Values of parents: interpreting results of a survey of parents in terms of contemporary social change and educational policy directions

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A survey of the values of parents of children in a primary school in the Western Cape provided significant although limited empirical material for the discussion of contemporary social change and educational policy in South Africa. The parents surveyed were mostly white, higher middle income class parents, who experienced life and work as very competitive, perceived themselves to be competitive as well, had a high level of satisfaction in their working life, felt themselves to be free and were generally satisfied with life. It was found that these parents give the highest priority to the development of the self-confidence and imagination of their children. This was a consistent pattern in their expectations for home and school formation. This finding is interpreted to be consistent with Ulrich Beck's expectation of value change in Second Modernity. The finding is also interpreted to mean that one could expect a high level of resonance between an education system that is value driven and the priorities of the parents. If parents want children to have a high level of self-esteem and a developed imagination, an education system that is not value driven but rule governed and/or simply performance orientated would be in conflict with their values. However, a closer look at the National Department of Education's specification of a values-driven education revealed an important gap between the motives for the Department's interest in a values-driven education and those of the parents. This gap will have to be bridged if schools in pre-dominantly white middle class areas are to align themselves with the national Department of Education's ideals of value formation in schools.

Introduction

Most of the argument presented in this article revolves around the analysis of the data developed in a survey of parents of a primary school in the Western Cape. The data are presented and analysed. They are also interpreted as a reflection of the impact of social change on a particular part of South African society. At the end some very preliminary arguments are proffered as to the relevance of the findings and their interpretation for a particular initiative of the Department of Education in South Africa regarding values-driven education. However, one should position any contemporary analysis of social values within a larger context.

It is often said or assumed in everyday conversation that values are fundamental to social life and that more attention should be given to the development of values in society in general. Parents and teachers also engage in this kind of discourse when they discuss problems and challenges in their attempts to provide an education for children. It has also become an almost standard feature of organisational life[1] (in business and others types of organisations) to define the values of the organisation. The impulses that underlie the explicit and assumed relevance of values in contemporary life are varied.[2] Two important aspects are to be noted.

On a universal level one could point to globalisation and rapid and unpredictable social change as unsettling features of everyday life. This requires closer attention to identity[3] and greater reflexivity in what Giddens calls 'the project of the self'. The values discourse can arguably be taken to be part of that project in the sense that explicit attention to values implies a reflexive interest in defining the self and various types of identities.

When looking at the substance of the government's position, one could also see an impulse that could be seen as being of particular relevance to education policy. The formation of statehood in the nation-state system is seen by many as requiring attention to the development of 'the nation' that is supposed by the concept of the 'nation-state'.[4] Although there have been many ways to deal with this issue,[5] values could be seen as one dimension of that process. It is part of the history on the formation on nation-states that mass standard education has been used by the state to develop its identity and coherence.[6] The interest of the national Department of Education in the development of children's values may be seen as a part of that larger process.

The issue was to determine which of these motives play what role in government initiatives and parental concerns when it comes to values and education. The aim of this article is to compare the results of a particular survey of parent values with the official documentation on government aims in asking for a values-driven education. There seems to be a convergence, but this convergence could be limited.

The survey

A survey of the values of parents of children in a (still majority white) primary school in the Western Cape was done during 2002. The survey was undertaken as a result of a concern among parents that the values of the school were not clearly articulated. During subsequent meetings a strategy was developed that would result in a clear definition of the school's values. The process is still continuing and the survey that is discussed below is only one aspect of that process. A survey of the values of the parents was done in order to define part of the context for the discussion of the values of the school as an organisation. Other important aspects of the context were recognised. These include the values and the professional insights of the teachers at the school, the values of the children, the needs and values of the larger community, the relevant national education policies and finally the South African Constitution. These aspects of the context are taken up in the process that is continuing at the school and do not directly concern us in this article.

The aim of the survey was to establish in a systematic and empirical manner what the values of parents are. That meant that one had to clearly define the meaning of the concept of values in the study, the population to be surveyed, and the appropriate methodology.

Values defined

A 'standard' definition of social values has it that values are conceptions of the desirable[7] that guide behaviour over the long term. The European Values Study (Halman, 2001; www.europeanvalues.nl) and the World Values Survey (Inglehart, Basanez, Diez-Medrano, Halman & Luijkx, 2004; www.worldvaluessurvey.org) have used approximations of this definition of values over the past three decades. There are three important assumptions associated with this definition. These assumptions eventually determine the significance of the term as well as the research methodology.

Values are of a heuristic nature in that they enable us to interpret and categorise our own and other people's general approach to life. Values appear in attitudes, opinions, preferences, etc. When we observe social interaction and behaviour, we can discern patterns. If we focus our attention on attitudes, opinions, beliefs and moral judgements, we argue that a distinct pattern in a wide array of these observable aspects is evidence of constraints. These constraints are evidence of a value orientation. This is still an interpreted constraint and thus an

interpreted value orientation. That is what value analysis is for. It makes it possible to understand the general orientations that guide or underlie behaviour over the long term.

Values are non-empirical[8] conceptions of the desirable in the sense that they cannot be observed directly. However, it is assumed that values are latent variables underlying opinions, attitudes, beliefs and moral judgements. These can be regarded as manifestations of values focusing on a particular object or class of objects, whilst values are more general and enduring. However, as people act on their opinions, attitudes, judgement and beliefs, they learn from the experience and that affects their values. In this sense there is a reciprocal relation between values and manifestations of values and behaviour.

Values engage moral considerations because of the implied moral dimension of conceptions of 'desirability' as distinct from simple 'desire'. Conceptions of desirability are social and historical. We engage in moral discourses with a view to particular issues that we face and have to take decisions on in everyday life as well as in momentous circumstances. These issues relate to contexts of interaction and social structures, and thus we are engaging with others when we form and change values. In addition, the others whom we meet in this engagement are not all part of one seamless series of exchanges but part of a complex array of relations and structures. That means that values have to be studied with due regard for the particular historical and social context within which they are found.

Design of the instrument, a pilot study and administration of the survey

Part of the initial phases of the process of defining values for the school as an organisation was a set of three group discussions that asked children (a selection of about 15 children from the two senior grades), parents (invited from all grades) and teachers (the whole group) what they thought the school should aim for. The question was phrased very directly as 'What kind of child should this school deliver when this child completes his/her education at this school?' The answers to this question were collated and grouped in terms of what the various groups felt most relevant.

