you are in trouble, people will come and help you. This implies that one's individual prosperity must also serve the common good. This is expressed in the saying, *moenyana pele lebone lagaabo* (the first visitor is the light for his relatives). It means that when the need arises, one has to help others; for example, if one goes to an urban area, one is expected to help other people from your village or to assist if someone from home visits you in the cities. Overall it seems that individual prosperity and social mobility can occur in a communal society, but when it does not contribute towards the community, is not accepted. Opportunities must also not be only for the individual, but for all people – in essence, the individual benefits from opportunities, but it must not only be there for him, but for others as well. Similarly, the community also regards big companies as being there for the community – although the latter may not interpret it the same way.

The foregoing means that individualism and communalism are not opposite poles on a continuum. They are two different values that can occur together, the one being nestled in the other, and the relationship between them is recursive. This leads to the conclusion that development can occur in either an individualistic or a communalistic context, provided both individualism and communalism are involved. Development can be directed at the individual, provided that the community will benefit from it; or it can be directed at communal interests, provided the individual will benefit.

In Bethanie there are both individual projects such as crop farming, and communal activities such as grazing. Similarly, there is a combination of both values in that the ground in the village belongs to the chief, but the house which is built on it belongs to the individual.

One of the reasons why some of the developmental projects in Bethanie that were initiated by the government were not successful, is that the recursive relationship between individualism and communalism was not understood. The approach of the government was that people should work together on a programme as a group. This is different from the traditional African system where people would work together, but the work is for the benefit of the individual. The implication of this is that the government should base its development principles on local value systems and selectively apply either individual or communalistic principles depending on the characteristics of the particular community.

9.4.3 FARMING

9.4.3.1 Cattle Farming

In the traditional African context, people farm with cattle as part of their subsistence economy, and also for the social value attached to it. In the following paragraphs, cattle farming is discussed from two perspectives: (a) the traditional meanings attached to cattle; and (b) cattle as an economic resource that could be used to stimulate economic growth and employment, taking the African value system and ways of farming into consideration.

Cattle have important symbolic meaning. This is associated to the value that is attached to cattle. There is a saying *Kgomo ke modimo wa nko e metsi wa bana le yona wa thloka boroko wa e tlhoka wa tlhoka boroko* (a cow is a god with a wet nose; if you possess one, you always have problems; if you do not possess one, you also always have problems). The implication is that one must always have cattle, but one must also know you will have problems possessing them.

There are various ways in which the importance of cattle is emphasised, including using cattle during negotiations for *magadi* (bridewealth), slaughtering an animal as a ritual sacrifice to the ancestors, and using cattle to express care for others:

In the negotiations for *magadi* the parents of the bride indicate how many cattle they want. This is then translated into monetary terms, and money is paid to the bride's family. If the prospective groom does not have money, people say "one or many cattle marry a wife" - meaning that it is still acceptable.

Old people liked to have cattle, so that they could be buried properly and also so that they could have cattle to slaughter to perform the proper rituals. In contemporary form, some burial societies also make a cow available for rituals during a funeral. When slaughtering a cow, the *setlhana* (i.e., tender meat from the animal's hindquarter) is given to the *rakgadi* (father's sister). It is a tender part of the body, and this implies that one must look after one's *rakgadi*, because she can become very troublesome and bring bad luck if she is annoyed. It is believed that if you don't look after your *rakgadi*, you get wrinkles on your thighs ('*swaba dirope*'); since people do not normally get wrinkles on their thighs, this means that she brings something negative onto you. The division of meat differs according to the ritual that is performed; for example, at a funeral the *rakgadi* does not get the *setlhana*; at such occasions, one hindquarter is given to the *diphiri*, i.e., the gravediggers.

The *malome* always gets the head of the animal. The *rakgadi* and *malome* must *rufa*, i.e., they must pay for the meat they get, and they then take the meat home where they perform the required rituals, either the same day or the following day. These rituals are performed to maintain the social structure, i.e., the family and through the latter the bigger society. The *rakgadi* and *malome* can keep the family bond for two generations, i.e., for the duration of their own generation, and the duration of the first generation of their descendants. For example, if a *malome* dies, the rituals he normally performed are taken over by his children, but this comes to the end when his last child dies. This confirms Durkheim's (in Hunt, 1988) theory that rituals strengthen society and promote continuity.

In the traditional economic system, cattle are also used to express care for others. If a child is born out of wedlock, the biological father must give the mother a cow, so that the child "will always have something to eat". Mutual caring and wealth distribution takes the form of *go tshwaela* (to give one's own mark) - it involves taking care of poorer people in the community. One would ask poor people to look after some of one's cattle (so that they could use it) and the herd boy is given a calf that will eventually make its own kraal. Thereafter the herd boy would hire his own herd boy and the cycle is repeated. In this way, wealth is distributed. The herd boy is nowadays often paid in money and thus need not be given a calf. Although this practice has changed in contemporary society, it still prevails in cases where people in a family help each other.

The terms used for the colour of the cattle give symbolic expression to the gender differentiation of society. Different colour names are used for male and female animals. *Ntsho* is used for black when referring to male animals, and *tshwaana* is a female black colour. *Phatswa*, when used to denote males, refers to black and white, and *phatshwana* is used to refer to black and white for females. This is the only instance where males and females are differentiated in terms of colour, but in view of the important role that cattle play, it symbolises the significance in society to distinguish clearly between male and female.

Black farmers tend to keep large herds of cattle because of the value attached to cattle and the status it provides to the person. Large herds of cattle are associated with a great deal of wealth but according to Lenta and Maasdorp (1988), this is not economically viable and does not lead to economic growth. Continuous growth of cattle farming is not possible since other economic activities may reduce common land available for grazing (Cross & Hainess, 1988).

Cattle farming is also done in a supplementary fashion, in addition to the person's main job. Thus, a person could work in the city and at the same time have a herd of cattle at home. It thus serves

a supplementary income, and in this manner it makes an economic contribution.

In Bethanie, the previous Bophuthatswana government tried to improve cattle farming by dividing the communal grazing area into smaller camps, and allocating these camps to a selected small number of individuals. This was based on developing individual persons, and individuals benefited from it. During the riots which occurred in Bethanie in 1994 (see paragraph 7.3.4), these projects were targeted and destroyed, because they were associated with the previous government. The association between these projects and the government could be interpreted in terms of Durkheim's (Hunt, 1988) theory, which states that during dedifferentiation, all things that remind of the previous government should be destroyed. Dedifferentiation is related to Hofstede's (1980) view that the less powerful tend to reduce the distance between them and the more powerful. The destruction of the cattle farming project could also be interpreted in terms of relative deprivation (Appelgryn, 1991), in that the majority of the people in the community saw themselves as lagging behind compared to those few people who were involved in the project. Collectivistic values also played a role: the people said that the camps should have been allocated to everybody and after the riots, the farmers who did not previously participate in the project, brought their cattle into the project, saying they all have rights, it is not only for the individual.

What happened in the cattle farming project, was that certain individuals benefited, whilst other members of the community did not gain anything from it. This can be further illustrated as follows: In Bethanie, there are plots of land allocated to individuals for cultivation. Although this may appear to be individualistic, every person is entitled to be allocated such a plot when he gets married. All people thus have access to individual resources (i.e., plots of land). In view of this, development projects should be aimed at benefiting the individual, but at the same time the whole village must benefit from it.

In summary, the above discussion shows that cattle carry significant meanings in establishing relationships between people and in structuring society, and in defining a person's position in society. Perhaps because of these deep-rooted meanings, it is an enduring economic activity and it could be extended into viable commercial farming, but projects to encourage this should be based on indigenous values and customs.

9.4.3.2 Crop farming

In Africa subsistence agricultural farming is an important economic activity. However, according

to Cross and Hainess (1988), land tenure amongst South African blacks places considerable obstacles in the way of agricultural development; there are too many people on the land and the farms are too small to produce an adequate income. Since this makes subsistence farming not a viable commercial activity, farming is often done by women, whilst the men become part-time farmers who are employed elsewhere to earn money. This is a similar pattern as described above with reference to cattle farming.

There are two possible avenues to follow with regard to crop farming, namely individual farming on individual land (which is either rented or privately owned), or individual farming on communal land. For individual farming on communal land to be profitable would require reform in the allocation of land. In Bethanie adjacent plots of communal land are allocated to different people for their individual cultivation. However, these plots are too small for commercial farming, and farmers would require bigger lands for profitable farming. With the introduction of the Agrico project in Bethanie, which focussed on individual farming, plots of land were given to individual farmers. This entailed that communal land was taken away and hired out to only a few people. This created a system of individual farming on individually hired land. Individual farming on individually owned land would require registration of land and obtaining title deeds. Such registration is necessary in a Western economic system, since in order to obtain loans, one must be able to provide surety (Cross & Hainess, 1988).