A set of qualitative results gained in the group discussions enabled a process in which items were designed that would cover a wide spectrum of relevant issues — keeping the theoretical definition of values as stated above in mind. The most important concepts for the study would be perspectives on humanity (conflict, gender, individualism, community, etc.), the future (the role of science, threats, the reasons for poverty, important goals in life, etc.), the relative importance of different spheres of life (work, family, politics, leisure, religion, etc.), social responsibility (involvement in social issues, the role of the individual versus the state and business organisations versus the state) and religion and morality (views on different ethical issues, views of different religious precepts, etc.). This resulted in a questionnaire with 203 items (reduced after the pilot study[9] with more items). The items are mostly Likert-scale or ranking items and in many cases respondents were given the opportunity to mark a 'don't know' block as well. Some of the items came directly from the European Values Study questionnaire of 1999/2000,[10] whilst others were adapted. New items were also formulated in the light of the specific aims of the survey and the concepts that arose in the discussion groups. A self-administered process was envisaged in which parents were to be asked to complete the questionnaire in one sitting, knowing that it would take more than an hour to do so and knowing what the purpose of the process was.

Copies of the questionnaire were distributed to a representative and random sample with a 50/50 gender split.[11] Of the sample of 270 parents or guardians, 163 completed questionnaires were returned and a response rate of 60% was thus achieved.[12] Upon receiving the completed questionnaires, the data were loaded on SPSS data sheets and checked for errors. A set of questions (regarding the way in which parents gave pocket-money) was identified as problematic and disregarded. The result of the sampling and the response rate was that it was possible to establish a very acceptable level of representativity in the findings and the percentage deviance expected between the real population and the sample population is very low.

The findings[13]
General demographic information

We did not ask a direct question about the race of the respondents. However, we did ask about the mother tongue of the respondents. Only three of the respondents indicated English as a mother tongue and the rest of the 163 respondents all indicated Afrikaans as mother tongue. We also know that there are only a very small number (less than ten) of black children in the school, while the children who might have been classified as 'coloured' make up 10 – 25% of each class. With regard to the aspect of income, the results do not count as a representative sample due to the very high number of missing values[14] (50 out of the 163 did not answer or indicated that they did not know, or indicated that they did not want to answer). Of the 'useful' answers, 23% have a monthly home income before deductions of R25 000, almost 7% more than R50 000, 6% less than R5 000 per month. Of the total number of respondents, 45 are breadwinners and only 16% do not do any paid work. 8% are estranged, divorced or have never married. Just fewer than 50% of parents have a first degree or higher qualifications. Parents have seen something of the more adverse experiences of South African society as one-third say they know somebody who has had an abortion, one-third say they know somebody who has been raped, one-third say they know somebody living with HIV/AIDS and 57% say they know somebody who has experienced an armed robbery.

View of humankind

An important aspect of the conceptualisation of the values of the parents was deemed to be their view of human relationships. This would include their views on gender, race, social harmony, freedom, authority, and the meaning of life.

• Gender, relationships and freedom of expression

When we asked about gender relationships at home and at work, we got a mixed picture. We asked about women and careers, children and housework. We also asked about the perceived ability of working women in terms caring for children and about the identity of women in terms of having children. The difference seems to lie on an axis of ideals and normative identity.

On the one hand, 70% of the respondents say that women should be able to make a success of having both a career and children, and 80% believed that men and women should share housework on a 50/50 basis. On the other hand, 40% believed that a working mother cannot be as good to her children as a mother who does not work, 43% believed that a housewife can have a life equally satisfying to that of a working woman and 60% believed that women should have children. Looking at the other side of the equation, no one was willing to differ strongly in response to the statement that spouses should share work at home equally, nor was anyone willing to differ or differ strongly that women should have children.

When changing the focus from gender to other group conflicts, an equally mixed picture emerges. 74%+ believed that there will always be conflict between human beings, there is a high correlation (+0.65) between that belief and the belief (64%) that there will always be conflict between races. At the same time, between 80% and 90% do not mind having neighbours who are Jewish, of a different race than theirs, Muslim or Hindu. We also asked about neighbours who practise an African religion and, although the figure is 20% lower than the figure for people from a different race, the tolerance for this difference is still high compared to neighbours, for example, who are 'noisy' or 'drink a lot of alcohol'. The figure indicating tolerance of neighbours who are homosexual is similar to that for neighbours who practise African religion.

It is striking that, in such a generally tolerant (homophobia aside) context, about 42% did not believe that people of all religious and

Table 1.1   Gender issues (N = 156, 158, 157, 161)

	Agree completely (%)	Agree (%)	No strong feeling either way (%)	Differ (%)	Differ strongly (%)
Women should be able to have kids and a career	28.8	44.2	13.5	12.8	0.6
Spouse should share homework equally	42.3	40.4	10.3	7.1	
Woman should have children	58.2	30.4	11.4		
Being housewife satisfies	10.2	33.1	22.9	29.9	3.8
Working mother just as good	6.8	32.9	19.3	35.4	5.6

Table 1.2   Who makes the rules?   (N = 156, 157, 156)

	Very important (%)	Important (%)	No strong feeling either way (%)	Not particularly important (%)	Not at all important (%)
Religion of majority in curriculum	25.6	30.8	18.6	10.3	14.7
Special protection for minority religions	21.7	32.5	27.4	13.4	5.1
All religious and moral opinions live according to own rules and norms	19.9	25.0	12.8	31.4	10.9

moral persuasions should be allowed to live according to their own rules and norms, and about 56% did believe that the religion of the majority should determine the curriculum. At the same time, 18% did not believe the protection of minorities to be important.

• Authority and discipline

We used a number of indicators to infer values relating to authority. The picture is again mixed. On many levels authority seems to be less than important but there are contradictory indicators.

On the one hand, only 20% believed that one should always follow instructions at work. 92% believed that freedom of religion is important (as opposed to the 40% who do not believe that people of all religious and moral persuasions should be allowed to live according to their own rules and norms). Only 34% believed that democracy does not deal with the maintenance of order well.

A large percentage (57%) believed that there are absolute ethical guidelines, while only 8% believed in regular corporal punishment for their own children. More than 25% are not sure that one has to respect one's parents at all times and regardless of whether they earn respect. At the same time, 87% believed that it would be a good thing if there were more respect for authority in future.

We provided respondents with a list of aspects from which they had to choose the most important and second most important in terms of their importance as goals in school education. Only 22% believed that discipline is the most or second most important aspect of the 11 options. We provided respondents with a similar list of 14 aspects regarding the goals of education at home. Respondents could choose up to three of these aspects. The cumulative total for obedience and manners as important aspects that are to be learnt at home was only about 27%.

• What is important in life?

When limited to asking questions in a self-administered questionnaire, the researcher cannot do much else than infer the answer to a fundamental question. In that sense, the inferences made here are typical of all values analyses that work with a quantitative analysis. The meaning of life is deduced from responses to simple questions as to what respondents regard as very important in life and some of the reasoning that support those choices.

Work seems to be very important to respondents as 98.8% of respondents said that work is important or very important, 93% had the same idea about leisure and the picture was within the same range for the importance of the family, friends, the local community and nature. Politics was relatively less important (41.6% said it is important or very important) and the only dimension that seems to clearly diffe-

rentiate itself from other aspects. At the same time, only 47% were willing to say that work should not always come first and 41% said that work should indeed always come first (Table 1.4).

Table 1.3   Authority (N = 160, 160, 135. Lower N for last question may be due to fatigue — one of last substantive questions)

	%
Follow instructions at work	
Follow instructions	19.4
Convince first	34.4
Situation dependent	44.4
Don't know	1.9
Not at all important	
Free to believe whatever	
Very important	51.3
Important	40.6
No strong feelings either way	5.0
Not particularly important	1.9
Not at all important	1.3
Democracy does not deal with order well	
Strongly agree	10.4
Agree	23.7
Neither agree nor disagree	25.9
Differ	34.8
Differ strongly	5.2

When it comes to the meaning of work (Table 1.5) rather than the importance of work, 48% gave the advice to an imaginary young person to seek a job that brings happiness, rather than a job that pays well (4,7%). We also gave respondents 20 aspects of work, of which they could indicate any number that would be important. Here we found that the money that is made by working is important (84%), but so is having the opportunity 'to take initiative' and 'achieve something' (Table 1.6).

It is another interesting dimension of the relationship between work and other spheres of life that parents found people at work to be competitive and that they saw themselves as being competitive at work (Table 1.7). There did not seem to be many who find work unimportant and even fewer who would not see and accept competition as being part of work. This ties in well with the finding that most respondents are satisfied with their work and are satisfied with their work security as well.

Table 1.4   Importance of different aspects of life (N = 160, 161, 160, 161, 159, 155, 159, 156, 161)

	Very impor-tant (%)	Rather im-portant (%)	Not impor-tant (%)	Not at all im-portant (%)
Work	61.3	37.5	1.3	
Politics	4.3	37.3	42.9	13.7
Leisure	47.5	45.6	6.9	
Religion	77.6	18.6	1.9	1.9
Family	92.5	6.3		1.3
Relatives	50.3	45.8	3.9	
Friends	36.5	52.8	10.7	
Local community	15.4	67.3	14.7	1.9
Nature	49.1	47.2	2.5	

Table 1.5   Advice on career aims (N = 159)

	Advice career (%)
Make money	4.4
Security	14.5
Education	25.2
Profession	7.5
Happiness	48.4

Table 1.6   Important at work (N = 161, 163, 163)

	Not chosen (%)	Chosen (%)
Pay	16.1	83.9
Initiative	24.5	75.5
Achieve something	26.4	73.6

Table 1.7   Competition and competing (N = 126, 125)

	%
Work competitive	
Very common	25.4
Common	38.1
Neither common or uncommon	27.0
Rare	4.0
Very common	4.8
Self competitive	
Always	27.2
Most of the time	30.4
Sometimes	30.4
Rarely	6.4
Never	5.6

This makes even more sense if one takes into consideration that the achievements at work and the initiative taken at work are also highly rated aspects of work (around 75% — Table 1.6). At the same time, it becomes interesting that work is so important, given that 74% believed that the future is a product of the individual's own inputs (Table 2.3) and that at the same time 84% say that God is very important in their lives (Table 5.1).

As indicated before, respondents were asked to indicate most important and second most important aspects of school education. Here we present those items among the 11 possibilities that were chosen most. On aggregate, parents indicated happiness and self-confidence to be the most important or second most important goals for their children's school learning experience (Table 1.8).

Imagination is by far the most important aspect that parents want their children to develop at home. Of the 14 items aspects presented to respondents, it is clear that there was a 17-point difference between imagination and the next most important aspect of learning at home (Table 1.9).

The very different dimensions of the importance of work, and what parents want for their children may hold an important clue for the values of parents — also when it comes to what parents want from the education system.

Table 1.8   Important at school (N = 163)

	Most impor-tant (%)	Second most important (%)	Not chosen (%)	Least im-portant (%)
Self-confidence	34.4	8.6	55.8	1.2
Creative thinking	14.7	11.7	68.7	4.9
Happy and unharmed	27.6	11.7	57.1	3.7
Academic performance	13.5	11.7	61.3	13.5
Christian faith	28.2	6.1	58.3	7.4

Table 1.9   Important at home (N = 163)

	Chosen (%)	Not chosen (%)
Manners	20.2	79.8
Hard work	11.0	89.0
Responsibility	40.5	59.5
Imagination	61.3	38.7
Creativity	31.3	68.7
Thrift	10.4	89.6
Faith	44.2	55.8
Obedience	7.4	92.6

Perception of the future

When asking about the present, most parents seemed satisfied with life in general: they think it has treated them fairly and they experience a lot of freedom (Table 2.1). Most parents also experience their work environment as very competitive and think of themselves as being equally competitive (60 %+) (Table 1.5), while parents are also happy with their job security (80 %+).

Table 2.1   Measure of perception of freedom, satisfaction and justness of life (N = 161, 159, 160)

	Freedom	Satisfaction	Justice
Lots of freedom and control/Very satisfied/Very just	22.4	20.1	29.4
Freedom and control/Satisfied/Just	51.6	44.0	36.3
In between	23.0	30.2	23.8
Little freedom and control/Not satisfied/Unjust	3.1	4.4	8.1
No freedom and control/Very dissatisfied/Very unjust	-	1.3	2.5

When looking at the factors influencing poverty, one expects an interesting view on history and the human effort. However, a confusing picture emerges. The cause of poverty (Table 2.2) rated highest by most respondents was laziness 60%, whilst 60% did not think that poverty is the result of chance (however, there was no correlation at +0.007). At the same time, 50% did think that poverty is the result of injustice and 50% did think that poverty is a consequence of development. There seemed to be no clear pattern here.