There are two possible ways to change agricultural patterns and to create job opportunities that can alleviate unemployment, i.e. developmental and revolutionary:

- *Developmental*. This implies that the existing system is taken as point of departure, and then further developed. It means that subsistence farming should be done in such a manner that, whereas at first it meets the immediate needs of the people, it later increases production, and excess produce can be sold. This has the advantage that the old is not destroyed but used as a basis to build on. This makes the people more secure, because they know what they are doing. There is, however, no adequate example where this has worked. In fact, in the *Ujaama* project in Tanzania (RDP Monitor, 1995b), it was not possible to implement this.
- *Revolutionary*. This means that new approaches to farming are brought into the community from outside. This would require that the previous order is replaced with a new blueprint, in terms of which people become involved in new activities. This, in turn, can change the way people think and thus growth and development can be encouraged (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

However, one doesn't know in advance if the new pattern of thinking will be effective. Revolutionary change destroys the existing structure and replaces it with a new structure, but the latter can either be creative or non-creative. If it is creative, it can be beneficial but if it is non-creative, it does not stimulate growth. The black government that came to power in South Africa in 1994, in spite of wanting to help black farmers, does not seem to live up to support of black farmers in Bethanie. Since the year before the 1994 election, farmers are no longer subsidised for diesel, and the activities of institutions that used to help black farmers (Agrico and Agribank) have been suspended. The farms belonging to the central government and to the former Bophuthatswana government were reallocated to black farmers, but the latter were given no further assistance. Limited access to loans, equipment, training and other resources contributes to a lack of progress amongst black farmers.

Another reason for the failure of black farming in Bethanie is that the village is situated in an arid, dry area. Traditionally, this led to the development of indigenous farming methods which suited the environment. These traditional methods were not applicable to farming based on Western principles, and the people in the community accepted that their methods were "wrong". Thus they did not develop their methods of farming and they tried to copy the Western methods, which failed because they were not suited to the environment.

As was indicated in Chapter 5, employment in commercial agricultural farming shows a world-wide decline. In Bethanie the situation is even worse. Whereas commercial farming declined in developed countries, in Bethanie there has never been any success in large-scale agricultural farming, and even subsistence farming is declining. The introduction of sophisticated technology cannot at present alleviate the problem, since people will not be able to afford it, nor do they have the knowledge and skills to utilise it. The implication of this would be that agricultural farming is not a strong option to counter unemployment.

9.4.4 CONCLUSION

Economic activities in Bethanie are individual in nature in the sense that the individual is responsible for his/her economic activities. This reflects the *letsema* principle: although the individual is in the community, he is personally responsible for engaging in economic activities. For example, grazing might be communal, but the individual is responsible for acquiring cattle. Land ownership is communal, for example, a person who owns a shop does not own the land where his shop is, but he is responsible for the land. The same applies to other economic activities.

The current economic activities in Bethanie are not viable enough to stimulate sufficient growth to resolve the unemployment problem in the village. There appears to be growing dependence on the providers of products outside Bethanie, and a lack of initiative among the residents of the village to cater for basic needs through their own efforts. It thus appears that instead of Bethanie being economically effective, the economy is declining.

Two major activities, namely mining and farming, seem to hold the potential for sustainable economic growth. The future of the mining industry depends greatly on the vanadium resources that are available, and macro-economic processes that affect its operations. Initiatives to develop farming need to take cognisance of a variety of factors, including the suitability of the physical environment for specific kinds of farming, local customs and values, and adequate linkages with the power base that could ensure that sufficient resources are allocated to initiate and sustain development. Of specific relevance to the topic of the present study, is that people involved in the planning and implementation of farming projects should recognise the recursive relationship between individualism and collectivism.

The discussion presented in paragraph 9.4.3 implies that the development of agricultural farming through an evolutionary process might not prove to be feasible, and that more drastic reforms in land allocation and farming methods would be required. This is likely to evoke resistance from the community if the principle that the advancement of the individual must occur in the context of benefit to the whole community is not adhered to. The implementation of modern agricultural methods would also require that sufficient numbers of people receive the relevant training to be able to manage such farming projects. Furthermore, a regional approach to development would be required in which assistance is given to the village from settings outside Bethanie.

The deep-rooted meanings attached to cattle farming in the Tswana culture, make this an enduring economic activity that could be extended into viable commercial farming. Projects to encourage this should be based on local values and customs.

Mining and agriculture on their own are unlikely to provide sufficient employment opportunities to the people of Bethanie. Consequently, initiatives could also be taken to get more people skilled so that they can find work in surrounding areas that have more prosperous economies.

An estimation was made of the potential usage of land in Bethanie and the possible income that could be generated if the land is optimally used. The estimates are based on information obtained

from the Department of Agriculture, an example of a successful farmer, an estimation of the average capacity of the existing shops in Bethanie, and a scenario in which all the shares in the local mine belong to the local community. This is reflected in Table 1

Table 1 : Possible economic growth in Bethanie

Economic activity	Existing R	Maximised R	Who will benefit
Cattle farming	1m	7m	Individual people in the community
Grain farming	1m	100m	Individual people in the community
Shops	5m	10m	Individual people in the community
Mine	26m	520m	Village/chief empowerment

The following background is provided to interpret Table 1.

- If it is accepted that one head of cattle requires 10 hectares of land per year, then the 7 000 hectares of available grazing land in Bethanie can accommodate 700 cattle. This can generate assets to the value of R7 million.
- If the Geluk Water Project (which entails canals from the Hartbeespoort Dam to various areas around Brits) is completed, the income from grain farming in Bethanie can be increased from R1m to R100m per year. This estimation was done by using as an example the income of a successful local businessman who cultivates 500 hectares of land.
- The average capacity of the local shops was estimated, and this formed the basis for further estimating the income that could be generated if the space were to be optimally utilised.
- Currently, the local community owns 5% of the shares of the mine; if this were to be increased to 100%, this would generate assets to the value of R529m.

The foregoing leads to the conclusion that there is good potential for economic growth that could provide employment to the residents of Bethanie.

9.5 RDP PROJECTS IN BETHANIE

There are three main RDP projects in Bethanie, namely a housing project, a water project and an electrification project. These are discussed in this section, after an introduction is given concerning the RDP leadership in Bethanie. This discussion should be read in conjunction with the overview of the RDP given in Chapter 5.

9.5.1 THE RDP LEADERSHIP IN BETHANIE

Members of the government of the North West Province visited Bethanie in 1995 and arranged that a local structure be established for the implementation of RDP projects. A RDP committee was elected by the people, without the involvement of the chief or the *lekgotla*. It is estimated that only about 5% of the villagers participated in the election. This coincided with a broader trend in the community at the time, namely that after the 1994 general election, the villagers did not show active participation in community affairs: the people did not like to attend community meetings and even the youth did not hold meetings for a long time. It appears that effervescence had disappeared from the community. Effervescence refers to people coming together and regarding themselves as having power so that they can bring about changes (in Hunt, 1988).

The leadership structure of the RDP was controversial. People said that some of the members worked for the previous government, that some elected themselves into their positions, and that others were affluent and did not know the hardship of the people. This also demonstrates one of the problems of leadership in Bethanie, namely that the people regard themselves as equal and do not generally support leaders other than traditional leaders (such as the chief and the *dikgosana*) or the elders in the community. Qualities such as being a teacher, does not necessarily give one access to leadership. Even if one is a doctor, people say they want to be lead by someone who knows their problems. It is said *E le gore ke mang?* This means, who is he, i.e., what qualities does he have? It is also said *E le ngwana wa mang?* "Whose child is he?"

In Bethanie, the power is concentrated primarily in the chief. To the extent that the chief is regarded as sacred (i.e., he comes from the *badimo* and is protected by them), there is a large power distance between him and the people. According to Hofstede (1980) in communities with large power distance people tend not to respect peers as leaders, but rather respect people in power. The residents of Bethanie expect their leaders to be nurturing and caring, and to know the people's

problems. In terms of Hofstede's (1980) value system this would mean that the leader should have feminine values. It remains a question if such leadership would always lead to positive outcomes, since there might be occasions when a more masculine leadership style would be better.

9.5.2 THE RDP HOUSING PROJECT

There are obstacles in the way of channelling home loans from the central economy to the rural poor. If the loan is big enough to interest a formal credit institution, it would probably be too big for most rural people to afford it (Cross & Hainess, 1988). Obtaining loans from established credit institutions thus does not seem to be a solution for the housing needs of the people of Bethanie. To address these needs, the RDP has, since 1994, made loans of R15 000 each available for basic two-roomed house construction. However, in Bethanie people did not make use of this because if a person were to borrow the money, people may regard him as "so useless, that he can't even build a two-roomed house on his own and has to borrow money for it." Apart from not wanting to appear less successful than others, the communal value that one should be like other people, and not be in front, could also have played a role. People say, *O se ke wa phalwa ke babangwe*: people should not be higher than oneself. On the one hand, one should not be beaten (*go phalwa*) by other members of the group. At the same time, one should also not be at the end (at the back) of the group; one should be like the group. One must not try to be better than the group, or surpass the group, nor fall behind. A way to illustrate this, is that when people compete, one does not say (as in the Western system) "I am going to beat you", but rather "You cannot beat me". Through child rearing, these values are instilled in the young. For example, if one child bullies another, he is reprimanded or punished. Also, when a child allows himself to be bullied he is also reprimanded or punished. In this manner, the communal system of maintaining harmony is maintained.

Another way in which this is expressed, is when commodities such as food are donated. The poor people will not take it, because "one should not be behind others." However, if the *dikgosana* (who hold senior positions in society) have taken some of the donations for themselves, other people would also start taking but they would also say "He should not have taken, there is this and this person who should get."

One of the aspects that must be borne in mind when discussing housing in Bethanie, is that a distinction can be made between *ntlu* and *legae*. The former refers to 'house' and the latter to 'home'. It is said one has two houses (*dinthlu*), one when one is alive, and one once you have

passed away. Thus, the grave is also regarded as *ntlu*, but the grave (as a house) is regarded as of greater importance than the house that one lives in when alive. *Legae*, i.e., home, includes the house, the site and the family. It thus has a broader meaning than only the site and the house. It reflects a value system that emphasises the importance of family, and one's embeddedness in the environment. The environment comprises both the physical setting (such as a house) and the interpersonal world (i.e., the family). *Legae* becomes part of one's identity.

The meanings attached to the concepts house and home, play a role in people's perceptions of the RDP housing project. African people often regard white people as not having *legae*, meaning that whites can easily sell a house and move somewhere else. To the extent that the RDP is based on a Western value system, the housing scheme could imply the imposition of this value system on black people. The intention of the government might be to provide homes for the people, but what they in fact provide are only houses. One would expect that the black people involved in the RDP would know these views of the people, but they seem to ignore it once they have come into power and become involved in a project based on Western principles. This shows how difficult it is to reconcile and integrate two worldviews.

9.5.3 THE RDP WATER PROJECT

The RDP water project must be seen against the background of the meanings that the people of Bethanie attach to water. The villagers traditionally fetched water from the river. The water was regarded as communal property, and one should thus not pay for it. Water is precious and it is generally said that water should not be bewitched, because everybody drinks it. Even if one is as bad as a witch is, one should not tamper with water. It is also customary that if someone asks for water, one should not refuse. The *ngwetsi* (bride) is likened to a cup of water, and when a young girl's family asks for a bride, she is referred to as *sego sa metsi* - i.e., a cup of water. Water is life promoting, and is linked to the bride who will procreate life in her husband's family.

Water also has a cleansing meaning. For example, in the Zion Christian Church, people are cleansed with water before entering the church premises. This has a religious-spiritual meaning, namely to wash away sins or evil. Cleansing is also seen after a burial when people wash their hands before re-entering the deceased's house. This is done for health and hygienic reasons - one can never be quite sure what the cause of death was. It also and also indicates that one was not involved in causing the person's death.

In the 1980's the previous government in co-operation with the *lekgotla* developed a water system. It consisted of expansion of the boreholes for underground water in the village, and placing community pumps in some streets but not in all streets. This water supply was free for all the villagers, and the *lekgotla* paid for the maintenance of equipment, and for diesel and electricity.

The national RDP water project was introduced in 1995 and the RDP committee in Bethanie then asked the government to supply water to the village. The government answered that it would only be able to give people water in the streets, and that the members of the community would have to pay for the water. At a general meeting, the community said they wanted household water supply, and they decided to donate R10.00 per month per household for this purpose. This was done in good faith to show the government that the community was determined to have household water supply.

The government then continued to build pumps, but the water was only supplied in the streets without considering the R10.00 payments made by the community. Although the water project leadership knew that the people wanted water in their yards, they provided only street water. This again, similar to the housing project, shows how people who are familiar with the needs and views of the local community, seem to be unable to adhere to these views when they have to implement projects which are based on a Western system.

The dissatisfaction with not getting water in their yards, together with the fact that they had to pay a specified rate for the water, lead to antipathy and the community vandalised the pumps. The government in response put on stronger pumps, but the community also destroyed these. The people thus even went to the extent of sacrificing having water in the streets if they did not have water in their yards and houses. This illustrates that developmental projects that do not address what the people see as their priority needs, are likely to be unsuccessful. The problem is still not resolved.

The attitude and actions of the community reflect a movement from communal water, to individual water in the household. This, however, does not imply individualism in the sense of Hofstede's (1980) theory. In a communal society, individualism and communalism are nestled in each other. If you give to one, you give to all and what benefits the individual must also benefit the community. The R10-00 donations illustrate this: individuals made the donations, so that everyone could get his own water. Rejecting the street water also meant that people could now continue as before, and the people with donkeys could carry on transporting water to others - thus earning a living. It seems as if the community did not want to deprive others of their livelihood. Children also carry on

complacently fetching water, thus doing something valuable in the community.

The insistence on free household water should be seen in comparison with the free street water supply in the areas surrounding Bethanie, such as Hebron, Makolokwe and Kgabalatsane. After the 1994 general election people in these three villages illegally connected the street water supply to their respective households, but they were not prosecuted for this. The Bethanie community felt that they were also entitled to free water in the street and water in their yards. Thus, the water supply in Bethanie should be seen in a greater context that includes not only the values of communalism and individualism, but also what happened in other villages.

Water projects similar to the one in Bethanie were implemented in Barseba and Modikwe, and although they also opposed the projects, the vandalism that occurred in Bethanie did not occur there. One of the reasons for the stronger reaction in Bethanie was that the latter is more westernised than these villages. In terms of relative deprivation it could be said that the more developed people are, the more easily they feel deprived and the stronger they react to their perceived deprivation (Appelgryn, 1991).

Also noteworthy was that the anger was not targeted at a group of people, but at the pumps and the water system itself. The people in Bethanie normally compare themselves as a group with towns or villages such as Brits and Phokeng. In this comparison, they probably felt relatively deprived and their behaviour could thus be described as group relative deprivation (in contrast to individual relative deprivation). According to relative deprivation (Appelgryn, 1991), those who are targeted are the ones who are seen as more developed. However, in Bethanie the targeting was done against the physical structures and not the group they compared themselves with. This could have been targeting the symbols (i.e., the pumps) of power, or it could have been a way of communicating their views to the government.

9.5.4 THE RDP ELECTRIFICATION PROJECT

The western villages of the Bakwena ba Mogopa are Bethanie, Modikwe, Barseba, Makolokwe and Maumong. Bethanie and Modikwe were partly electrified during the period 1976 to 1994. At that time, the costs for electrification involved about R4 000-00 per house. People had to pay the same fee for installation, but businesses had to pay more according to the type of transformer they used and their electricity consumption.

After the 1994 general election, the RDP initiated an electrification project in all the above villages except Makolokwe. The objective was to extend on the existing electricity supply in Bethanie and Modikwe, and to install electricity for the whole of each of the four villages.

The installation costs were low, and amounted to either R65 or R400, depending on the voltage used. People could also pay off the installation charges over a period of time. Whereas with the electrification under the previous government only certain people benefited, with the RDP all the people were to benefit and it was affordable. This reflects a communal and not an individualistic approach. However, in contrast to the water project, the electricity was brought directly into the houses, with a main switchbox inside the house. Thus the individual household, as well as the whole community, benefited from it. Furthermore, if one goes past the houses, it is noteworthy that many of them have lights outside. It is as if, when there are no streetlights, people light up the communal environment. The foregoing illustrates that in communal societies, individualism is located in communalism, and that there is a recursive relationship between individualism and communalism.

A private company installed the electricity, and it was not based on a labour intensive policy. It was administered in terms of economic principles, in contrast to the water and housing projects, which were based on the principle of social upliftment.

Although, during the installation of the electricity inconvenience was caused by the need to cut off electricity on Tuesdays and Thursdays, there was no communal disturbance as occurred in the context of the water installation. A likely reason for this is that the use of electricity is based on a modern lifestyle with its particular value system. It is also based on Western economic principles. In contrast, the water project linked with traditional cultural values and way of life, such as free access to water. This shows that people are willing to accept Western technological developments in some contexts of their lives, but not in others. It also shows that it is acceptable if African problems are solved in a Western way, provided it is not done by African people (refer to the discussion on the RDP leadership in Bethanie in paragraph 9.5.1).

The residents regarded having street water as undermining them, but having electricity was regarded as a sign of development. Regarding electricity as a sign of development implies that the people identify with the values expressed in the use of electricity. These include comfort and convenience, status and the power associated with it, and the idea of progress. It also gives access to appliances such as TV, and brings people closer to the Western way of life.