When asked about fears of the future, responses indicated that war and sickness (aggregates of 43.7% and 52.3%) were much more

Table 2.2   Ideas on the causes of poverty   (N = 148, 147, 146, 151)

	Very important (%)	Important (%)	No strong feeling either way (%)	Not particularly important (%)	Not at all important (%)
Poverty: fate	6.8	26.4	23.0	20.9	23.0
Poverty: laziness	17.0	44.9	18.4	10.9	8.8
Poverty: injustice	18.5	34.9	25.3	11.6	9.6
Poverty: progress	11.9	38.4	27.8	11.3	10.6

Table 2.3   The future: fears and issues 1 (N = 151, 151, 151, 153, 154, 155, 155)

	Agree completely (%)	Agree (%)	No strong feeling either way (%)	Differ (%)	Differ strongly (%)
Earth destroyed in 50 years	5.3	18.5	39.1	27.2	9.9
Resources finished in 50 years	3.3	23.8	34.4	34.4	4.0
Worse wars in future	7.3	36.4	34.4	20.5	1.3
Worse diseases in future	12.4	39.9	29.4	17.0	1.3
200 years ago wasbetter	5.2	10.4	35.7	39.6	9.1
50 years from now will be better	2.6	12.3	34.8	44.5	5.8
Your future is determined by yourself	25.8	47.7	11.6	14.2	0.6

Table 2.4   The future: fears and issues 2 (N = 154, 155, 154, 154, 153)

	Agree completely (%)	Agree (%)	No strong feeling either way (%)	Differ (%)	Differ strongly (%)
The future is determined by fate	2.6	15.6	21.4	49.4	11.0
The future depends on God	63.9	25.2	5.8	5.2	
The future depends on relation with nature	14.3	35.1	25.3	21.4	3.9
Science brings advantages	33.8	39.0	16.2	6.5	3.9
Future so uncertain that it is better to live from day to day	22.2	22.2	19.6	20.3	15.7

important themes than natural disaster and fate (23.8% and 18.2% — Tables 2.3 and 2.4). An interesting group with high correlations all round were those who felt threatened about almost all the possible items suggested above. This subgroup also felt very much left in the hands of fate, in spite of their feeling that God determines everything.

When looking at the overall situation of feelings about the past, present and future, a complex picture emerged. The first obvious observation one can make is that, on a number of questions, close to a third of respondents go for a middle position in which they are not willing to make either positive or negative decisions about the statements or questions. Secondly, although a large majority of respondents are clearly satisfied with their own lives in general (74% experience personal freedom and control over their lives, only 5.7% are willing to say that they are not satisfied with life and, while 65.7% feel life has treated them fairly in the past 5 years — Table 2.1), the view of the future is mixed. On the one hand, 50.3% of respondents say that life will not be better 50 years from now and feel that it is better 'to live on a day to day basis because of the uncertainty of the future' (44.4% — Table 2.4). On the other hand, 73% say that the future 'is determined by each person's own effort' and that 'scientific developments have a positive influence over the long term' (72.8% and +0.3 correlation with determination of future by own effort — Table 2.4).

The conclusion seemed to be that respondents feel that the past 200 years have seen positive development, they themselves are quite happy with their present condition, and the future is much more uncertain. When pursuing the issue of how the future is determined, the view become clouded again as only 18.2% agree with the idea that the future is determined by fate but 89.1% say that the future is determined by God (no significant correlations found).

Balance between spheres of life
Work, family, religion and nature were all very important with 96%+, as was indicated before (Table 1.4). Politics was least important as

sphere of life with only 41% perceiving it to be important or very important. Mention was also made of good pay as the criterion for a good job (Table 1.6), but also the opportunity to show initiative and provide for a family and to achieve something (70%+); holidays, week-ends, working hours are relatively less important aspects of a job (about 50% — Table 3.1). It has also been mentioned that work always comes first for about 40% of the respondents.

Table 3.1   Aspects of work that are important (N = 163, any number of the aspects mentioned could be chosen)

	Chosen (%)	Not chosen (%)
Good pay	83.9	16.1
Initiative	75.5	24.5
Provide for family	75.5	24.5
Achieve something	73.6	26.4
Holiday	32.5	67.5
Week-ends	48.5	51.5
Hours	47.9	52.1

This is part of a bigger picture in which women are supposed to be able to have a career, children and a home, where they are supposedly able to balance all of that and be good wives (80%+ — Table 1.1) and in which children are encouraged to develop imagination and self-confidence and seek happiness (Tables 1.8 and 1.9).

At the same time there was a significant emphasis on time-consuming and emotionally intensive aspects such as trust, understanding, discussing problems and sex for success in marriage (90%+ on aggregate; respondents could mark any number of aspects in a list of 13). It may be important that more or less the same people (between +0.24 and +0.38 correlations found) also wish for a better family life and a

Table 4.1   Political issues (N = 132, 137, 134, 137, 135)

	Agree strongly (%)	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Disagree strongly (%)
Apartheid was good	3.0	6.8	22.0	26.5	41.7
Democracy better system than any other	40.1	39.4	13.1	5.8	1.5
Economies are not well managed in democratic systems	4.5	15.7	33.6	41.8	4.5
Democracies have difficulties taking and executing decisions	9.5	32.1	32.8	23.4	2.2
Democracies are not very good at keeping order	10.4	23.7	25.9	34.8	5.2

simpler lifestyle (85%+). This suggests that the balance between the different aspirations and demands may not be such a simple matter.

Social responsibility
We felt that the notions that parents have about their own social responsibility and the attitudes about particular social issues were an important component of their basic values. Here we found interesting results.

In terms of the particularly South African dimensions of identity, we found that parents are generally proud to be South African (80%) and there is no significant negative feeling about an African identity. On the political level, two-thirds of parents are positive about democracy whilst two-thirds are negative about apartheid. In terms of the more specific issues defining the relation between the state, the market and the individual, we found a typically liberal view (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). Parents are very positive about market mechanisms and individual responsibility (parents were asked about the state's role in pensions, housing and freedom of the individual and of business organisations versus the state on a scale where the roles of various entities were the opposite ends).

Table 4.2   Relations between the state, the market and the individual (N = 148, 146, 145, 146)

	%
Individual *vs.* state	
Individual has to provide	41.2
	32.4
Middle	15.5
	5.4
State has to provide	5.4
State's role in economy	
Companies should have more freedom	28.1
	35.6
Middle	26.7
	6.8
State should determine more	2.7
Provision for pension	
Individual should take care	21.4
	31.7
Middle	31.7
	10.3
State should take care	4.8
Provision for housing	
Individual should take care	23.3
	42.5
Middle	29.5
	0.7
State should take care	4.1

When it comes to active participation in social concern groups, welfare organisations and suchlike, a very low membership was indicated by the survey. Only religious membership is of any significance (the other significant memberships were in sport clubs and in

political parties) and one may suppose that most religious organisations have some form of social involvement programmes. We are left guessing about the participation of parents in these possible activities.