It is characteristic of the Bakwena ba Mogopa that they feel that they are not as developed as the richer tribes next to them, i.e. the Bafokeng and the Bapong, who have rich mining resources. It is part of the ethos of the Bakwena to strive for development and they wanted electricity because they did not want to be amongst those who do not have electricity. This could be regarded as a negative motivation.

The need for development must not be confused with pressure to achieve. If a person achieves exceptionally well and gets top positions, such as in academic performance and political leadership, he or she runs the risk of becoming a target of bewitchment. This differs from the need for development, which comprises the village as a whole (expressed, for example in the pride they show when they say that the village looks like a town at night), whilst at the same time meeting individual household needs.

Another reason for the success of the electricity project was that there still remained an alternative of collecting firewood, if people could not afford the electricity. It relates to a broader phenomenon, where people from Africa draw from both Western and African culture - it also happens, for example, in health care where people consult both traditional healers and make use of the Western health system (Vilakazi, 1998).

9.5.5 EVALUATION OF THE RDP

As was indicated in Chapter 5, the RDP should be seen in the context of revolutionary change, in the sense that similar to other African countries that gained independence from the colonial powers, social reform and development programmes were initiated after the first black government came to power in South Africa. It was also indicated in Chapter 5 that such restructuring fits into the revolutionary cycle (Jaffee, 1986): after the previous regime was removed from power, the wrongs of the past had to be corrected, and this included, for example, upliftment of the people through social programmes. According to Neo-Marxism (Jaffee, 1986), revolutions are followed by social and economic restructuring.

The outcome of efforts aimed at restructuring, might either be a success or a failure. In Bethanie, the changes that resulted from the RDP were both a success and a failure, as exemplified in the success of the electricity project and the failure of the water project. Bronfenbrenner (1979) points out that the effect of restructuring might become visible either in the long-term, or in the short-term. Similarly, the RDP has immediate and long-term effects and both these long-term and short-term

effects can either be a success or a failure. What was discussed above with reference to the housing, water and electrification projects of the RDP, relates to its short-term effects. The long-term effects are not known yet.

The RDP is based on a government policy or philosophy that directs the people what to do at community level. If it becomes prescriptive towards communities, without taking local needs and the power hierarchy in the community into consideration, and as a result of this problems are likely to arise. It is believed that *bamerafe* (a word used to indicate another tribe, in other words, outsiders) cannot tell one what to do in a Tswana village. In a sense, it is similar to say that one's neighbour cannot tell you how to run your family. It is not *botho*, in other words, it does not show respect to prescribe for others what to do.

The actual power base for the RDP projects in Bethanie was located outside Bethanie, in that the central government had to approve and finance the projects. In so far as the community could not influence the government to provide household water, they did not have effective influence on the power base (also see paragraph 5.6.3). The local RDP officials were the linkages between the community and the power base, but the local community did not accept them. It was said that the local people who were in charge of the programmes, already had the facilities they wanted to bring to Bethanie. Because of this dissimilarity between the leaders and the majority of people, the local people doubted whether the RDP leaders had the same goals as the community, and suspected they had alternative goals. Communities with collectivistic values respect the traditional leadership structure, and do not respect ordinary people in the community who have been elected to implement the RDP.

A central reason why the water project failed and the water pumps were destroyed, was that the community and the people in charge of the RDP did not have the same goals. This illustrates that if an authority wants to implement a programme, the community will only give their support if they regard the aims of the programme as compatible with their own goals.

The RDP cannot be seen as exclusively Western because it was based on a communal principle that it must benefit communities and create a more equitable distribution of access to resources. At the same time, it is not fully based on the indigenous value system, in that the RDP involves the principle that the central government, through the provincial governments, helps the community, which is foreign to indigenous culture. As indicated elsewhere, the indigenous value system includes *letsema* and *go tshwaela*. *Letsema* involves the assistance that the community gives to an individual, and *go tshwaela* refers to the distribution of wealth in the community. (Although the

concrete, practical ways in which these values are expressed have changed, they continue to guide people's behaviour in different forms). The R10-00 donations made by the community in the water project reflects the principle of *letsema* in that the members of the community contributed something (i.e., money) to help other individuals, so that each person should have water. Through this there would also be a more equal distribution of access to resources.

Values differ across communities. This implies that the RDP must take the values of different communities into consideration, and operate according to this. There can thus not be a single approach that could apply in the same manner in all communities. Values also change. According to Neo-Marxism, when the means of production and the values associated with it become obsolete, other means of production need to be found - implicitly, this will also lead to alternative values. The RDP electricity project is an example how technological changes are associated with changes in values.

However, it must be borne in mind that although the value systems that people adhere to may differ, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The same person or a community might at the same time, hold values from different worlds. It seems as if the blueprint for the country includes the presence of multiple value systems. If the value systems are in conflict, the person will typically not accept the conflicting values from his own people, but might still accept it from people of another culture. It implies, for example, that if a white person were to be in charge of the RDP in a place like Bethanie, it would be accepted that the values are different, but if a person from Bethanie is in charge, it won't be acceptable if that person were to violate the values dominant in Bethanie.

The fact that people are paid for their services in an RDP project, influences the extent to which they identify with the project. This can be illustrated as follows: In the early 1960's, there was no high school in Bethanie and the villagers then decided to make donations to build a school by themselves. Subsequently the government built schools for certain sections of the village. When these schools were given to the people, they did not take ownership of it, whereas they regarded the school they built themselves as theirs. In the RDP, because people are paid, they do not regard the project as theirs, or as the community's property.

In the electrification of Bethanie, although the project seems to be successful, the villagers do not directly benefit financially from it, in the sense that Escom is the financial beneficiary. It might, however, indirectly lead to economic development in that it could form the basis for other businesses that need electrification.

9.6 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES SURROUNDING BETHANIE

In the beginning of this chapter it was indicated that Bethanie is linked with other settings. Since the areas surrounding Bethanie could have an impact on the village, it is necessary to place the village in the context of these areas. In this section, Bethanie is compared with the surrounding areas of Brits, Geluk, and Phokeng. This includes a discussion of the links between Bethanie and the Rosslyn-Brits border industries.

9.6.1 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN GELUK, PHOKENG AND BRITS

Geluk is situated about 4 km east of Bethanie and consists of commercial agricultural farms owned mostly by white farmers. Land is owned individually and the farmers have made large capital investments in their farms. The farmers from Geluk also have access to educational resources, viz. an agricultural school in Brits, where knowledge and skills that are relevant to farming are acquired. Canals have been built from the Hartbeespoort Dam to various areas around Brits, and this provides water for irrigation in Geluk. The canals stretch over a distance of about 70km and provide water to various farmers along the route; it can thus be regarded as a regional project. The area's markets are mainly national in that the products are sold all over South Africa. However, some of the products are sold to people from the region who then sell it in other centres such as green markets in nearby cities.

In Phokeng (near Rustenburg), the economic activities mainly revolve around platinum mining, which is subject to the influences of national and international economic processes. The market is external, both national and international. The mining industry in Phokeng has stimulated social and economic development in the area.

Brits is an industrial town and most of its products are sold on the national market. Many residents of Bethanie work in Brits, and economic conditions in Brits thus have an affect on employment opportunities for villagers. People from Bethanie also go to Brits to buy consumer products, which causes an outflow of financial resources from the village itself. This is similar to what happens in the educational context, where people from Bethanie also go to Brits for education. The above seems to imply that the development of an already developed area takes place at the cost of a less developed area. To address this, would imply a regional perspective to economic development, in which the needs of the whole region are addressed simultaneously.

In conclusion, in contrast to Brits where the economy is mainly centred on industries, the economies of Geluk and Phokeng are based on the effective and successful utilisation of the land. All three these areas have access to external markets, either nationally or internationally, where they sell their products. Bethanie also has enough land that can be used to develop a viable economy based on commercial farming (especially cattle farming), but in contrast to the areas mentioned above this utilisation of the land does not occur at present. In fact, as was indicated earlier in this chapter, productive economic activities in Bethanie are declining, whilst services such as water and electricity are increasing in importance. In general, services draw people into a setting and help to maintain the community, but this should be coupled with viable economic activity. The vanadium mine in Bethanie has access to national and international markets, but the residents of Bethanie do not have products to sell on external markets.

The linkages between Bethanie and the surrounding area do not encourage development in village. Whereas there is prosperity in the areas around Bethanie, there is a crisis in Bethanie. Thus the problem in Bethanie is that of addressing the inequality between it and the surrounding area. This could be done through a regional approach. In such a regional approach, restructuring of the Brits economy could create additional employment opportunities for people in the surrounding areas, including Bethanie. This would require that the residents of Bethanie be trained to fit into the economic activities in Brits. With regard to the consumption of consumer goods, people could be encouraged to buy consumables in Bethanie; however, this would require measures to ensure some protection for local businessmen, which might not be feasible.

9.6.2 COMPARING GELUK AND BETHANIE

Bethanie and Geluk are both farming areas, but whereas there is stagnation in Bethanie there is prosperity in Geluk. A comparison between these two areas could shed light on factors that could be considered in the development of Bethanie.

Most of the farmers in Geluk are Afrikaners. During the 1930's these farmers settled in Geluk for grain farming and an irrigation system was introduced which relied on water from the Hartbeespoort Dam. This was during the period after the depression of the 1930's, when white people were given land and initially provided with donkeys, and later with cattle and vehicles to farm. Their progress was strictly monitored, and if they were not productive they were given other employment opportunities, such as in the post office, the railways or Iscor. Most of those who were

unsuccessful went to work on the railways. The monitoring of success was done by the members of the community among themselves.

The Geluk developmental project could be regarded as a regional project, since it covered a distance of approximately 70km along the Crocodile River. It was successful, but did not extend into the surrounding areas that had predominantly black residents.

In Bethanie, there have been two major groups of development projects, namely projects initiated by the former Bophuthatswana government, and RDP projects initiated after the 1994 elections. The Agrico project was initiated in 1980 to promote grain and cattle farming and entailed that equipment and agricultural inspectors were made available to the local people by the government. Participation was voluntary. It was primarily an economic developmental project.

In addition, the former Bophuthatswana government intermittently provided sources of income through remunerating people who participated in smaller projects such as cleaning the roads, cleaning the village, cleaning the lands and using the stones from the lands to repair roads. The current government has discontinued this.

A project to build a tar road from Barseba to Geluk was initiated by the former Bophuthatswana government, and after 1994 this was continued under the auspices of the RDP: In 1995 floods damaged the road and it was only repaired six years later.

The water and electricity projects in Bethanie were initiated by the previous government, and were continued as RDP projects after the 1994 elections. The water project turned out to be unsuccessful, as described elsewhere, whereas the electricity project was successful, but there are still people who cannot afford electricity. The discontinuity in the implementation of these projects that came after the ANC-government came to power could have played a role in the degree of success that was obtained in implementing the projects. This could especially have been brought about by the fact that the people in charge of the projects changed when the RDP took over, and as was indicated earlier in this chapter, the leaders of the projects were not accepted by the community. The RDP projects were aimed at both social and economic development, but the emphasis was on social development.

In the table below, a comparison is drawn between Geluk and Bethanie with the aim to illustrate factors that could be related to the success or failure of developmental projects.

Table 2: Comparison between Bethanie and Geluk

	Ethnicity	Identity	Projects	Level	Result	Leadership	Resources ⁵	Commitment
Geluk	Afrikaner	Africa	Geluk 1930	Regional	Success	Government	Irrigation, agricultural school, land, houses	Forced farming
Bethanie	Mokwena	Crocodile (totem) and identification with the colour Black	Agrico 1980 Road 1992-1994/5 RDP 1994	Provincial Local National	Failed Initially successful Water: failed Electricity: partly successful	Homeland Government Homeland Government Central government	Dry land	Voluntary participation

A comparison of Geluk and Bethanie reveal various factors that played a role in the development projects, which are discussed next:

- In Geluk the farmers were committed, and if they failed they were forced to leave the farming and were given work elsewhere. This is based on a masculine value system. Bethanie accommodates the poor and the rich. It seems that the focus in Bethanie is on caring for others and nurturing the community, and that feminine values thus prevail.
- The values underlying the agricultural economic activities at Geluk are individualistic. Land is owned individually, and the farmers aim at being individually productive. In Bethanie the land is owned communally, and the value system is characterised by a recursive relationship between individualism and collectivism, where the individual is responsible for his or her own activities, but is helped by the community.
- The Geluk project was regional, and this probably contributed to its success. In Bethanie, all developmental activities have been centred only within the local context.

⁵ This refers to resources that were either available for use in the development projects, or that were created by the projects.

- The Geluk project involved both economic and social development. Social development includes the provision of services such as education, health, police and judiciary, housing and water. Developmental projects should have both an economic and social focus, and should not focus on only one of these dimensions. The RDP projects in Bethanie were directed at both social and economic development, but the emphasis was on social development; social development could nevertheless have a long-term economic effect.
- Development projects need leadership that has resources and which can make decisions. The failure of the RDP water project in Bethanie could partly be attributed to poor leadership. The power base that the chief and the *lekgotla* previously had in Bethanie has to a great extent been weakened by the central government that has taken over many of the functions previously performed by the tribal authority. This process started before the country's transition to democracy in 1994, and is continued by the present government. The local people also do not have decision-making power with regard to development projects (the decision-making power is situated in the central government) and there are poor linkages between the community and the power base (i.e., the government).
- The Geluk project was implemented during a crisis, i.e., after the depression of the 1930's. A country (as well as local areas) has cyclic economic development stages, namely progress, stagnation and crisis (Jaffee, 1986). These stages in developmental spread to other spheres, e.g. during an economic crisis, there could also be crises in health, educational, and law enforcement. Bethanie is in a stage of stagnation, and it is possible that revolutionary changes may occur in the future, through which a new hierarchy of authority could be established and development promoted. However, revolutionary change also brings about political instability that can be detrimental to economic development.

9.6.3 ROSSLYN–BRITS BORDER INDUSTRY

During the apartheid years, the South African government, through a policy of decentralisation, established border industries where blacks could work without migrating to the white areas. These industries were aimed at the protection of the white sector of society, whilst at the same time they also contributed to the development of black communities.

The initial industries that were established in the Rosslyn-Brits belt were mostly of foreign origin, and came into South Africa around the 1960's. The establishment of these industries gave rise to

the development of local supplementary industries to support the bigger companies. Foreign industrial investments later declined, and more local companies started operating in the area.

Although the Rosslyn-Brits industrial project was an economic project, it also resulted in social development in that housing had to be provided, and with that came water, electricity and other services. The project also stimulated the development of townships such as GaRankuwa, Mabopane and Soshanguve. In these townships an important sector of black economy revolves around street vendors, and this could be regarded as a form of subsistence economy. However, in places such as GaRankuwa there were policies to stimulate industrial development, and this led to the growth of small industries. In contrast to these townships, the traditional villages in the vicinity of the Rosslyn-Brits industrial belt were not included as part of the development plan.

The industrial development in the Rosslyn-Brits belt was associated with the growth of squatter areas. Formal settlements tend to provide employment opportunities, and squatters settle on the available land next to formal settlements from where they seek work in the more developed areas. An underlying reason for people settling in squatter camps, thus revolves around the discrepancy between developed and undeveloped areas, which leads people to drift towards developed areas, from where they hope to obtain work.

There are three main squatter areas in the Odi area, namely Winterveld (to the north of Soshanguve), Oukasie (north of Brits) and Mmakau (west of GaRankuwa). As a result of the absence of economic and social policies in Winterveld and Brits, the settlement of people in Winterveld and Oukasie occurred in an uncontrolled manner, without any planned development. These people did not come from other rural areas, but were local people who settled on the vacant land. Mmakau is a village with an established social and authority structure, and is surrounded by squatters who settled on the available land.

The squatter areas have created social problems in the region. Men are often the first to settle in squatter areas, looking for work. Many of the people who live in these areas are not married, and there seems to be a lack of family values. This has contributed to the disintegration of families and social structures, which weakened black society. The way of life in the squatter camps also contributes to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, which have a negative effect on the economy. Many of the social problems in squatter areas can be traced back to a lack of social structure in these settlements.

Informal settlements where people erect tin houses to live in have a social structure that is not

approved of by the larger Black society, and especially by the more conservative sector of the society. Conventionally, when people get married, they are expected to stay with their in-laws until they are able to build their own houses. People thus frown upon it if members of the community go to live in tin houses without first getting married and without establishing a proper family.

9.6.4 CONCLUSION

The economies of the areas surrounding Bethanie are prosperous, but this prosperity does not flow over into Bethanie. It seems that the already developed areas continue to develop, whilst the underdeveloped village of Bethanie stagnates. One possible way to address the inequality between Bethanie and the surrounding areas is through a regional approach to development. Rural areas are linked to urban areas, and the socio-economic development of rural areas should not occur in isolation from the urban areas. In such a regional approach, restructuring of the economies in other areas could create additional employment opportunities for the villagers, but this would require that the residents of Bethanie are trained to become employable in these economies.

Bethanie has enough land that can be used for viable commercial farming (especially cattle farming), but in contrast to other farming areas such as Geluk, the land is not effectively utilised in Bethanie. An examination of Geluk shows that the following are cardinal points for successful farming:

- the *implementation* of development projects should be based on a masculine and individualistic value system, but the principle of development should be based on feminine values;
- a regional approach to development should be followed;
- developmental projects should have both an economic and social focus;
- developmental projects should have good leadership, with adequate resources and decision-making power; there should be good linkages between the community and the power base;
- a phase of crisis could stimulate initiatives to bring about development.