When asked about equity and merit, it was clear that most parents are very much in favour of mechanisms that promote the development of a level playing field and education for all in particular seems to be highly regarded as a means to such a level playing field (Table 4.3). When asked to what extent respondents disagreed or agreed with statements on what has to happen before a society could be called just, interesting results were found. The elimination of income differences drew a large (40.7%) 'no strong feelings either way' response and, on aggregate, similar 'not particularly important' and 'not at all important' (42.3%) responses. However, in response to the statement that a society needed to provide for basic needs in terms of food, housing, clothing, education and health in order to be called just, the picture started moving around, with about 10% swinging to saying that this is important or very important. This small shift produced a very new picture when respondents were asked whether it is required that all people should be rated on merit, and whether the same educational opportunities for all were important for a society to be called just (81.6% and 88.4%, respectively, on aggregate of 'very important' and 'important'). However, the middle position on both these items is not taken by a large proportion of respondents while in the previous two items this is the most popular position by far. Merit and equal educational opportunities seem to be very important concerns and one would be very surprised to find many socialistically inclined parents at the school.

The indication of laziness as the cause cited most often for poverty seems to indicate a blind spot to structural injustice (Table 2.2). However, a certain level of consciousness of poverty is manifest in other indicators and, as explained in an earlier section, the picture regarding poverty is not clear.

Religion and morality
Respondents consistently found religion to be important in their lives and in general terms. However, respondents also exhibited a relatively unorthodox faith in angels and telepathy, while hell and sin do not feature as strongly as religious concepts as one might expect in a Protestant context (the white Afrikaans-speaking population in the Western Cape — and in this community specifically — is predominantly Protestant). Only 6% indicated that they do not believe in 'God'. As one may expect, this does not quite mean that exactly the same number of people say that religion or faith is not important as there are often different ways of expressing views on religious matters.

The publicly contested issue of religion is also contested terrain among the parents concerned. There were only slightly more parents (42%) who think that it is important or very important to expose children to other religions than those with the opposite opinion (39%).

As far as the dimension of moral responsibility and moral justification are concerned, an interesting picture emerged. Respondents indicate that moral responsibility is an individual matter and that individuals should take responsibility for their own actions (94.5% agree or agree fully that people should take responsibility for their own actions.

When asked about moral choices that may be justified under some conditions (Table 5.3), almost 50% of parents indicated that tax eva-

Table 4.3   Justice and equality (N = 150, 147, 147, 146)

	Very important (%)	Important (%)	No strong feeling either way (%)	Not particularly important (%)	Not at all important (%)
Equality in income	3.3	10.7	40.7	12.0	33.3
Basic needs provided for	4.1	19.7	30.6	26.5	19.0
Recognition on merit	38.1	43.5	8.8	6.1	3.4
Equal educational opportunities	44.5	45.9	6.2	2.1	1.4

Table 5.1   Religion and faith (N = 161, 160, 161)

	Very important (%)	Rather important (%)	Neither important nor unimportant (%)	Not important (%)	Not at all important (%)
Importance of religion	77.6	18.6	-	1.9	1.9
Importance of God in life	84.4	12.5	1.3	0.6	1.3
Peace and strength from religion	79.5	15.5	2.5	0.6	1.9

Table 5.2   Items of belief (N = 163 on all items)

	Believe in (%)	Don't believe in (%)
God	93.9	6.1
Life after death	74.8	25.2
Hell	65.0	35.0
Heaven	73.6	26.4
Sin	69.3	30.7
Telepathy	16.0	84.0
Reincarnation	3.1	96.9
Miracles	60.7	39.3
Angels	55.8	44.2
Evil spirits	35.6	64.4

Table 5.3   Actions that can or cannot be justified (N = 153, 154, 155, 155, 154, 154, 152, 154, 155, 154)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Tax evasion	16.3	30.1	15.7	29.4	8.5
Marijuana	3.9	3.2	17.5	14.9	60.4
Lying		3.2	10.3	12.9	73.5
Bribery	1.9	1.9	5.2	11.0	80.0
Extra-marital affairs	0.6	0.6	12.3	17.5	68.8
Homosexuality	0.6	1.9	5.8	6.5	85.1
Abortion	5.9	11.8	23.0	7.9	51.3
Divorce	1.9	11.0	39.0	11.0	37.0
Casual sex	1.3	0.6	8.4	14.2	75.5
Husband forcing wife		3.2	8.4	8.4	79.9

used in the presentation. The decisions about what constitutes interesting and important results, what types of statistical procedures are to be used and what to focus attention on are always dependent on the perspective of the analyst. Quite often one learns as much about the interpreter as one does about the subject matter that is analysed. However, this also means that a large part of the interpretation of the data has already been done. The presentation in this section is intended to pull together the various lines that have been drawn in the analysis itself. A general characterisation can then be formulated that will constitute an over-all view of the values of the parents of the particular school. The emphasis will be on the majority views, with some discussion of issues that seem ambivalent or divisive.

•   Social values relating to human relationships
There seemed to be many ambiguities about the views of parents on gender and race. Women are free but they should have children; conflict between races is inevitable, but this does not mean that other races and cultural groups are not welcome in the immediate neighbourhood. At the same time, parents sometimes seem intolerant towards others on other levels of life, such as the determination of the curriculum at school, the moral acceptability of being gay and the acceptability of people living live according to their own norms and rules.

Interpreting any of these aspects is not an end in itself. The important issue is interpreting and understanding the ambivalence. Here one would have to refer to the conditions and the context. Most women in the sample engage in some form of paid work and most homes depend on the income generated thus. At the same time, the community is still quite religious and culturally homogenous, and one would not expect patriarchal definitions of womanhood to disappear overnight. On the racial and other tolerance levels, one could again speculate that parents still feel cushioned enough by the material wealth they have acquired and the geographical separation that still divides different groups in South Africa enable them to present a more liberal and tolerant view than might become evident in real conflict situations. The ambiguities sometimes occur on the level of identity (gender) and sometimes on the level of real-life conflict (who determines the curriculum at school). This is indicative of the complexity of values analysis, but one might also expect a changing values framework to create such ambivalences. However, it is not possible to make any firm claims about value change without follow-up studies.

When it comes to authority, only lip service seems to be paid to emphases on authority and order. This seems to indicate a change from behavioural patterns and attitudes that one might have expected 20 years ago. The figures on corporal punishment, the priority of discipline at school and respect for one's parents can be seen as a possible indication of a declining emphasis on authority and order. There may

sion may often or always be justified; the use of marijuana is sometimes, often or always justifiable to a quarter of the respondents; lying is very rarely or never justifiable; homosexuality is sometimes or more than that justifiable to only 10% of respondents; bribery is also very rarely or never justifiable; abortion is sometimes or more often justifiable for 40%; whilst divorce is justifiable for about half the respondents.