Black people from rural areas encounter problems when they come to urban areas, and their specific needs and ways of life must be addressed. It should be realised that economic development could be associated with the occurrence of social problems, especially if family life and social structures are weakened. To counter this, policies should be formulated and implemented in such a manner, that development can occur in a planned manner.

9.7 INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

In the ensuing paragraphs, the main findings of this chapter are summarised and integrated.

9.7.1 UNEMPLOYMENT

Factors other than economic considerations could lead to unemployment. This includes poor psychological adjustment of the person, the person not wanting to seek work or not being prepared to do work that is available, an absence of marketable skills, not taking personal responsibility and attributing one's unemployed status to lack of external opportunities.

At a community level, a group can take action to alleviate unemployment. For this to be successful, good leadership is required. If their efforts to gain employment fail, a kind of collective helplessness could develop where people believe that nothing they do would be of any use, even if circumstances change and their actions could be effective. This is associated with a sense of lack of control.

In a communalistic society, unemployed people tend to expect large companies or authority structures to look after their interests. However, those in power may not accept this responsibility.

9.7.2 VALUES

Many of the economic activities in Bethanie involve a rejection of competition and instead there is co-operation and mutual support. However, in profit driven enterprises, which are characterised by individualism, there is aggressive competitiveness. Conflict could arise if there is competition for scarce resources and if preference is given to members of the in-group associated, with negative attitudes to people from outside.

Economic activities in Bethanie are individual in nature in the sense that the individual is responsible for such activities. However, this occurs in a communal society. People who are successful, are expected to assist other people to reach success. Thus, individual prosperity must also serve the common good and individual prosperity that does not contribute towards the community, is not accepted. Individualism and communalism are thus not opposite poles on a continuum, but are nestled in the other, and the relationship between them is recursive.

Consequently, development can occur in either an individualistic or a communalistic context, provided both individualism and communalism are involved.

Values differ across communities and there can thus not be a single approach that could be universally applied in all communities to promote development. Values are also not static, and development can lead to changes in the value system of a community. A flexible approach is needed that takes the values of different communities into consideration.

Although the value systems that people adhere to may differ, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Multiple value systems may be present at the same time, and people may draw from these systems. If the value systems are in conflict, people typically do not accept it if a member of the in-group endorses the conflicting values, but might still accept it from people of another culture.

9.7.3 POTENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The current economic activities in Bethanie, which are often of a subsistence form, provide limited employment opportunities for the villagers. The residents depend on the areas surrounding the village and there is a lack of initiative to develop so that they can provide in their own needs. It thus appears that the economy of Bethanie is declining, in spite of there being good potential for economic growth that could provide employment to the residents of Bethanie.

Bethanie is a geographically mobile society, and large numbers of people migrate to urban areas. However, this migration is problematic because they migrate to the areas that need skilled people, whereas most of them are not skilled themselves.

Mining and farming hold the potential for sustainable economic growth. Factors outside the setting could lead to a decline in subsistence farming and this could create an opportunity for an evolutionary development in which commercial farming could evolve from subsistence farming. However, development of agricultural farming through an evolutionary process might not prove to be feasible, and that more drastic reforms in land allocation and farming methods would be required. Cattle play an important role in establishing relationships between people and in structuring society, and in defining a person's identity. Because of these deep-rooted meanings, cattle farming is an enduring economic activity that could be extended into viable commercial farming.

Mining and farming on their own are unlikely to provide sufficient employment opportunities to the people of Bethanie. Bethanie is basically a residential area and its economic basis was formed by migrant labour. Consequently, its restructuring should focus on the transition from a school setting to a labour setting. This means that people should become skilled so that they can find work in surrounding areas that have more prosperous economies.

9.7.4 PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT

The results of this chapter indicated the following principles for development initiatives:

- The boundaries between the setting and the external environment should be permeable. This includes having access to external markets, and bringing in resources from outside to stimulate local social and economic development. However, permeability on its own is not sufficient to ensure development. There are links between Bethanie and the areas surrounding the village. The economies of these areas are prosperous, but this prosperity does not flow over into Bethanie. It seems that the already developed areas continue to develop, whilst Bethanie which is underdeveloped stagnates.
- Geographic areas are linked to each other and thus a regional approach to development should be followed. Such an approach could involve that assistance is given to the village from settings outside Bethanie. It could also entail restructuring the economies in other areas to create additional employment opportunities for the villagers. The latter would require that the residents of Bethanie are trained to become employable in these economies.
- Developmental projects should have both an economic and social focus. Projects that initially have a social focus, could later have an economic impact.
- Developmental projects should have good leadership, with adequate resources and decision-making power. There should be adequate linkages between the community and the power base to ensure that sufficient resources are allocated to initiate and sustain development. The people who form the links between the community and the power base, must be accepted by the local community. In communities with collectivistic values people regard themselves as equal and respect the traditional leadership structure, and do not respect ordinary people in the community who have been elected democratically.

- The actual *implementation* of development projects should be based on a masculine value system; however, underlying this should be feminine values.
- To develop the people, an infrastructure must be built, and the focus need not be directed directly at the people. An infrastructure provides a base for development and people's active participation in this, could promote their own individual development.
- Sustainable development requires that sufficient numbers of people receive the relevant training to be able to participate in the projects. If there is a lack of knowledge and skills to manage a project, it could lead to failure.
- Correspondence of new economic activities with the existing blueprint is not a precondition for success. The residents of Bethanie are willing to accept Western technological developments in some contexts of their lives, but not in others. African problems can be solved in a Western way, but this is more readily accepted if non-African people steer a project.
- People tend to support a project if they regard its aims as compatible with their own goals. To be sustainable, people must identify with projects and regard the project as theirs, or as the community's property. This requires local involvement in the planning and implementation of the project.
- A phase of crisis could stimulate initiatives to bring about development.
- A project that is prescriptive towards communities, without taking local needs and the power hierarchy in the community into consideration is not *botho*, in other words, it does not show respect for the people.
- Since economic development could lead to social problems, especially if family life and social structures are weakened, policies are required to ensure that development can occur in a planned manner.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the major findings of the study are summarised and integrated. This is followed by a discussion of the implications of the findings and an evaluation of the study. The chapter is concluded with recommendations regarding future studies.

10.2 SUMMARY AND INTEGRATION OF RESULTS

10.2.1 VALUES

The findings pertaining to values will be reviewed with reference to the four value categories described by Hofstede (1980), namely collectivism versus individualism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity versus femininity and power distance.

Collectivistic values play an important role in Bethanie and they are embedded in a social structure that is largely based on family clans (*dikgoro*) which, through their interaction, constitute society. In this context, an individual exists through his or her family, and the identity of a person relates to his or her position in the family. In a communal society, it is imperative to maintain harmonious relationships. Interpersonal conflict and misunderstanding, as well as self-centred progress, pose a threat to communalistic co-existence.

Individualism and communalism are not opposite poles on a continuum, but are nestled in each other and the relationship between them is recursive. An individual is an individual in a community, and in this sense the individual remains the focus. The individual is helped by the group, and a person who is successful, is expected to assist other people to reach success. Thus, individual prosperity must also serve the common good and individual prosperity that does not contribute towards the community, is not accepted. The individual is for the community, and the community is for the individual. This is the value inherent in *letsema*. The implication of this is that development

that is directed at the group, in which the aim is to develop the group, is bound to fail. Similarly, development that is directed solely at the development of the individual, is also bound to fail. What is required, is that the individual must gain, but that all people must also gain at the same time.

Avoidance of uncertainty leads to a disinclination to take the risk of getting involved in new economic activities or to expand on current economic activities. The fewer risks people take, the less are the chances of making mistakes and thus failing. At an individual level, the belief that progress may evoke jealousy and make one the target of witchcraft, may create insecurity and this may inhibit efforts to achieve. This is, however, only likely to occur if the individual loses his or her sense of responsibility to the community. Insecurity can also be evoked by change, such as when new activities require endorsement of values (e.g. individualistic values) that differ from those of one's group (e.g. collectivistic values). Such uncertainty may lead to resistance to change.

Tswana culture is to a great extent feminine and great importance is attached to values that are aimed at the binding of families, protecting and looking after family members, and nurturing and maintaining society and the indigenous culture. *Botho*, which is a central value in Tswana culture, is also a feminine concept. According to Hofstede (1980), feminine values inhibit progress and development. The present study, however, showed that the actual implementation of development projects should be based on a masculine value system, but underlying this should be feminine values.

According to Hofstede (1980) a small power distance promotes progress and development. According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory, the power base must have resources and decision-making power which can be used in the interest of the undeveloped community. There must also be adequate linkages between the community and the power base, to ensure that sufficient resources are allocated to initiate and sustain development. In Bethanie, the power that the indigenous authority structure and the people formerly had to make their own decisions, has to a great extent been taken over by the government. This has increased the power distance. Furthermore, since the views and values of the government do not necessarily coincide with that of the community, the link between the community and the power base is inadequate. At the same time, in the communal society of Bethanie, people regard themselves as equal and respect the traditional leadership structure, and do not respect ordinary people in the community who have been elected democratically.

Values differ across communities and values also change. There can thus not be a single approach that can be rigidly applied in all communities to promote development. A flexible

approach is needed that takes the values of different communities and the dynamic nature of values into consideration.

Although the value systems that people adhere to may differ, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. People can draw from multiple value systems and if the value systems are in conflict, people typically do not accept it if a member of the in-group endorses the conflicting values, but might still accept it from people of another culture.

10.2.2 TIME

Temporality plays a role in social and economic development. In Bethanie temporality entails a limited future perspective, and a present that is directed at maintaining the bonds with the past, rather than moving toward a future end state. This non-linear experience of time might inhibit social and economic development and thus contribute to stagnation. Development requires a linear temporality that forms the basis for change from the present to reach future goals, growth, and exploration of new methods or movement into other domains. The activities involved in this would, in economic development projects, be directed at creating wealth. In contrast, the value attached to the utilisation of time in Bethanie appear to focus more on maintaining the continuation of the family than on creating prosperity. The indigenous experience of time may work against the implementation of projects with a long-term future-orientation, and to be successful developmental projects should render visible short-term outcomes.

10.2.3 ACCULTURATION

The tendency in Bethanie has been for the local people to adopt Western culture. When two cultures meet, the dominant culture develops at the expense of the less powerful and thus prevailing inequalities in power distance create further inequalities.

The contact between Western culture and the indigenous African culture in Bethanie has lead to diverse outcomes. One outcome has been the assimilation of the new with the old, thereby creating new forms of cultural expression that became a very significant part of community life. This kind of change is especially likely to occur when the relevant aspects of the two cultures are of a complementary nature. The assimilation of the indigenous and Western cultures imply that one form of socio-economic development, would require that prevailing thought patterns, belief systems

and values form the basis for new developments.

Correspondence of new economic activities with the existing blueprint of a community is, however, not a precondition for success. Not all forms of change require that the new and the old become integrated, and the new can be imposed on a community. This kind of change requires that the decisions to bring about change should be based on feminine values, aimed at ensuring that society is maintained and nurtured, but that the practical implementation thereof must be based on masculine values.

Another form of change could be called parallelism, in which change may occur in one context, but in another context traditional ways prevail. In these instances, there is a co-existence of traditional and modern values and behaviour patterns, and both traditional and Western customs are followed. The persistence of traditional ways thus does not preclude new developments and people may live in two cultures, moving from one to the other depending on the particular context. This relates to what Bronfenbrenner (1979) calls multi-setting participation. Thus, development need not imply breaking completely with one culture and adopting another. It in fact requires that both must be involved if development were to occur. What needs to be ensured, is that a project is valid in both the African and Western contexts.

Not all individuals or sections of a community change at the same time and at the same rate. Neither are the same aspects of the dominant culture taken over by all people. As a result, sectors of the community are on different levels of development and on different levels of acculturation. Developmental initiatives must accordingly take the diversity in the levels of development of different settings into consideration. Some members of a community may embrace projects that are introduced from outside, whilst other sectors might be resistant. It could also be that certain sectors accept particular aspects of what is being introduced, whilst other sectors show preference for different aspects of such projects. Such diversity may cause tension and could lead to conflict that may obstruct collaborate efforts.

When two cultures meet, value polymorphism, value conflict and differences in belief systems may thus occur that could fragment society. Of central importance here is the role that education plays. People who have gone through a Western-based education and who have adopted Western ways, also change their values – such as becoming more individualistic, without situating this in communalism. This could evoke rejection by the community, which in turn could evoke a counter-reaction of renewed pride in the own cultural heritage and renewed efforts by a community to have control over its own affairs.

Certain values and behaviour patterns may become suppressed, but if they are given an opportunity to be practised, they can become very strong and have great influence on people's behaviour. This persistence of traditional beliefs becomes specifically clear during times of uncertainty that stems from transitional periods in a person's own life circumstances, or from political and socio-economic changes. The uncertainty that results from such transitions, may cause people to go back to where they started from, i.e., to their own culture. This could entail a positive redefinition of and identification with the values of the in-group, such as social responsibility.

Some aspects of a culture are more susceptible to change than others. Cardinal aspects of human life that are close to the core of a worldview are not easily changeable. Maintaining these cardinal aspects is essential for maintaining a secure society. They are also essential for maintaining a cultural framework that forms a basis for comprehending what is happening in one's life. There are also cultural proscriptions, not to change certain things, such as one's language. Since developmental projects involve multiple dimensions of the cultural, social, political and economic environment, it could be possible that some facets of a developmental project require greater sensitivity for the traditional culture, whilst other facets could be more easily based on new principles.

10.2.4 UNEMPLOYMENT

Structural unemployment can be distinguished from unemployment due to incomplete transition from an educational setting to a work setting. In the former, there are not employment opportunities. In incomplete transition, which could occur even if there are employment opportunities, people are not properly trained to exploit these opportunities.

It is the government's responsibility to address structural unemployment, by creating an environment that is conducive to economic development that can create job opportunities (Jahoda, 1988). The individual is responsible to address transitional unemployment, by making sure that he or she is employable, i.e. that he has the proper training and the skills to look for a job, and actively engages in job seeking.

The high school in Bethanie renders poor quality of education and this, together the poor discipline and lack of authority in the school, result in the youth being inadequately prepared to be

employable, and thus contributes to transitional unemployment. Parents often do not have sufficient financial resources to enable their children to get good education outside Bethanie, or to finance post-matric education. As a result of these factors, many of the youths regard school education as futile, and they lack commitment to study.

In Bethanie a group of unemployed people was identified that were characterised by poor psychological adjustment of the individual, an absence of marketable skills, the person not wanting to seek work or not being prepared to do work that is available, not taking personal responsibility and attributing unemployment to a lack of external opportunities. The community and their families maintained and reinforced their unemployed status.

There was also a large number of unskilled individuals who were employable in unskilled jobs, but did not have jobs. They acted as a group looking for employment. The security and power that the group as a collectivity provided probably motivated this collaborative action. It could also be based on the same principle that underlies *letsema*, namely that the group helps an individual to find employment.

This group relegated the responsibility for providing them with jobs to external agencies that are bigger than the individual himself. However, the potential employer and the local authority structures did not regard this as their obligation. A similar situation prevailed in the schools, where the parents felt that it was the teachers' responsibility to take care of the discipline of the children, but the teachers did not have the same view. This resulted in poor discipline, which contributed to a drop in standards, and this in turn contributed to incomplete transition from school to work settings amongst the youth. Related to this is the view in Tswana culture that an employer carries a social responsibility towards his employees, who are regarded as helpers (*mothusi*) and not as mere workers. The value implicit in this is more that of social responsibility, than of an economic nature.

10.2.5 DEVELOPMENT

In Bethanie there is a decline in the economy and quality of life in various domains of life, in spite of there being good potential for economic growth. Currently economic activities do not provide sufficient employment opportunities for the villagers and the residents depend on the areas surrounding the village for employment. Over many decades migrant labour has created a mentality where villagers do not generate any viable economic activity in the village, but instead

seek employment elsewhere. Better educated (and also more affluent) people also leave the village.

Unemployment can be regarded as a phase in a cyclic process, which occurs when the means of production in the community have become obsolete and stagnation has developed. To resolve the stagnation requires restructuring of the economy so that new modes of production could be established. The following factors could play a role in ending the stagnation in Bethanie:

- A phase of crisis could lead to revolutionary change that can result in renewal and economic development.
- Development can also occur in an evolutionary manner, in which changes occur according to the needs of the people.
- Development can also result from directed interventions. When individuals' needs are addressed in such interventions, it does not necessarily solve the community's problems. For example, the presence of unemployment means more than that there are individuals who need work; it also means that the society is vulnerable and unable to control its own resources, and the broader needs thus have to be addressed.

Development can occur at either a sectional or a communal level; the latter involves the whole community, the former subgroups in the community. Sectional development alone appears not to address all issues in the community and in some instances development should be directed at the whole community.

- Dedifferentiation and greater involvement of the community in decision-making, and thus less power distance between the community and those in power, could promote development.
- Cultivation of the work ethic could contribute to economic growth.
- Exposure to middle-class values could also stimulate development; such exposure must occur at a collective level, lest it has a divisive effect on the community by leading to a differential development of lower and middle-class job-related values and aspirations in the different social strata.
- Mining and farming hold the potential for sustainable economic growth. Development of

commercial agricultural farming may require drastic reforms in land allocation and farming methods. In view of the deep-rooted meanings attached to cattle farming, this is an enduring economic activity that could be extended into viable commercial farming.