An astonishing (to me) 20% of respondents do not indicate that they can never justify a husband forcing his wife to have sex with him. Another interesting feature is the 43% of respondents who feel that condoms should be available on demand to children older than 13.

Interpretation
It is obvious that any questionnaire already interprets in that it sets a framework and excludes a whole range of possible other perspectives, items or indices. The presentation of the data is again already an interpretation in that all the items in the questionnaire cannot be and are not

be nostalgia for the old days but other aspects are more important. This becomes clear when the meaning of life for parents is discussed.

• What is really important?

It seems that respondents consider self-affirmation to be really important. The high premium placed on happiness on all levels indicates this. Happiness is something to be sought, it is something that human beings can and should aspire to, and the keys to achieving it are self-confidence and imagination. Of course, it is important to note that parents are generally wealthy, and that work and money is important, but the parents surveyed are happy with present conditions and are willing to compete and to take responsibility for their own future happiness and success in future as well. This fits well with the strong faith in human development, science and technology and humanity's role in development.

Many interpreters would probably choose to focus on the very clear importance of religion, faith and God in the lives of the respondents. I find this to be less interesting and would have been surprised by anything which indicated that parents find religion to be less important. There are a number of factors relevant here. The first is that religion has a high institutional profile in the community and it would be almost inconceivable that large number of people would not acknowledge that. Secondly, religious organisations present one of the very few high levels of participation in voluntary organisations. Another very basic reason is that respondents are parents who were asked to participate in a 'values survey' relating to a process at their schools. It would be very surprising if they did not say that religion is very important. The conflation of religion and values seems so self-evident to most of the South African population that it is very difficult to separate the two dimensions in the minds of most people.

What I find more interesting is the combination of the emphasis put on human endeavour and the emphasis on religion. It seems that God is important to parents, but that the importance of religion has to be married with the achievement and drive of the respondents. This can be interpreted in at least three ways. Religion could act as a sign of human success itself or, secondly and less cynically, one could say that human endeavour and religious faith reinforce each other. A third interpretation could be that human endeavour is what life is actually about and that the acknowledgement of religion and faith is just a nod in the direction of tradition. One would have to explain the high levels of participation in religious organisations if that were the case and hence a more appropriate explanation would probably lie in the direction of the second option.

This view is reinforced when one considers the priorities parents state for the development of their children at home and at school. Happiness, self-confidence and imagination are the highest priorities in the education and development of children at school and at home. One could suppose that this assumes good academic, sport and cultural activities for the children of the parents surveyed (which is the case in this particular school). At the same time, the community and the particular parents are relatively wealthy and live relatively secure lives. However, in a context in which parents experience strong competition in their work environments, this requires further consideration. It may well be that the high regard for imagination and self-confidence is seen by many as the keys to success in later life.

As indicated before, work has the highest priority of all spheres of life for the parents surveyed. These same people also present a high commitment to the family and marriage, as well as to investing time and emotional effort in these aspects. The question is whether parents are able to balance all these expectations and aspirations. One expects that there must be considerable tension between the different aspirations and this suspicion seems to be borne out by the desires of parents for a simpler and less demanding life in the future.

The tensions one senses here are typical of values analysis in a more fundamental sense as well, as there is a continuous tension between what people may find desirable and good and what they actually do and feel that they can do. The working definition of values guiding the analysis does provide for a distinction in this regard, as there is a clear difference between values as a point of orientation that guides behaviour and values as final determinants of behaviour. A closer look at the morality of the parents provides important clues as well.

• Moral values

The low levels of active social responsibility outside of religious organisations, the family and the smaller community of friends could be the result of the feeling that life is very demanding and that there are only so many things that can be done in a day. On an anecdotal level, this does seem to be a common theme when parents justify their low levels of participation in activities not related to their children or family and friends or religion.

Low levels of participation in social welfare causes do not mean that parents are essentially negative about the poor or otherwise needy. At the same time, there is not much clarity among parents as to how poor people should be approached. The reasons marked for poverty are very ambiguous, with many seeing poverty both as the result of injustice and as the result of laziness. In this context, the strong emphasis on creating equal opportunities bears further investigation.

One would be inclined to argue that the very low support for equal distribution of income and almost equally low support for the satisfaction of basic needs in order to qualify as a just society are self-serving. The high regard for equal educational opportunities and the acknowledgement of merit as measures of the justness of a society can be seen as typical middle-class liberal views that hide the fact that people are unwilling to contribute to the development of a society when this requires material sacrifices from them. This view is probably quite correct. However, there are a few caveats that one would have to add. The first is that the respondents are not as clear about the fact that they do not consider equal distribution of income and satisfaction of basic needs as a priority as they are about the fact that they consider equal educational opportunities and acknowledgement on merit as criteria of the justness of a society. In the first combination a large percentage of people chose a middle position, while this is certainly not the case in the second combination. The second caveat is that middle-class people are quite often ignorant of the depth of need among poor people and even more so of what it would cost to change that situation. In that sense, ignorance could play a role. The cost of actually making educational opportunities equal in South Africa are considerable in any case and, were the accusation of a calculated self-serving liberal position to be true, one wonders whether this was also calculated when respondents rated equal educational opportunities so highly.

It is an open question whether parents are not just moralists with a practical sense. Parents clearly want to take responsibility for their own decisions. Lying is also not at all acceptable whilst the tax-man can be cheated when necessary. Abortion and the use of marijuana can be legitimised (surprising for such a religious community and sample) but bribery cannot. The religious perspectives of the parents are slightly unorthodox in themselves, with a lower level of belief in sin and hell than one would expect and higher beliefs in angels and telepathy than their ministers and pastors may be comfortable with. At the same time, there is a strong need for spiritual and religious experiences.

• Conclusion

When analysing the data, one could end up saying all the obvious things that are to be expected from a survey of middle-class, predominantly white parents in a comfortable position in South Africa. These expectations have been noted above. However important that interpretation may be, I would argue that a different dimension requires further attention. Even though there is still a lot of ambivalence and the picture remains mixed, I would argue that the parents surveyed have more or less arrived at the stage that Ulrich Beck (2000b) calls 'Second Modernity'. Even though they are happy with their competitive and demanding lives, they are quite uncertain of the future. They, however, do have a life-orientation that they think will best

enable them and their children to keep their privileged position in the world. The emphasis on innovation, self-belief and innovation as key aspects of the development of their children demonstrates that they read the times in the same way as Beck does.[15]

Beck's notion of Second Modernity contrasts First Modernity with Second Modernity on several levels of experience. First Modernity means 'collective lifestyles, full employment, the national state and the welfare state, and an attitude of heedless exploitation of nature' while Second Modernity means 'ecological crises, the decline of paid employment, individualization, globalization and the gender revolution' (Beck, 2000b:5). However, the fundamental change is argued to be occurring within the structures and categories of society itself, rather than change in any particular aspect of society. The flexibility that is so much sought after as a result of the endemic changes in business and technological development 'means a redistribution of risks away from the state and the economy to the individual' (Beck, 2000b:3).

In this regard he then states that the rhetoric of 'independent entrepreneurial individualism' will not succeed in hiding the dangerous new situation, even from those in the middle classes (Beck, 2000b:4, his inverted commas). In a chapter on 'Living your own life in a runaway world', Beck (2000a) argues that activity, experimentation and reflexivity are essential aspects of a successful negotiation of the new risk environment he first discussed in his much earlier Risk Society (1982). On a political level, the diminishing support for political leaders found all over Europe 'expresses a fundamental change in value orientation and perceptual behaviour, the focus on values of individual self fulfilment and responsibility has brought all hierarchy and representation into disrepute' (Beck, 2000b:151).

With the exception of the high level of the importance of religion and personal faith,[16] the parents surveyed present the same value pattern and priority identification that one would expect of people who are starting to see the world in the same way as Ulrich Beck. This means that people with significant material advantages in the global economy 'have to' believe in the rhetoric of 'independent entrepreneurial individualism' in order to keep hoping that they will survive the turbulence of Second Modernity.[17] They may still exhibit a nostalgia for times gone by and they may still carry many vestiges of a previous era, but they are en route to a different world-view.

The ideal of value-driven education

The notion of moral values driving education has to be placed against a broader history of the interests of the ruling party (ANC) in highlighting morality and values in government and society in general. A series of conferences called Moral Summits[18] provide some insight into the reasoning behind these efforts. The Religious Commission of the ANC put out a statement,[19] sanctioned explicitly by the National Executive Committee of the ANC, in which their position was outlined. A few quotes can make clear how they see culture, morality and values operating in contemporary South Africa.

In their perspective, culture had always been a positive value in South Africa. They claim that the 'cultures brought together in our nation also had high ethical standards'. Not only was it the case that 'Traditional African cultures were modelled on morals', but also 'Afrikanerdom was prompted by strict adherence to spiritual values'. Even 'those who trace their origins to other countries also recognise high concepts of personal and social responsibility'. The continuity between the good moral character of bygone days is in continuity with the ruling party's own credentials. They point to the history of the ANC and claim that, '[s]ince it began nearly a century ago, and at every stage of the struggle for liberation, the ANC has been motivated by strong ethical convictions, especially the moral value of justice for all, and respect and care for other people'.

The point most relevant to this article is the focus of the moral regeneration that is sought. When discussing religion, they say (in a fairly instrumental and utilitarian approach) that the focus is on nation building. 'Religion has an important role to play in the transition from an immoral society to a just society with basic moral values. Some religious people are deeply committed to the new community, and are trying to overcome the resistance of those who still limit their faith to personal morality, and those who relish their role as critics but not co-workers in nation building. Rediscovering the positive role of religion in transforming society has also taken time. Transition to an era in which there is no religious discrimination opens vistas that are full of promise for some, and of horror for others. Both religious and political attitudes in South Africa are being reassessed in ways that promise a critical and constructive relationship for the nation.'

The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (2001) flows quite naturally from these concerns. It identifies ten fundamental values of the Constitution as point of departure. These are 'Democracy, Social Justice and Equity, Non-Racism and Non-Sexism, *Ubuntu* (Human Dignity), an Open Society, Accountability (Responsibility), Respect, The Rule of Law, and Reconciliation'. These values are taken up in the Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R–9 (Schools) and discussed under the heading 'The Kind of Learner that is Envisaged'. The document argues that 'the challenge for the Revised National Curriculum Statement is how the goals and values of social justice, equity and democracy can be interwoven across the curriculum. The promotion of values is important not only for the sake of personal development,[20] but also to ensure that a national South African identity is built on values different from those that underpinned apartheid education. The kind of learner envisaged is one who will be imbued with the values and act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life and social justice' (Revised National Curriculum Statement, 2002:8). A 'Values in Education Action Programme' was defined for the Department of Education in June 2002 and is to be integrated in all learning outcomes, levels and programmes.

Although one has to acknowledge the clear and unambivalent emphasis on democracy and human rights, one cannot help also noting the emphasis on nation building. The nation building that is at stake here has a specifically South African flavour in that it reacts against apartheid and profiles itself against the inhuman ideology and undemocratic and inhuman practices associated with apartheid. It is also developmental as it attempts to build a common sense of responsibility for the development of all the people of South Africa. However, this concept of nation building is still rooted in the notion of some common identity that has to be forged (if need be, through sport!) (Manifesto, 2001:3-5).

Whilst these values and the actions envisaged are not in conflict with the values of the parents of the particular school surveyed, they go in two distinctly different directions. The values of the parents are more typical of individualist and relatively unconnected global citizens who live cushioned lives and benefit from the opportunities afforded by good education, job security and good jobs. The priorities of the state are all tied to the human rights discourse enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Even though there seems to be a good overlap between the values of the parents of the school and the idea of a values-driven school system and learning experience, the overlap between state priorities and school and parent concerns is not that evident. One suspects that if the principles and values of the Constitution will come to be viewed positively by parents, some work will still have to be done to make these values self-evident in terms of the educational goals of parents.

The implication of these findings is that one could expect a resonance between an education system that is value driven and the priorities of the parents. If parents want children to have high self-esteem and a developed imagination, an education system that is not value-driven but rule governed and/or performance orientated will be in conflict with their values. However, there is an important gap between the idea of value-driven education and the specific definition of particular values that are to be instilled in children during their school education. The particular values have to be articulated before one can say whether there is enough overlap to continue the initial finding of positive resonance.