- In addition to developments in the village itself, residents should become skilled so that they can find work in surrounding areas that have more prosperous economies.
- Luria (in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) argued that by changing people's activities, their psychological functioning could be changed. Thus, changes in practical activities lead to changes in abstract activities. This implies that stagnation can be changed by starting on a concrete level, such as changing the infrastructure and concrete economic activities. To develop the people, an infrastructure must be built, and the focus need not be directed directly at the people. An infrastructure provides a base for development and people's active participation in this, could promote their own individual development.

The presence of the following conditions facilitate change:

- People must experience sufficient security and there must be sufficient social and political stability during the transition from one condition to another. If this is not the case, people may resist change, or leave the setting.
- Systems are interlinked, and when unemployment is addressed, different settings and their interconnections must be taken into consideration. Change must thus not be directed at only one system, but at multiple systems within the community. Developmental projects should accordingly have both an economic and a social focus.
- Local settings are influenced by events in the bigger political and economic environment and in the planning and implementation of developmental projects, general trends should be taken into consideration.
- The boundaries between the setting and the external environment should be permeable. This includes having access to external markets, and bringing in resources from outside to stimulate local social and economic development.
- Since geographic areas are linked to each other and a regional approach to development should be followed. Such an approach could involve that assistance is given to the village from

settings outside Bethanie. It could also entail restructuring the economies in other areas to create additional employment opportunities for the villagers. The latter would require that the residents of Bethanie are trained to become employable in these economies.

- The implementation of change requires a masculine value system and the changing agent must be powerful enough to bring about changes. However, underlying this should be feminine principles, focused on caring for and nurturing the community.
- Successful development requires adequate links between a setting and the power base that is responsible for decision-making and the allocation of resources. The adequacy of such links depends on the following: sensitivity for local customs, continuity in the links, the people who form the linkages with the outside and who are responsible for obtaining resources should be respected and accepted by the community, and be geared towards meeting the needs of the local community. The people in the linkage should also have the same goals as the community.
- Development requires co-operation with the local leadership. A community may have various leadership structures that can address the needs of different sectors of the community. Some structures can deal with the developmental needs of the community as a whole, whilst others could play a role in addressing the needs of sectors of the community. In matters affecting the whole community, the influence of the traditional structure of authority, the role of the family, as well as the influence of Western culture, must be taken into consideration.
- The physical environment influences social structures and economic activity, and thus need to be considered in developmental initiatives.
- When resources come from outside into a community, it should become fully integrated in the community, less its utilisation for further development is not optimised. A process of change also appears to be more effective if it is initiated and supported from within the setting. People tend to support a project if they regard its aims as compatible with their own goals. To be sustainable, people must identify with projects and regard the project as theirs, or as the community's property. This requires local involvement in the planning and implementation of the project.
- A project that is prescriptive towards communities, without taking local needs and the power hierarchy in the community into consideration is not *botho*, in other words, it does not show respect for the people.

- Since economic development could lead to social problems, especially if family life and social structures are weakened, policies are required to ensure that development can occur in a planned manner.
- Educational status is one of the main resources in a community. It plays a role in attracting investment, and it also influences other processes relevant to development. The functional development of people, including their knowledge and skills, should be addressed by ensuring that sufficient numbers of people receive the relevant training to be employable and to take charge of economic activities.
- The gender differentiation and the role of women in the community need to be taken into consideration in social and economic development aimed at alleviating unemployment.

10.2.6 PHYSICAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

It was indicated in this study that Bethanie is divided into two sections by a river. These sections differ with regard to religious practices and with regard to their level of development. People from the less developed eastern area of Bethanie did not go to school during the 1939-1940 revolution when the Bakwena Lutheran church was established. This contributed to an ethos among the residents that education is not important. The most important difference is on a religious level, in that the one section belongs to the Lutheran Church and the other to the Bakwena Lutheran church. The river appears to have the effect of a boundary between sectors of the community, similar to how tribes in earlier times were separated by mountains. However, the division is not merely physical, it has historical roots. If people are divided, they try to behave differently from each other. For example, people in the eastern side of Bethanie are encouraged to remain living there, and vice versa. This reflects a social identity, and how this is related to place identity.

As long as there are differences in the physical aspect, there will remain social differences that are related to the physical differences. Because of the long-term effect of the differences in education, the differentiation of the groups will remain, unless there are direct interventions to change it.

10.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Development programmes should look at aspects related to unemployment that need immediate attention, and which need to be addressed in a different way to transitional and structural unemployment. For example, situations which need immediate attention might need grants, or to provide people with some kind of temporary employment to be economically active. Such temporary efforts to address immediate problems, should occur in conjunction with interventions aimed at structural and transitional unemployment.

Development must be addressed at a regional level. Development must not only occur at the local level, but must be linked with development in the larger context. If matters are addressed at the level of the larger context, factors that influence and control the local conditions, are attended to. However, this does not mean that local conditions must be totally ignored. Interventions at a local level must be combined with interventions at the level of larger systems.

This study was conducted at a particular time, and at a particular stage of the development of Bethanie. This may affect the implications of the findings, since conditions may change in the village. Such possible changes must be taken into account when developmental interventions are initiated based on the findings of the study.

10.4 EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to determine psychocultural factors that play a role in unemployment and in socio-economic development. As a result of this, relatively little attention was given to the characteristics and psychological experiences of individual unemployed people. The study does not reveal much information about matters such as the demographic characteristics of the unemployed, their skills, the pressures they experience when looking for a job, etc. The study provided information about broad principles that could be applied in development, but little information was cleaned that could shed light on micro-interventions to assist the individual.

The study was conducted through qualitative methods. Various precautions were taken to enhance the credibility and stability of the results. Different methods of data collection were used, and once the data lead to the formulation of particular interpretations, the latter were rigorously tested by looking for analogies that could provide confirmation, or for information that could either discount or provide an alternative interpretation of a particular finding. Interpretations were also tested by discussing them with knowledgeable people in the community. There was thus a continuous

cycling between interpretation and observation. The study was conducted over a prolonged period, which provided sufficient time to observe variations of phenomena in different contexts. Events were thus repeatedly observed to confirm and elaborate on previous observations. The descriptions that were compiled, were also repeatedly revisited and the meanings that were embedded in the material reconceptualised. This process continued until acceptable stability and credibility of the observations and interpretations were obtained. The researcher and his supervisor also spent many hours discussing issues, to explore unthought of avenues and to gain new insights. However, in spite of all these precautions, the results still remain untested in new interventions aimed at socio-economic development projects to alleviate unemployment.

Many of the developmental projects that have been undertaken in South Africa were not based on theoretical principles, with the result that the processes involved cannot be interpreted readily. For change interventions to be effective, they should be based on sound theoretical principles. The present study aimed at making a contribution in this regard.

10.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

10.5.1 CYCLICAL THEORY

Cyclical theory on development postulates that there are three basic methods to move away from a crisis, namely through restructuring, geographic mobility and new modes of production. However, these methods are applicable only if there is an existing economy, as would for example apply to industrially developed areas of South Africa. In areas where there is little economic activity, such as Bethanie, these methods are difficult to implement. If there are no industries, there is no sense in relocating to a different area. Restructuring and changing the modes of production may encounter numerous barriers because of a lack of resources, and because of psychocultural factors that may act against change.

The present study generated a number of recommendations regarding psychocultural aspects that must be considered and principles that could be applied to stimulate change. However, as was indicated above, confirmation of the role that these factors play requires systematic studies of projects where these factors are applied. Such studies should also include economic and political factors which fell outside the scope of the present study. These studies should furthermore be conducted in different environments, to determine to what extent the findings of the present study apply to other contexts.

10.5.2 DIFFERENCES IN THE DYNAMICS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMMES

Economic programmes should have a social emphasis. The present study showed that if only the economic side is addressed, social problems might arise. In turn, social programmes also have indirect economic implications. However, the dynamics or principles of economic and social programmes might differ. This should be researched in further studies.

10.5.3 THE EFFECT OF MULTIPLE FACTORS

It should be determined whether a combination of the multiple factors involved in unemployment, could be addressed by dismantling and dealing with these factors one by one, assuming that they are additive; or whether all the factors must be dealt with simultaneously, assuming that they are a compound which is different from the individual elements. For example, poverty and education are linked, and the question arises whether they must be addressed separately or together.

10.5.4 LONG-TERM EFFECTS

In assessing the success of development programmes, one has to be careful not to come to the conclusion that they have either succeeded or failed by basing one's arguments on the immediate effects of a particular programme. Programmes may have long-term effects, which only become visible after a period of time. Furthermore, these effects may apply either to the individual, or to sections of the community, or to the community as a whole – and the one may be positively affected, whereas the other may appear not to have benefited. Studies on socio-economic development programmes aimed at alleviating unemployment, must accordingly be longitudinal and take the complexity of possible outcomes into consideration.

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