Notes

1. Frederick (1995), Hofstede (1991) and Kotter and Heskett (1992) provide some insight into the business organisational discussions on values.
2. Other impulses are important from an internal perspective on education systems as organisations in the contemporary world. Weller is just one of the many educationalists who argue that shared values are an important aspect of redesigning the culture and practices of schools (1998).
3. Castells, 1989, Giddens, 1990; 1991; Beck, 2000a; 2000b; Luhmann, 1982; 1990.
4. I have little doubt that many would criticize the government for being ideological in its approach to nation-building in more or less the same vein as Marx (2002) has done in attacking on the emphasis on ubuntu as constituting a 'nationalist ideology' that 'glorifies an imagined past' and emphasises community values that 'promote an attitude of conformity'. However, one also has to consider the relative impact of any particular government's attempt at reforming educational culture. It seems that the cultural heritage that is fundamental to educational systems have a very deep relationship with the more fundamental historical forces that shape a society and that short-term changes do not make all that much difference. Sharpe's comparison (1997) between the English and the French educational systems presents a case for this argument in that he claims that the differences that actually matter relate to the difference between Protestantism and Catholicism — very much *longue duree* historical forces!
5. From an historical perspective one can point to different trajectories in the process of state-formation. In his discussion of European nation-state formation, Hobsbawm points out that '[t]he state not only made the nation, but needed to make the nation' (Hobsbawm, 1994:148-149, his emphasis). He then characterises education in Europe in that period as being the era of primary schooling in which children were taught a standard language that enabled legal and bureaucratic administration to develop. Schools also provided a medium of secular propaganda that was surpassed only when television triumphed (1994:150). A very different situation confronts African states. Clapham gives some perspective on the failure of most African states to develop even the rudiments of an inclusive definition of nationhood (1996:44-61). However, the inclusivity or not of most African states is only part of a larger problem of dependence and administrative and economic viability. In that sense, the conditions under which the development of such inclusivity is attempted by Mandela and Mbeki are different from those that confronted Nkrumah and Nyerere. Inclusivity, if tied to reconciliation and equality, is certainly a political goal in a post-apartheid South Africa.

   However, South Africa is administratively and legally a modern state. One has to bring the issues of functional differentiation in the structure and systems of society to bear in such a situation. Then it becomes a question why the nation has to be developed as a political construct and whether it makes much sense to do so. If this is taken seriously, the classic formulation of Niklas Luhmann is relevant: 'We now live in a society without a top and without a center' (Luhmann, 1990:16; 1982: 324-362). He argues that the identity of modern society is only to be found only in the fact of its functional differentiation (Luhmann, 1982: 348). Functionally differentiated societies cannot represent themselves in themselves but have to restrict themselves to the system imperatives of highly complex societies. Luhmann is very clear on what this entails: 'A highly complex society must limit itself to making possible, in a very loose and general sense, the compatibility of the disparate functions and structures of all its subsidiary units or parts' (Luhmann, 1982:79). In that process the project of nation-formation is not only unnecessary, but impossible if one takes Luhmann's perspective to be correct. Habermas disagrees and argues that Luhmann's analysis only covers the issues of system integration and not those of social integration. If social integration is at stake, the rebuilding of structures of coherence, values and identity are important, even more so than that of ideology critique. This is because the problem is no longer just false consciousness but a consciousness fragmented by monetarisation and bureaucratisation of social relations (Habermas, 1987:325; 355).
6. Durkheim argues explicitly that common values and norms is what education should focus on reflexively and that mass education could mean that 'socially given norms and values become an integral and constitutive part of the individual personality' (Lukes, 1973:131). Lukes points out that Durkheim does not deal with the ideological and power aspects of this argument: 'Nowhere did Durkheim consider the role of ideology in maintaining a consensus: he never saw the "moral consciousness" as biased, systematically working in favour of the interests of some and against those of others' (Lukes, 1973:133). Similar types of roles for values are defined by Weber (1972; 1980) and Parsons (1951; 1960). A particular type of value-set creates the specific type of rationality or social coherence needed for the establishment of capitalist and bureaucratic society (Weber) or social order (Parsons), respectively. It is also clear that both these types of values discourses are not without their problems. Some argue that values discourses cannot be anything less than ideology and a legitimisation of the position of the ruling class (Touraine, 1977: 40-42; C Wright Mills, 1959:37-39).
7. McLaughlin, 1965; Van Deth & Scharbrough, 1995; Halman, 1991; Joubert, 1992.
8. McLaughlin, 1965.
9. Matters of concern in the pilot study were the appropriateness of all the items, the reliability of an instrument that took more than an hour to complete and the response rate. The initial instrument was given to 10 parents (selected for variety of opinion and occupation) to complete and personal interviews were then conducted with each of the participants. These interviews proved to be very important. Parents suggested other options for certain questions and also ways of reducing the time it took to complete the questionnaire. However, the enthusiasm for the instrument was apparent and raised hopes that a reasonable response rate would be possible.
10. Halman, 2001.
11. The sample was determined by an educated guess as to the number of parents or guardians (1080) directly responsible for the education of the children of the school (we used the number of oldest or only children in the family to make the calculation). This translated into an average of about 540 households. We wanted a sample with every second household with a 50/50 gender split in the respondents selected (this is not 100% accurate as we knew that some households were single-parent households, but we did not have figures on how many such households there were.) This meant that the alternate female or male parent or guardian of every second first or only child was selected (270).
12. The questionnaires were distributed by asking the children of each selected parent to give that parent a copy of the questionnaire in an unmarked envelope. The envelope contained an unmarked questionnaire with instructions detailing the aims of the project, the procedure for completion and the date by which it had to be returned to a sealed box in the foyer of the school. The anonymity of the respondents was fully protected.
13. Most of the data are presented in summary form in abbreviated tables or even as percentages in the text itself.
14. We did not have a single other question with significant numbers of missing values.
15. Beck has been arguing his case since 1982, but others have arguing in parallel terms for some time as well. Here Habermas's (1987) work has to be noted while Giddens (1990; 1991) and Baumann (2000) are more or less the equals of Beck in the Polity Press 'club'.
16. When digesting the exceptional position of religion in the parents lives in terms of Beck's theory, one has to note the European bias of Beck's work and one would probably have to agree with Casanova (1994) in saying that, in this regard, Europe is the exception rather than the USA (a major issue of debate in secularisation theory) and the rest of the world (Beyer, 1994; Cox, 1995).
17. In this regard Giddens, Beck, and Baumann all agree that the seeming freedom of contemporary western experience is a burden in that people are bound to freedom, i.e. they have to make critical decisions all the time without guarantees that these decisions will turn out to be good decisions.
18. http://www.transparency.de/documents/source-book/c/co_conduct.html
19. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/misc/moralrenewal.html
20. Prencipe and Helwig (2002) show that this is not the easiest task in any context and De Klerk (1989; 2000) and Carl and De Klerk (2001) present some of the different ideological (also their own!) difficulties one could expect to run into when instituting a values-orientated educational approach in South African schools.

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